Abstract

The Illustration of the *Meditations on the Life of Christ*:
A Study of an Illuminated Fourteenth-Century Italian Manuscript
at the University of Notre Dame
(Snite Museum of Art, Acc. No. 85.25)

Dianne Tisdale Phillips
2016

For more than fifty years, the *Meditationes Vitae Christi (MVC)* and the most famous of its illustrated manuscripts (Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, Ms. ital. 115) have been employed by scholars to exemplify late medieval female spirituality. The mid-fourteenth century illuminated manuscript of the *Meditationes* in the Snite Museum of Art at the University of Notre Dame that is the subject of this dissertation provides valuable evidence of the popularity of the famous text originally written for a woman religious and its appropriation by urban laity. As an example of the shorter text, in Italian, with 43 chapters plus prologue, its 48 large colored miniatures and the decorated initials that begin each chapter, point to a wealthy patron quite unlike the Poor Clare to whom the *MVC* text was initially directed. The style of the miniatures indicates that the manuscript was illuminated ca. 1350 in Bologna, site of the pre-eminent European university for the study of law.

The dissertation explores how the *Meditationes Vitae Christi* was adapted for an educated and prosperous husband and wife. While written in the vernacular, the Snite *MVC* illuminations bear a strong resemblance to the illustrations in fourteenth-century Bolognese legal manuscripts. Despite the vivid and often unconventional imagery of the text that is designed to stimulate the reader's affective response to its re-telling of the story of the life of Christ, the miniatures tend to preserve traditional iconographies. The

superficially conventional Snite miniatures, which often seem indifferent to the visual specifics of the text, serve to align it with orthodox doctrine and underscore the veracity of its contents.

An analysis of the illuminations of the Snite *MVC* reveals a particular attentiveness by the illuminator to the representation of male exemplars that would appeal to an elite educated patron, who might have been a judge or lawyer, or law professor. The Infancy miniatures in particular depict St. Joseph in a prominent role and dressed as a late medieval professional man. The dignified representation of St. Joseph is consistent with his scriptural appellation as a "just man." By attending to the themes of justice and wisdom in both the *MVC* text and in its scriptural sources, the Snite miniatures prove to be much richer in meaning than first glance would suggest, and their affinity with legal manuscript illumination hardly accidental.

The iconographic analysis of the Snite miniatures is complemented by the study of the social and intellectual context in which the manuscript was produced. Despite the seeming simplicity of the miniatures, the illuminator and his advisor prove to be theologically sophisticated and scripturally literate. By means of the illuminations, the *MVC* is made compatible with the religious and professional concerns of the elite laity, providing access for men wielding worldly authority into the life of Christ in which powerful and learned men play largely negative roles. The Snite manuscript responds to the lay patron's desire to see in the example of Christ and the events of his life confirmation of late medieval social, juridical, and political structures. In its miniatures, it provides saintly models for the educated laity desirous of reconciling their Christian commitments with the demands of an active, urban, professional life.

The Illustration of the *Meditations on the Life of Christ*: A Study of an Illuminated Fourteenth-Century Italian Manuscript at the University of Notre Dame (Snite Museum of Art, Acc. No. 85.25)

A Dissertation
Presented to the Faculty of the Graduate School
of
Yale University
in Candidacy for the Degree of
Doctor of Philosophy

by
Dianne Tisdale Phillips

Dissertation Director: Robert S. Nelson

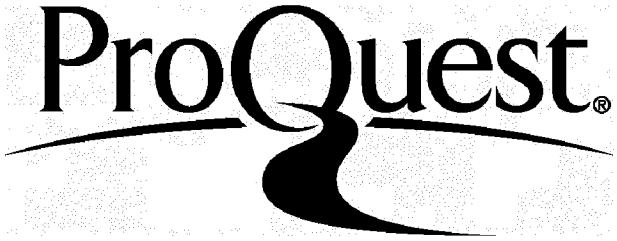
May 2016

ProQuest Number: 10160872

All rights reserved

INFORMATION TO ALL USERS
The quality of this reproduction is dependent upon the quality of the copy submitted.

In the unlikely event that the author did not send a complete manuscript
and there are missing pages, these will be noted. Also, if material had to be removed,
a note will indicate the deletion.



ProQuest 10160872

Published by ProQuest LLC(2016). Copyright of the Dissertation is held by the Author.

All rights reserved.
This work is protected against unauthorized copying under Title 17, United States Code.
Microform Edition © ProQuest LLC.

ProQuest LLC
789 East Eisenhower Parkway
P.O. Box 1346
Ann Arbor, MI 48106-1346

© 2016 by Dianne Tisdale Phillips
All rights reserved.

Acknowledgments

It is a privilege to acknowledge the happy debts I have incurred during the long gestation of this project. At the urging of the late Professor Creighton Gilbert, I first examined the Snite manuscript and he patiently supervised my initial research. When I returned to the project after a long hiatus, Professor Robert Nelson generously agreed to serve as my advisor. His encouragement and wise advice has facilitated my reentry into art historical research and renewed the intellectual enthusiasm that I first experienced for the discipline as a graduate student at Yale decades ago. I am also most grateful to Professors Jacqueline Jung and Laurence Kanter for graciously serving as readers of my dissertation. The Department of the History of Art at Yale has been kind to me both as a young and now mature student.

In the early years of my research on the manuscript at the University of Notre, Dean Porter, Director Emeritus of the Snite Museum, was an enthusiastic supporter. Professor Maureen Boulton guided my initial examination of the manuscript and transcription of the text, and Professor Frank Mantello offered paleographical insights. Marina Smyth, former librarian of the Medieval Institute at Notre Dame, generously obtained several books that were crucial to my research, as has her successor, Julia Schneider. Similarly, David Gura, the current curator of ancient and medieval manuscripts at Hesburgh Library, has provided valuable assistance.

Among the many scholars whose perceptive comments have enriched my understanding of the Snite *MVC* manuscript and facilitated my research, I would like to acknowledge especially Holly Flora, Sarah McNamer, Robert Gibbs, Adelaide Bennett Hagens, Julius Kirshner, Andrea von Hülsen-Esch, Walter Cahn, Jeffrey Hamburger, James Kriesel, and Brian Daley. As important has been the encouragement of dear friends, who urged me on to completion: Ann Cameron, Lisa and Gary Anderson, and Terri O'Bryan. Michael Heintz has been both a generous friend and a formative influence in my understanding of scriptural texts. Jim Turner has been both a genial cheerleader of my renewed commitment to the project and a discerning reader of the introduction and second appendix.

My greatest debts are owed to family. My mother, Nina, and my late father, Tom Phillips, were constant in their enthusiasm for my academic pursuits, and my sisters, Carolyn and Melanie Phillips, listened patiently to my art historical musings. Above all, I am grateful to my husband, Joseph Wawrykow, who has been my intellectual companion since we first met in high school. Though a scholar of thirteenth-century scholastic theologians in Paris, his support for my study of an illuminated devotional manuscript produced in the university and legal environment in Trecento Bologna has never wavered. He has been unstinting in his readiness to consider my ideas, read my work, offer helpful criticisms, and lift my spirits at challenging moments. For him, and our son, Nicholas, my gratitude and love are deeper than words can express.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Acknowledgments iii

Introduction 1

Chapter

1. Style and Date of the Snite *MVC* Manuscript 40
2. Illuminations for the Prologue and the Life of the Virgin Mary 64
3. Illuminations for the Infancy of Christ 130
4. Illuminations for Christ's Adulthood and Passion 162
5. Illuminations for Christ's Post-Passion Appearances 216
6. Patronage and Social Context of the Snite *MVC* Manuscript 253

Appendix

1. Manuscript Description 295
2. The History of the Snite *MVC* Manuscript in America 299

Bibliography 307

Plates

INTRODUCTION

The text known as the *Meditations on the Life of Christ* has powerfully shaped our understanding of the later middle ages. A devotional guide that retells the life of Christ, it appears in study after study of the period. Its ubiquity is easy to understand: the texts that comprise the *Meditationes Vitae Christi (MVC)* are accessible and vivid even to the twenty-first-century reader. The book appealed even more to the late medieval Christian: more than two hundred manuscripts have been identified, making the *MVC* a medieval best seller.[1] Its popularity owed as much to its style as to its subject. Though different versions of the text exist, they all transform the spare Gospel accounts into a compelling narrative that invites the reader to participate in the story of Christ's life, punctuated with observations on the virtues exemplified by it and the theological teaching derived from it. The prologue explains that the reader's continual immersion in the earthly life of Christ will vanquish worldly thoughts and behaviors, deepening a conversion that—aspiring to the model of St. Francis—culminates in the *imitatio Christi*.

For art historians, the most striking feature of the text is its constant invocation of sensory experience, especially visualization, to guide the reader in imagining the episodes of Christ's life taking place before the mind's eye. By facilitating the reader's powerful emotional engagement with the story and eliciting empathy for its central characters,

---

[1] Since C. Fischer listed 217 manuscripts in his study, "Die 'Meditationes Vitae Christi': ihre handschriftliche Uberlieferung und die Verfasserfrage," *Archivum Franciscanum Historicum* 25 (1932): 3–35, 175–209, 305–48, 449–83, scholars such as A. Vaccari, "Le 'Meditazioni della vita di Cristo' in volgare," in his *Scritti di erudizione e di filologia*, vol. I, *Filologia biblica e patristica* (Rome, 1952), pp. 341–78, have identified others.

Christ and the Virgin Mary, this approach also cultivates gratitude and desire for the divine love manifested in Christ's life on the one hand and, on the other, nurtures contrition for personal sin and fortifies virtuous behavior. Though the reader of the original text was most probably a woman religious, the agenda articulated in the Prologue is relevant to the spiritual aspirations of a broad audience and adaptable to almost any Christian vocation. The mid-fourteenth-century illuminated manuscript of the *MVC* in the Snite Museum at the University of Notre Dame that is the subject of this study demonstrates exactly this fluidity: how this devotional text was customized to meet the needs of a very different reader than the first Poor Clare in Tuscany. An analysis of the text and pictures (e.g., Plate 12) in the Snite manuscript will show that it was made for an educated layman and his family in the university city of Bologna.

The *MVC* has enjoyed totemic status in the historiography of late medieval art. In its homely details and recourse to visualization tailored to the reader's own environment, which were designed to give the life of Christ immediacy, the text complements the trends emerging in late thirteenth-century Italian art toward a greater naturalism in style and more genre-like approach to religious subject matter. For more than half a century, art historians turned to the text as the source for late medieval iconographic innovation.[2] This observation in a recent encyclopedia of medieval art is typical: "A strong pictorial imagination characterizes the [*MVC*] narrative, resulting in vivid images, which provided

[2] Although not the first scholar to cite the *MVC* in relation to late medieval art, E. Mâle, *L'art religieux de la fin du Moyen Age en France: étude sur l'iconographie du Moyen Age et sur ses sources des inspiration, 2d ed.* (Paris: Librairie A. Colin, 1922), pp. 3–24, which underwent several editions and translation during the twentieth century, was a significant stimulus to the practice of looking to the *MVC* as an iconographic sourcebook. Among Anglo-American art historians, however, it was the publication in 1961 of Isa Ragusa's and Rosalie Green's translation of Paris, BnF, Ms. ital. 115, that made it a standard reference tool.

new subjects and motifs for late medieval art from Giotto to Matthias Grünewald."[3] However, since the later 1990s, the assumption that the text must have inspired new iconographies has come under question, and scholars are increasingly inclined to think it a fruitless, even misguided, task to prove that the verbal was prior to the visual.[4] The relation between text and image in discussions of the motivating forces behind late medieval artistic change is currently conceived symbiotically: iconographic innovation and stylistic shifts toward greater naturalism both contributed to and depended upon the proliferation during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries of religious texts focused on the human, suffering Christ.

Growing awareness of interaction between Byzantium and the West has also affected current understanding of devotional texts and images of the period. Anne Derbes's work on thirteenth-century Italian Passion cycles, for example, deflates the Vasarian narrative that champions Giotto as the prime innovator.[5] She paints a more complex picture of stylistic change inspired by Byzantine and Northern images and shaped by Franciscan ideology. Within the past decade, scholars of Western medieval texts have become increasingly aware of Byzantine Christological and Mariological texts

---

[3] C. Hourihane (ed.), *The Grove Encyclopedia of Medieval Art and Architecture*, vol. 2 (2012), s.v. "Pseudo-Bonaventura," p. 131.

[4] In the mid-twentieth century, D. Shorr, "The Iconographic Development of the Presentation in the Temple," *Art Bulletin* 28 (1946), pp. 25–6, precociously observed that the representation of naturalistic gestures in Presentation scenes appeared centuries before the composition of the *MVC* and suggested that the author was either following earlier literary traditions or describing existing pictorial representations.

[5] A. Derbes, *Picturing the Passion in Late Medieval Italy: Narrative Painting, Franciscan Ideologies, and the Levant* (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1996). See also A. Derbes and A. Neff, "Italy, the Mendicant Orders, and the Byzantine Sphere," in *Byzantium: Faith and Power (1261–1557)*, ed. H. C. Evans (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2004), pp. 448–61.

that fuse pathos with doctrinal content and which may have been known in the medieval West.[6] As a result, the role reflexively accorded by Western historians to the Franciscans as the primary instigators of affective meditation on the human, suffering Christ has receded since the turn of the twenty-first century in favor of a more nuanced understanding of the diverse spiritual, theological, and cultural trends that contributed to its development. Above all, the explosion of scholarship in the last quarter of the twentieth century on women religious has foregrounded their formative role in shaping late medieval spirituality and art.

The close—even causative—relationship between the *MVC* and late medieval art that is posited in the historiography is compromised by the fact that the original form of the text and the date of its composition have not yet been established with certainty, and have become a recent subject of debate. The text had been linked to Bonaventure for several centuries and thus thought to date to the second half of the thirteenth-century. But that attribution was abandoned in the mid-twentieth century in favor simply of Pseudo-Bonaventure and a date of ca. 1300.[7] Scholars have long agreed that the *MVC* was originally composed in Latin by a Franciscan friar who, as evidence within the text indicates, was writing for a Poor Clare. According to the conventional view, the 'original'

---

[6] In the introduction to his recent translation of a text traditionally attributed to Maximus the Confessor, Shoemaker (trans.), *Life of the Virgin*, pp. 24–5, discusses how "all the characteristic features of high medieval affective piety are on display in this early Byzantine text." In a related vein, in a paper also published in 2012, Theresa Kenney, "The Manger as Calvary and Altar," pp. 34–6, points to the patristic origins of motifs in late medieval representations of Christ's infancy that have usually been credited as Franciscan innovations and linked to popular piety. Both scholars instead accord a central role to doctrinal concerns. Derbes, *Picturing the Passion*, p. 27, also observes that Franciscan texts on the Passion often resemble Byzantine writings.

[7] A notable exception is E. S. Varanelli, "Le *Meditationes Vitae Nostri Domini Jesu Christi* nell'arte de Duecento italiano,"*Arte medievale* 2nd ser., 6:2 (1992): 137–48, in which she argues that the *MVC* must date to ca. 1260, largely on the grounds of the direct impact that she perceives it having had upon leading artists of the late thirteenth century.

Latin text—designated as the *große* text by Fischer—consists of a prologue and approximately 100 chapters, including seventeen chapters on the early life of the Virgin and the life of Christ up to his temptation in the desert, forty chapters on Christ's adult ministry and miracles, a thirteen-chapter treatise on the active and contemplative lives, thirteen chapters devoted to the events of Holy Week and the Passion, and about sixteen chapters on the events from Easter Sunday through Pentecost.[8] Fischer also discerned a shorter Latin version (the *kleine* text) lacking the chapters devoted to Christ's adult ministry and miracles and the Bernardine treatise on the active and contemplative lives, but the manuscripts constituting this group are not at all uniform.[9] An even shorter version, comprised of the chapters devoted to the Passion (the *Meditations on the Passion of Christ [MPC]*), also exists. Mary Stallings-Taney published the critical edition of the *große* text in 1997, using a mid-fourteenth-century Latin manuscript illuminated in Italy as the most reliable of the four early manuscripts: Oxford, Corpus Christi College, Ms. 410.[10] She ascribes the *MVC* unequivocally to John of Caulibus, a Tuscan Franciscan preacher. He had first been proposed as the author by an eighteenth-century scholar who

---

[8] Fischer, "Die 'Meditationes Vitae Christi': ihre handschriftliche Uberlieferung und die Verfasserfrage," says the *große* text is 96 chapters; Mary Stallings-Taney's critical edition is 108 chapters because she includes several separate chapters on the canticles sung on Easter Sunday by the Old Testament figures released by Christ's descent into Hell: C. M. Stallings-Taney (ed.), *Iohannis de Caulibus: Meditaciones vite Christi olim S. Bonaventuro attributae*, CCCM 153 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1997). See S. McNamer, *Affective Meditation and the Invention of Medieval Compassion*, (Philadelphia: Univ. of Pennsylvania Press, 2010), pp. 104–5 for diagrams that compare the traditional vs. her revisionist views of the evolution of the *MVC* text.

[9] S. McNamer, "Further Evidence for the Date of the Pseudo-Bonaventuran *Meditationes Vitae Christi*," *Franciscan Studies* 50 (1990): 256. C. M. Stallings-Taney, "The Pseudo Bonaventure *Meditaciones vite Christi: Opus Integrum*," *Franciscan Studies* 55 (1998): 256, n. 19 also observes that the versions of the *kleine* Latin text vary considerably.

[10] C. M. Stallings-Taney (ed.), *Iohannis de Caulibus: Meditaciones vite Christi olim S. Bonaventuro attributae*, CCCM 153 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1997).

was extrapolating from some remarks recorded by Bartholomew of Pisa in the late-fourteenth century.[11] Stallings-Taney asserts emphatically that the text "was written for the spiritual direction of a Poor Clare nun."[12]

The conventional view of the text has undergone seismic shifts during the past twenty-five years, with two competing views on its authorship and dating proposed by Sarah McNamer, on the one hand, and Peter Tóth and Dávid Falvay, on the other. Stallings-Taney had pursued her decades of scholarship on the *MVC* convinced that the original text was a Latin work of approximately 100 chapters. Shortly before the publication of the critical edition of the Latin *MVC*, Sarah McNamer published an article that threw those assumptions into serious question, and she has continued to produce scholarship that has unsettled established views of the text. In 1990, McNamer argued that the original version of the *MVC* was written in Italian rather than Latin and consisted of 41 chapters, not the long ca. 100-chapter text; she further asserted that this shorter Italian *MVC* text (*testo minore*) was not related to the Latin *kleine* text.[13] She identified the "St. Elizabeth," named as the source for revelations about the early life of the Virgin in the Italian *MVC* text, as Elizabeth of Töss (ca. 1292–1336), an exiled Hungarian princess who spent her adult life in a Swiss Dominican convent, rather than the much better known St. Elizabeth of Hungary (1207–1231), who was regarded as the patroness

[11] M. Stallings-Taney, "Pseudo-Bonaventure *Meditaciones vite Christi: Opus Integrum*," p. 254.

[12] Stallings-Taney, "Pseudo-Bonaventure *Meditaciones vite Christi: Opus Integrum*," p. 280.

[13] S. McNamer, "Further Evidence for the Date of the Pseudo-Bonaventuran *Meditationes vitae Christi*," *Franciscan Studies* 50 (1990): 235–61.

of Third Order Franciscans.[14] Based upon her new identification, McNamer claimed that the text must have been composed between 1336 and 1364, a suggestion accepted with slight modification by Stallings-Taney[15] and one that has prevailed during the subsequent decades. Such a date would nullify the standard art historical claim about the impact of the *MVC* on early Trecento art and magnify the significance of the four *MVC* manuscripts illuminated in Italy that appear to date to the mid-fourteenth century.

McNamer has since reconsidered her argument for the post–1336 date of the *MVC* text and currently thinks that the *MVC* probably originated between 1305 and 1315.[16] McNamer's change of mind on the dating question was prompted by Dávid Falvay's research on the cult of St. Elizabeth of Hungary in Italy. He asserts that the *Book of Revelations of the Virgin* quoted in the *MVC* chapter on the early life of the Virgin Mary was actually a text written in Latin by an anonymous author in Italy at the beginning of the fourteenth century that was soon after ascribed to St. Elizabeth of Hungary.[17] Neither

---

[14] In the Snite *MVC*, fol. 6r, the Saint Elizabeth who "was believed to be" the source of the revelations of the Virgin Mary is further identified as "of the Third Order."

[15] In her "Further Evidence for the Date of the Pseudo-Bonaventuran *Meditationes vitae Christi*," pp. 235–51, McNamer developed her argument for dating the *MVC* between ca. 1336 and ca. 1364. Stallings-Taney, "Pseudo-Bonaventure *Meditaciones vite Christi*: Opus Integrum," p. 258, repeats her acceptance of McNamer's argument for the attribution of the *Revelations* to Elizabeth of Töss but allows for a decade during which they would have been diffused, so that she proposes ca. 1346 (not 1336) as the *terminus post quem* of the *MVC* and ca. 1364 as the *terminus ante quem*; likewise, in her introduction to the critical edition, *Iohannis de Caulibus: Meditaciones vite Christi olim S. Bonaventuro attributae*, p. ix.

[16] S. McNamer, "The Author of the Italian *Meditations on the Life of Christ,*" in *New Directions in Medieval Manuscript Studies and Reading Practices*, ed. K. Kerby-Fulton, J. J. Thompson and S. Baechle (Notre Dame, IN: Univ. of Notre Dame Press, 2014), pp. 120–22.

[17] D. Falvay, "St. Elizabeth of Hungary in Italian Vernacular Literature: *Vitae*, Miracles, Revelations and the *Meditations on the Life of Crist* [sic]," in *Promoting the Saints: Cults and their Contexts from Late Antiquity until the Early Modern Period,* ed. Ottó Gecser *et al.* (Budapest and New York: Central European University Press, 2011), p. 143. P. Tóth and D. Falvay, "New Light on the Date and Authorship of the *Meditations vitae Christi*," in *Devotional*

McNamer nor Falvay were alert to a third candidate for the "St. Elizabeth" named as the source of the *Book of Revelations of the Virgin:* Blessed Elizabeth of Hungary (ca. 1260–1326), a daughter of Stephen V, the king of Hungary from 1270 to 1272. Her biography includes strong connections to both mendicant orders. She was raised by her saintly aunt, Margaret, in a Dominican convent on what is today St. Margaret's Island in Budapest, and became its prioress. But her brother abducted her and forced her to marry a Bohemian nobleman. Upon her husband's death in 1290, Elizabeth went to Naples where her sister, Mary, was the wife of the Angevin king Charles II, mother of the future Saint Louis of Toulouse, and benefactress of the Poor Clares. Elizabeth became the prioress of a Dominican convent in Naples, San Pietro a Castello, where she lived until 1326 when she finally returned to her old convent in Budapest where she died.[18]

Culture in Late Medieval England and Europe: Diverse Imaginations of Christ's Life, ed. S. Kelly and R. Perry (Turnhout: Brepols, 2014), pp. 53–9, renew their objections to the Elizabeth of Töss identification and thus see no reason to shift the *MVC* date to the mid-fourteenth century. In her response to Tóth and Falvay posted in early 2015: https://www.academia.edu/10525588/New_Light_on_the_Date_and_Authorship_of_the_Meditationes_Vitae_Christi_a_response_to_Toth_and_Falvay (accessed 24 July 2015), McNamer expresses doubts about their evidence for the early-fourteenth-century date that they have claimed for the *Revelations of the Life of the Blessed Virgin Mary* that they cited in their rejection of her suggestion of Elizabeth of Töss.

[18] In a ca. 1335–40 cutting from an antiphonary at Harvard's Houghton Library, the female figure in the initial G who is dressed in a Dominican habit (even though G begins the first word [Gaude] of the Vespers antiphon for the feast of the famous St. Elizabeth of Hungary, who was associated with the Franciscan Third Order) has been identified as Blessed Elizabeth of Hungary, the daughter of Stephen V: see P. Palladino, *Treasures of a Lost Art: Italian Manuscript Painting of the Middle Ages and Renaissance* (New Haven, CT: Metropolitan Museum of Art, Yale University Press, 2003), cat. no. 23, p. 43. The Neapolitan Angevins were supporters of the Franciscan Spirituals (see also n. 38 below). Louis renounced the throne of the kingdom of Naples, Sicily and Jerusalem in 1296, was appointed bishop of Toulouse, joined the Franciscans and was canonized in 1317, and his mother, Mary of Hungary, ordered the reconstruction of the Poor Clare convent of Santa Maria Donna Regina in Naples. On the female spiritual progeny of the famous St. Elizabeth of Hungary see G. Klaniczay, *Holy Rulers and Blessed Princesses: Dynastic Cults in Medieval Central Europe*, trans. E. Pálmai (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), especially pp. 209–243; 259–62; 304–6. I have suggested the identification of Blessed Elizabeth as the possible source of the *Book of Revelations of the Virgin* to Sarah McNamer.

Although McNamer has returned to the more conventional view of the date of the text, her views on its original form and authorship have become even more controversial. In 2009, she published an article in which she proposed that a unique fifteenth-century manuscript (Oxford, Bodleian Library, Ms. Canonici ital. 174), comprised of a prologue and thirty chapters and written in Italian, is a copy of the earliest version of the *MVC* text, and that it was written by a nun, possibly a Poor Clare;[19] more recently, McNamer has further suggested that the nun-author resided in Pisa.[20] Scholars trained in philology expressed skepticism that this single fifteenth-century manuscript of Venetian provenance constitutes persuasive evidence for the original form of the *MVC*.[21] Yet McNamer's elaboration of her argument in her *Affective Meditation and the Invention of Medieval Compassion*,[22] published in 2010, received enthusiastic reviews in American journals. Though scholars have singled out the *MVC* for its vivid yet homely narrative of the life of Christ that encourages the reader to participate imaginatively in the story and to identify emotionally with its principal characters, at the same time they also note frequent transitions to more didactic material and passages of a more theological cast. McNamer asserts that the Canonici *MVC* does not evince those abrupt shifts from the

---

[19] S. McNamer, "The Origins of the *Meditationes vitae Christi*," *Speculum* 84 (2009): 905–955.

[20] McNamer, "The Author of the Italian *Meditations on the Life of Christ,*" p. 122. McNamer identifies Canonici Ms. ital. 174 as a Venetian manuscript but says that linguistic analysis indicates that the base text is Tuscan and that certain verb forms indicate Pisa.

[21] Falvay, "St. Elizabeth of Hungary in Italian Vernacular Literature," pp. 145–6, notes a lack of philological evidence for McNamer's claims. In "The Origins of the *Meditationes vitae Christi*," p. 949, McNamer expresses her view that the existence of just a single manuscript of the 'original' text (i.e., as represented in Canonici Ms. 174) suggests that it was actively censored, suppressed by the Franciscan Order that found its depiction of Christ unsatisfactory.

[22] McNamer, *Affective Meditation and the Invention of Medieval Compassion* (Philadelphia: Univ. of Pennsylvania Press, 2010).

dramatic and emotional narrative to the drier instructional passages, and that when its author does cite non-scriptural sources, especially Bernard of Clairvaux, as the source for particular insights, she does so in a more informal and less academic way.[23]

McNamer develops a bold hypothesis from the Canonici *MVC*. She gleans evidence of numerous interpolations in the ca. 100-chapter text, especially the long treatise on the active and contemplative lives and the many chapters devoted to Christ's public ministry. She also observes differences in style and content between the Canonici *MVC* and the ca. 40-chapter Italian *MVC*. From these data she proposes that the 30-chapter (plus prologue) Italian *MVC* text written by a female religious was subsequently redacted and expanded by a Franciscan friar. McNamer believes that this male redactor initially developed the ca. 40-chapter Italian *MVC* text from the ca. 30-chapter original and then enlarged it further into the ca. 100-chapter Italian text. This latter version, she argues, was then translated into Latin, which facilitated its translation into other vernacular languages throughout Europe.[24]

In her analysis of the Canonici *MVC*, McNamer builds a case for its female authorship largely upon stylistic grounds: in comparison with the other versions of the *MVC*, she argues that the ca. 30-chapter Canonici text is livelier and less didactic, inviting rather than exhorting the reader to love and compassion for Christ, and that it manifests a woman's point of view in telling the story, showing little interest in the theological discourse and concerns that surface in the other *MVC* manuscripts. She

---

[23] McNamer, "The Author of the Italian *Meditations on the Life of Christ,*" p. 128.

[24] Not surprisingly, McNamer and Stallings-Taney have different views on the original language of the *MVC*: Stallings-Taney, "Pseudo-Bonaventure *Meditaciones vite Christi*: Opus Integrum," pp. 263–4, believes that the author wrote in Latin and sometimes Latinized Italian words; McNamer, "The Origins of the *Meditationes vitae Christi*," pp. 921–6, argues that the original language of the *MVC* was Italian.

suggests that the female author was a highly intelligent nun, able to read Latin but without formal theological training, who was familiar with the genre of medieval romance. McNamer perceives the Canonici *MVC* as more consistently and completely shaped by an affective spirituality than the later redacted versions of the text and attributes that quality not to the likely *Franciscan* affiliation of its author but rather to her gender. McNamer rejects the standard view that the *Meditations'* focus on the cultivation of an affective response to the suffering Christ is due primarily to its emergence in a Franciscan milieu and argues, instead, that affective meditation and compassion for Christ were practiced and developed first among women religious. She writes, "the *Meditations* [*MVC*] fits better into a genealogy of affective meditations for women . . . than it does into the Franciscan tradition."[25] This claim is part of McNamer's larger thesis that religious women's receptivity to affective meditation, especially their intense devotion to the suffering, crucified Christ, in the high and late middle ages was related to changes in legal thought that defined "marital affection" as a criterion of a valid marriage. McNamer proposes that nuns, betrothed to Christ by their vows, would spend their cloistered lives proving themselves worthy brides by demonstrating their intensely loving devotion to the *Sponsus*, with the hope that their marital affection would ultimately be validated and spiritual union with Christ consummated upon death.[26] In

---

[25] McNamer, *Affective Meditation and the Invention of Medieval Compassion*, p. 88. McNamer does acknowledge that scholars have long recognized that the female audience was a critical factor in shaping the *MVC* but she argues that they typically assimilate that to Franciscan devotion to the human suffering Christ whereas she believes that the female origination of the *MVC* and its affective spirituality was prior to its appropriation by the Franciscans. Derbes, *Picturing the Passion*, p. 21, notes that a significant number of thirteenth-century Passion cycles were painted for Poor Clare settings but does not draw any larger conclusions from that.

[26] McNamer, *Affective Meditation and the Invention of Medieval Compassion*, pp. 15–16, 47–49.

fact, McNamer identifies the Franciscan feature of the Canonici *MVC* not in the pathos that suffuses the text but rather in its praises of poverty.[27]

In the scenario that McNamer advances, the development of the ca. 40-chapter and subsequently the ca. 100-chapter versions of the *MVC* was the work of a Franciscan friar who was dissatisfied with the female author's creation of a Christ who was too human and vulnerable. McNamer sees the Franciscan impress in the redacted versions of the *MVC* not in terms of affective spirituality but rather in its orthodox theology, which she identifies with the didactic elements and the passages in the longer *MVC* texts that insist on Christ's divinity and kingship alongside his humanity.[28] Whereas the Canonici *MVC* shows little evidence of an effort to proclaim its Franciscan bona fides, there are several overtly Franciscan references in the longer versions that McNamer attributes to the male redactor's strong institutional allegiances.[29]

McNamer has presented a provocative argument, one that is sure to be energetically tested by scholars of medieval texts when her edition of the Canonici *MVC* is published.[30] From my perusal of the typescript of her transcription and translation of

---

[27] Ibid., p. 111.

[28] Ibid., p. 108. See also McNamer, "The Origins of the *Meditationes vitae Christi*," pp. 933–45. M. Meany, "The *Meditaciones vite Christi* as a Book of Prayer," *Franciscan Studies* 64 (2006): 217–34, comments on the high Christology of the Passion account in the long Latin *MVC* but she sees the friar-author (whom she identifies as John de Caulibus) as sharing almost a collaborative relationship with his Poor Clare reader. In Meany's remarks about the significance of the allusions to Christ's Royal Lordship, she observes that Clare's *Letters to Agnes of Prague* refer to Jesus as the Royal Spouse who reigns as the Lamb on the altar.

[29] McNamer, "The Author of the Italian *Meditations on the Life of Christ,*" pp. 122–5. McNamer states that Poor Clares had weaker institutional ties to the Franciscan order than did the friars. In this regard, she also notes that St. Bernard seems to have had a greater impact on the nun-author than did St. Francis.

[30] McNamer's claims need to be confirmed by text scholars qualified to make a systematic and detailed comparison of the different versions of the *MVC*. There are passages in Canonici Ms.

the Canonici text that she generously provided, I generally agree with her characterization of its stylistic qualities and its less "academic" tone. In comparison, the ca. 40-chapter version seems to have been shaped with a desire for more logical coherence and the creation of an overall "tidier" work: for example, the transitions between chapters in the Canonici *MVC* are sometimes abrupt and minor details of chronology neglected, as though its author was intent above all on conveying the emotional "truth" of the episode and less preoccupied with pedantic concerns. Yet, for all that, it deserves noting that the prologue of the Canonici *MVC* frames the work in moralizing and didactic terms as much as affective ones. Though it opens by exalting St. Cecilia as the exemplary meditant who "wrote down"[31] some of her devotions, it quickly moves to a lengthy explanation of the benefits of continual meditation on the life of Christ—essentially variations on the theme of virtues to strive for and vices to avoid, e.g., ". . .whoever follows him [Christ] cannot go wrong and cannot be deceived, for following

---

ital. 174 that do not conform to her thesis, e.g., a passage on fol. 99v in the Passion narrative following the piercing of Christ's side that shows the author taking a didactic turn precisely where one would instead expect a female author to indulge in the intensely emotional—even erotic—response more typical of women's devotional literature. This passage is not in the Snite manuscript nor in BnF, Ms. ital. 115. Conversely, e.g., Canonici Ms. ital. 174 lacks the sentence in the ca. 40-chapter *MVC* that describes the Virgin Mary's inquiries to Jesus about the trials he endured in his forty days in the desert and how grieved she was to see him so thin—a classic maternal reaction; see Sarri, *Le Meditazioni della vita di Cristo,* pp. 87–8; Snite *MVC*, fol. 53v.

[31] McNamer, "The Author of the Italian *Meditations on the Life of Christ,*" pp. 133–4, says that the Canonici *MVC* is unique in describing Cecilia as a writer and quotes Canonici, Ms. ital. 174, fol. 1r: ". . .ella [St. Cecilia] se *havea scrito* algune electe cose più devote de la vite de miser Iesù Cristo" (italics mine). The ca. 40-chapter and ca. 100-chapter *MVC* use the verb "choose" rather than "write," e.g., Sarri, *Le Meditazioni della vita di Cristo,* p. 1: ". . .ella [St. Cecilia] *avea iscelte* alquante cose piu divote della vita di Jesù Cristo che si leggono nel santo Vangelio; sulle quali pensava die e note con tutto 'l suo cuore. . ." (italics mine). Snite *MVC*, fol. 1r, is similar to Sarri but "avea sciolte" (not "iscelte") is used, which raises the possibility of scribal confusion between "scrito" and "sciolte," though it does not solve which came first.

and acquiring his virtues is the summit of perfection."[32] The author clearly subscribes to the orthodox Christian view that being conformed to Christ will necessarily entail detaching oneself from worldly preoccupations and conforming to the moral law.[33]

It is also interesting that the Canonici text quotes more frequently and precisely from scripture in the Passion chapters than do the other versions of the *MVC*. That is consistent with the intelligence of its hypothetical nun-author and the books that McNamer believes she had at hand, and it might also indicate an author conscious of self-imposed constraints in her retelling of Christ's life. The Canonici *MVC* also includes a few intriguing passages of a pronounced theological cast that McNamer has not yet discussed. The most striking example is its panegyric on the liberation effected by Christ's death made manifest in his descent into hell.[34] Strongly reminiscent of early Christian or Byzantine homiletic and liturgical texts, the passage—if part of the original

---

[32] Canonici, Ms. ital. 174, fol. 3r.

[33] Cf. L. F. Hundersmarck, "Reforming Life by Conforming it to the Life of Christ: Pseudo-Bonaventure's *Meditaciones Vite Christi*," in *Reform and Renewal in the Middle Ages and Renaissance: Studies in Honor of Louis Pascoe, S.J.*, ed. T. M. Izbicki and C. M. Bellitto (Leiden: Brill, 2000), pp. 93–112.

[34] Canonici, Ms. ital. 174, fol. 96r, which McNamer translates as: "And as soon as Christ died, his soul descended into limbo to the holy fathers, who awaited him with great joy. O blessed death, through which humankind was liberated from the hands of the devil! O death, through which the gates of paradise were opened! O sinner, behold, then, this banner which today was raised on high, in which our salvation and our life hangs! This is the banner of paradise, which today is deployed. This is the lamb of our redemption. This is that desired treasure of paradise, which will never lose value; that is, the precious blood of Lord Jesus Christ, which he poured out for our liberation. These are the windows of heaven, that is the wounds of Lord Jesus, through which we may enter into the kingdom of heaven. This is the stairway by which the sinner may climb to heaven. This is the mirror in which sinners may see themselves reflected. This is the tree which blossoms with all virtues, which comforts the sinners and calls them to the road of salvation; and no one is able to enter into the kingdom of heaven if not by means of it. Therefore, O sinner, plant this tree, that is, the Passion of your creator, in the middle of your heart; and remember that he suffered this most bitter death for you."

MVC as hypothesized by McNamer—indicates an author who appreciated erudite religious prose.[35]

In their lengthy paper published in late 2014, "New Light on the Date and Authorship of the *Meditationes vitae Christi*," Peter Tóth and Dávid Falvay articulate their objections to McNamer's proposals regarding the origin and authorship of the *MVC*. The case that they make for its original form adheres more to the traditional view but they identify an author with an unexpected biography. Tóth and Falvay first argue that two sermons dating to the 1320s attributed to Michael de Massa, an Augustinian theologian from Siena who was a university master in Paris, include material drawn from the *MVC*, specifically the dialogue between the Virgin Mary and Christ at the meal in the house of the Magdalen on Wednesday of Holy Week when the Virgin begs her son not to go to Jerusalem to suffer the Passion. The *MVC* episode, which has typically been cited as an example of fanciful nonscriptural material conceived for melodramatic effect for the female reader, is used by Michael de Massa as a narrative guise for the scholastic argument, inspired by Anselm's *Cur deus homo,* for the necessity for Christ's sacrificial death.[36]

---

[35] Cf., the extensive early fourteenth-century fresco cycle of scenes from the life of Christ in the choir of the Clarissan convent of Santa Maria Donna Regina in Naples, which scholars have argued drew upon the *MVC* for iconographical details and which bore *tituli* in Latin that paraphrased biblical and non-biblical sources, e.g., "Mortem vincit sua morte reseravit seras porte sue mortis gratia," beneath the scene of the Resurrection and Descent into Limbo; see Cathleen A. Fleck, "'To exercise yourself in these things by continued contemplation': Visual and textual literacy in the frescoes at Santa Maria Donna Regina," in *The Church of Santa Maria Donna Regina,* ed. J. Elliott and C. Warr (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2004), p. 112. Meany, "The *Meditaciones vite Christi* as a Book of Prayer," p. 223, notes the profusion of liturgical texts paraphrased in the *MVC*.

[36] Tóth and Falvay. "New Light on the Date and Authorship of the *Meditationes vitae Christi*," pp. 17–52. See also P. Tóth, "Pseudo-Apocryphal Dialogue as a Tool for the Memorization of Scholastic Wisdom: The Farewell of Christ to Mary and the *Liber de vita Christi* by Jacobus," in *The Making of Memory in the Middle Ages*, ed. L. Dolezalová (Leiden: Brill, 2010), pp. 176–82.

In the sermons, Michael de Massa cites as his source a "Book on the Life of Christ" written by Jacobus, the brother of the Lord. Tóth and Falvay reject the notion that this indicates the existence of an early apocryphal text attributed to James Minor but note that "there exists a particular recension containing the Italian version of the long Latin text of the *MVC* that explicitly attributes the text to a Jacobus."[37] Based upon archival and manuscript evidence, they identify this Jacobus as Jacobus de San Gimignano, a Franciscan friar who led the 1312 rebellion of the Tuscan Spirituals against their conventual brethren. He fled in 1314 to the protection of King Frederick II of Sicily and then to North Africa after succssive papal bulls in 1317 and 1318 condemned the radical Franciscan movement.[38] Tóth and Falvay propose that Jacobus de San Gimignano's zeal for the original Franciscan ideal of poverty is consistent with the special emphasis on poverty in the *MVC* text and observe that his official condemnation as leader of the Tuscan Spirituals would account for the transmission of the *MVC* as the work of an anonymous author and also for its later attribution to Bonaventure, whose name would have conferred the necessary veneer of orthodoxy and authority. They do not speculate on any possibility that Jacobus was a spiritual advisor to Franciscan nuns.

Tóth and Falvay further develop a critique of McNamer's argument for the priority of the Canonici *MVC* as the original version of the text. They cite a lack of philological evidence for her claim, noting that no one has yet thoroughly compared the most significant versions of the *MVC* text. They analyze certain *MVC* passages across

---

[37] Tóth and Falvay, "New Light on the Date and Authorship of the *Meditationes vitae Christi*," p. 60.

[38] D. Burr, *The Spiritual Franciscans* (University Park: Pennsylvania State Univ. Press, 2001), p. 180, notes than some of the rebels who fled to Tunis later returned to Italy and settled in Naples.

different versions of the text to demonstrate that the Canonici manuscript is anomalous and shows "multiple signs of textual corruptions and simplifications, which are usually interpreted as markers of a later reworking and not of an earlier, more genuine text."[39] Invoking the philological principle of the originality of the *lectio difficilior*, they reject McNamer's reasoning that the *MVC* originated as a simpler, more vivid and direct text that was subsequently elaborated by a later redactor. Whereas McNamer regards the inclusion of place names and details pertinent to a specific locality in the long *MVC* text as the work of a later editor, Tóth and Falvay interpret the absence of such local details in the Canonici *MVC* as evidence that its redactor sought to simplify the original, more explicit text. From their study of various manuscripts, Tóth and Falvay conclude that the original form of the *MVC* dates to ca. 1300 and was the long Latin version that was subsequently translated into Italian—they regard BnF, Ms. ital. 115, the *MVC* best known to art historians, as the foremost example of this—from which the 41-chapter Italian version was derived.[40] Moreoever, in contrast to McNamer's perception of a trend toward greater clerical control of a text written by a woman religious little concerned about theological doctrine, Tóth and Falvay think that the *MVC* text was consciously constructed to allow the reader to imagine the episodes from the life of Christ in ways most congenial to her imagination.[41] They cite the two modes for meditation on the nailing of Christ to the cross offered in the ca. 100-chapter *MVC* text and in the ca. 40-chapter text as evidence that room to improvise is embedded in the narrative; they also

[39] Ibid., p. 73; see also p. 79.

[40] Ibid., p. 93.

[41] Ibid., p. 77.

note the many conditional constructions in the text.[42] However, Tóth and Falvay are essentially silent on the question of how gender might have shaped the text.[43]

The Canonici *MVC* is not illustrated, nor are most *MVC* manuscripts, perhaps in part because the text is so visual that actual pictures may have been regarded as a hindrance to the exercise of the reader's own imagination.[44] Interestingly, the four extant fourteenth-century *MVC* manuscripts that are extensively illustrated are all different versions of the text and are decorated with different pictorial programs.[45] Thus, even though scholars have demonstrated that religious imagery was especially developed for

---

[42] Ibid., p. 77, n. 188. McNamer has a very different interpretation of the reasons for the inclusion of two modes of meditation on the affixing of Christ to the cross as will be discussed on pp. 25–6 below.

[43] Sarah McNamer responded to Tóth and Falvay on 4 February 2015: https://www.academia.edu/10525588/New_Light_on_the_Date_and_Authorship_of_the_Meditationes_Vitae_Christi_a_response_to_Toth_and_Falvay (accessed 24 July 2015). She continues to reject the inevitability of the principle of the *lectio difficilior* and reasserts her view that, in the case of the textual tradition of the *MVC*, the trend was from simple to complex. She also points out an error in their transcription of a word in the Canonici *MVC* that they had cited as an instance of the corruption of the text. In addition to raising new doubts about Tóth and Falvay's evidence for the early-fourteenth-century date that they have claimed for the *Revelations of the Life of the Blessed Virgin Mary*, McNamer also expresses reservations about their argument that Michael de Massa must have drawn from the *MVC* account of the dialogue between the Virgin and Christ on Wednesday of Holy Week for his sermons and raises the possibility that he might have relied upon an entirely different work.

[44] M. Karnes, *Imagination, Meditation and Cognition in the Middle Ages* (Chicago and London: Univ. of Chicago Press, 2011), p. 168, considers that the narrative text offers more scope for the imagination than would sensory images. If Toth and Falvay are correct in their conjecture that the author was a Spiritual Franciscan, he may have desired to create a text whose vividness obviated the need for the "luxury" of pictures.

[45] They are: Oxford, Corpus Christi College, Ms. 410 (Latin text; 154 illustrations); Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Ms. ital. 115 (Italian text; 193 illustrations); Notre Dame, Indiana, Snite Museum of Art, Acc. No. 85. 25 (Italian text; 48 illustrations); Ramsen, Switzerland, Antiquariat Bibermühle Heribert Tenschert, Meditationes vitae Christi manuscript (Latin text; 27 illustrations). There is also an illustrated manuscript in French, ca. 1420: London, British Library, Ms. Royal 20 B IV (98 illustrations).

cloistered women,[46] the illustrated examples of the *MVC* seem not to shed much light specifically on McNamer's thesis. Moreover, the textual additions and revisions that McNamer considers the work of the friar-redactor insistent upon the divinity of Christ and keen for more didactic content are the kind of thing that resist pictorial representation.[47] McNamer herself observes that though the redactor altered the nun-author's text, he nevertheless "absorbed most of the lively, dramatic, and moving scenes of the Canonici text into the revised versions"[48]—those provided ample subject matter for extensive illustration.

The most famous of the illustrated manuscripts is Paris, BnF, Ms. ital. 115, which was translated and edited by Ragusa and Green[49] and is widely known among art historians. Written in Italian and copiously illustrated with pen and wash drawings,[50] it is an example of the ca. 100-chapter *MVC*. Isa Ragusa and Holly Flora have asserted that it

---

[46] J. Hamburger's work on images for women religious is particularly insightful, e.g., the essays in his *The Visual and the Visionary: Art and Female Spirituality in Late Medieval Germany* (New York: Zone Books, 1998).

[47] Cf., H. Flora, *The Devout Belief of the Imagination: The Paris "Meditationes vitae Christi" and Female Franciscan Spirituality in Trecento Italy* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2009), p. 87, notes that the moralizing portions of the *MVC* manuscript she studies (Paris, BnF, Ms. ital. 115) are not illustrated, and that the narrative of the life of Christ takes priority in its illustrational program.

[48] McNamer, "The Author of the Italian *Meditations on the Life of Christ,*" p. 135.

[49] Isa Ragusa and Rosalie B. Green (eds.), *Meditations on the Life of Christ: An Illustrated Manuscript of the Fourteenth Century, Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Ms. ital. 115*, trans. I. Ragusa (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1961).

[50] The 193 illustrations of the Paris *MVC* extend only from chapter one through thirty-nine; of those, 113 illustrations were completed and colored, the next 70 were drawn but not colored. For chapters 40 through 100, space was left for a further 104 illustrations but none were executed. The text of the Paris *MVC* ends just after the account of the Arrest of Christ on fol. 206r. Ragusa and Green (trans.), *Meditations,* p. 325, n. 207 (p. 401), state that they continued their translation from the 1868 Latin edition of the works of Bonaventure.

is the earliest Italian *MVC* from which they believe the Latin version was translated;[51] McNamer claims that it is a flawed Italian translation from the Latin text.[52] In her monograph on BnF, Ms. ital. 115, Flora argues that it was produced in Pisa c. 1340–50, likely for the Franciscan women's convent of Santa Chiara Novella at San Martino.[53]

Flora published her monograph on BnF, Ms. ital. 115 in 2009, apparently unaware of McNamer's arguments (also published in 2009) for the priority of the Canonici *MVC* text and its origins as the work of a woman religious that was significantly revised by a friar to align it with Franciscan orthodox theology.[54] Like Ragusa, Flora holds that the famous Paris manuscript was made for a Poor Clare reader and is designed to appeal to her. Flora accepts the evidence within the text of the Paris *MVC* that indicates that the author was a Franciscan friar writing for a Poor Clare, but she perceives his relationship to his reader in positive terms and casts him as a conscientious spiritual advisor who takes joy in writing to inspire and edify his spiritual sister.[55] Flora envisions the *MVC* text as emerging from the friar's responsiveness to his charge's concerns and needs as a

---

[51] Flora, *Devout Belief of the Imagination*, pp. 33, 42.

[52] McNamer, *Affective Meditation and the Invention of Medieval Compassion*, p. 106.

[53] Neither Flora nor McNamer have addressed the question of why—if the text of the Canonici *MVC* was originally written by a Franciscan nun in Pisa c. 1305–15—the Poor Clares there would have commissioned an illustrated manuscript of the long *MVC* text, which, moreover, may have been translated from the Latin rather than from the long Italian version that was already circulating by ca. 1340.

[54] H. Flora, "Gender, Image, and Devotion in Illustrated Manuscripts of the *Meditationes Vitae Christi*," in *Beyond the Text: Franciscan Art and the Construction of Religion*, ed. X. Seubert and O. Bychkov (St. Bonaventure, NY: Franciscan Institute, 2013), p. 160, n. 1, and pp. 176–7, acknowledges McNamer's thesis that the *MVC* text originated with a nun, but she does not engage with it beyond a few sentences.

[55] Flora, *Devout Belief of the Imagination*, pp. 42–3. The friar-author also makes clear that writing has been time-consuming.

woman religious, whose devotional life "inspired" the text.[56] Whereas McNamer sees the Franciscan friar's redaction as motivated by an inclination to "discipline" the original text, Flora describes his intentions in the ca. 100-chapter text of the Paris manuscript in generally benign terms. Nonetheless, she does discuss how the Paris *MVC* was informed by medieval presuppositions about female carnality and the special appropriateness of images for women religious, and she considers how its text and images were shaped by the male religious view of the virtues and exemplars compatible with a woman's cloistered life. In a passage in the treatise on the active and contemplative lives that is part of the long *MVC* text, the male author indicates that for the "imperfect" (i.e., a spiritual beginner such as a nun or layperson), meditation on the humanity of Christ is most appropriate, and his book is meant to facilitate that through its imaginative and emotional narratives. [57]

Flora analyzes the Paris *MVC* primarily in terms of how its text and illustrations together were designed with the Poor Clare audience in mind, with the nuns possibly having had input into the pictorial program.[58] She describes their engagement with Ms. ital. 115 in terms of "performative devotional experiences" that prompt and deepen affective meditation. Because the pictorial program of the manuscript is so extensive, Flora focuses on certain themes to show how it speaks specifically to a cloistered female audience. She discusses its abundance of holy female role models and especially its encouragement of *imitatio Mariae*, its lessons in mental pilgrimage, and its promotion of

---

[56] Ibid., p. 47.

[57] Ibid., pp. 45, 88 and 91.

[58] Ibid., p. 23.

poverty and charity. Flora makes an interesting case for how the Paris *MVC* would have allowed the Poor Clare contemplating its pages to participate in a "virtual" active life of the male mendicant refracted through the prism of Christ's life, even though she would have been confined to the cloister.

While there is no uniformity among the four extant illustrated fourteenth-century Meditations manuscripts, the Paris *MVC* is exceptional in several regards. It is the only manuscript on paper, it is larger in dimensions than the others—notebook as compared to pocketbook size;[59]it is more copiously illustrated and if completed would have included almost 400 pictures;[60] its pictures consist of delicate pen-and-wash drawings and are not circumscribed by rectilinear frames; and the illustrations are accompanied by brief captions that identify the principal figures or note the action depicted (Plate 49).[61] Because the text is so frequently interrupted by an illustration that represents the scene that has just been/is about to be narrated—almost like a filmstrip—and the pictures are accompanied with captions, Flora proposes that the book was designed for nuns with varying levels of literacy and for use both in private and group settings.

In format and layout, the three other illustrated Trecento *MVC* manuscripts are more conventional. The next largest in size is Oxford, Corpus Christi College, Ms. 410, whose long Latin text is accompanied by 154 illuminations within rectangular frames that

---

[59] Ibid., p. 88; see p. 51, n. 8 for comparative dimensions of the four manuscripts.

[60] Ibid., p. 67.

[61] For a discussion of the captions and instructions to the artist in the Paris *MVC*, see H. Flora, "Tensions in Textual Exegesis: Word and Picture in an Illustrated Manuscript of the Meditationes Vitae Christi," *IKON* 1 (2008): 123-32.

generally appear at the beginning of the chapters they illustrate.[62] Though Stallings-Taney used it as a key text for her edition of the Latin *MVC,* and more than fifty years ago Otto Pächt proposed that its Annunciation miniature (Plate 50) likely depended on an earlier illuminated *MVC* of c. 1300 that may have informed the iconography of the kneeling Annunicate Virgin in the Arena Chapel,[63] the CCC 410 illuminations and their relationship to the text have not been much studied. Recently, Renana Bartal has published articles on the manuscript, focusing on how the use of compositional devices and motifs in its illuminations prompts theological and moral reflection.[64] Bartal does not explore questions of its style or date beyond suggesting fourteenth-century Perugia and observing a similarity to the work of an illuminator who participated in the decoration of the San Lorenzo choirbooks there, ca. 1320.[65] Its opening page includes portraits of both a male and a female figure that Bartal identifies as St. Francis and either St. Clare or the female owner; she proposes that the primary reader was either a Poor Clare or a woman with close ties to the Franciscans, albeit one educated in Latin and from a wealthy

---

[62] Ibid., pp. 58–60. See also J. J. G. Alexander and E. Temple, *Illuminated Manuscripts in Oxford College Libraries, the University Archives, and the Taylor Institution* (Oxford: Oxford Univ. Press, 1985), no. 908; R. M. Thomson, *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Medieval Manuscripts of Corpus Christi College, Oxford: Western Manuscripts* (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 2011), pp. 156–7, no. 410. The miniatures in CCC 410 do not quite extend to equal the width of the lines of text but rather align with the left edge of the text so that very short lines of text typically appear adjacent to the right side of the picture frame.

[63] O. Pächt, Review of *Meditations on the Life of Christ: An Illustrated Manuscript of the Fourteenth Century, Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Ms. ital. 115*, translated by I. Ragusa, edited by Isa Ragusa and Rosalie B. Green, *Medium Aevum* 32 (1963): 234–6.

[64] R. Bartal, "Repetition, Opposition, and Invention in an Illuminated *Meditationes vitae Christi*: Oxford, Corpus Christi College, MS 410," *Gesta* 53:2 (2014): 155–74; and, R. Bartal, "Ducitur et reducitur: Passion Devotion and Mental Motion in an Illuminated *Meditationes Vitae Christi* Manuscript (Oxford, Corpus Christi College, MS 410)," in *Visual Constructs of Jerusalem,* ed. B. Kühnel, G. Noga-Banai, and H. Vorholt (Turnhout: Brepols, 2014), pp. 369–79.

[65] Bartal, "Repetition, Opposition, and Invention," p. 156, and n. 6.

background given the deluxe quality of the manuscript.[66] Bartal seems largely to share Flora's view of the *MVC* text as the work of a Franciscan friar employing affective strategies tailored to female spirituality but she perceives a notable contrast between the cinematic quality of the illustrations in BnF, Ms. ital. 115 and the more theologically-nuanced illuminations of CCC 410. She argues that its illustrations were designed not only to encourage the reader's imaginative participation in the events of Christ's life but also to stimulate the reader-viewer's active interpretation about how discrete Christological episodes are theologically or morally related.

Although Bartal summarizes some of the recent scholarship on the date and authorship of the *MVC* text and cites McNamer's work, she does not directly address the implications that they might have for one's understanding of the conception and function of the CCC 410 *MVC*. Her silence on those issues is perplexing, especially as the manuscript was the base text for Stallings-Taney's critical edition, and both the deluxe quality of its illuminations and their didactic elements put it at some remove from the origins of the *MVC* that McNamer argues for.[67] In fact, the subject of one of the Passion illuminations in CCC 410 is perceived in diametrically opposite ways by Flora and McNamer. Flora sees a notable emphasis in its illuminations on the humanity and

---

[66] Ibid., p. 157. Flora, *Devout Belief of the Imagination*, p. 58, suggests that a male donor figure is represented later in the manuscript and that the male and female owners may have been Franciscan Tertiaries. As C. B. Strehlke, "A Celibate Marriage and Franciscan Poverty Reflected in a Neapolitan Trecento Diptych," *The J. Paul Getty Museum Journal* 15 (1987): 79–96, has shown, close ties to Spiritual Franciscans, membership in the Third Order, and a commitment to chastity and poverty need not have precluded a devout widow from commissioning an expensive religious painting.

[67] Bartal may intend to explore these issues in her current project on *"The Late Medieval Meditationes Vitae Christi: Image, Imagination and Passion Devotion"* that she describes on her web page as a member of a program sponsored by the Hebrew University of Jerusalem devoted to "Visual Translations of Jerusalem." See: http://www.spectrum.huji.ac.il/Renana%20Bartal.shtml (accessed 17 July 2015).

suffering of Christ typically associated with Franciscan priorities and notes the prominence of women in its picture program.[68] She points to the representation of Christ ascending the ladder to the cross (Plate 51) as evidence of the Franciscan appreciation for that image type as conveying Christ's humility and willingness to die for the salvation of humankind.[69] McNamer, in contrast, in her view of the development of the *MVC text*, interprets the inclusion of the moment of Christ's ascent of the cross quite differently. The ascent is offered as the first mode for meditating upon the Crucifixion in the *texts* of the ca. 40- and ca. 100-chapter *MVC.* McNamer sees this as evidence of the Franciscan friar-redactor's concern to insist upon the kingship and divinity of Christ.[70] The ca. 30-chapter Canonici *MVC* describes only the attachment of Christ to a recumbent cross, which the longer versions of the *MVC* include as a second mode for meditation. McNamer thinks the prone crucifixion demonstrates the nun-author's intense focus upon the pathos inherent in Christ's vulnerability and suffering in order to elicit her reader's compassion: cast as a passive victim in this mode, Christ voices his willing submission to the crucifixion only *after* having been yanked and nailed to the cross lying on the ground. Although Bartal does not discuss the CCC 410 illumination of Christ's ascent of the cross, she concludes her discussion of some of its Infancy illuminations with the observation that "the main goal of the *Meditationes* text [was] to enable the Poor Clare

---

[68] Flora, *Devout Belief of the Imagination*, pp. 58–60.

[69] Ibid., p. 60; the miniature reproduced on p. 61, fig. 7 is the *preceding* illumination of Christ disrobing before mounting the ladder. On the iconography of Christ's Ascent to the Cross, see Derbes, *Picturing the Passion,* ch. 6.

[70] McNamer, "The Origins of the *Meditationes vitae Christi*," pp. 938–45.

reader to contemplate Christ's Incarnation and use the dramatic accounts of his life to attain knowledge of his divinity."[71]

An interest in Christ's Passion seems to have shaped the unusual form of the Tenschert manuscript.[72] It is a Latin text with 27 illustrations and is the smallest in size of the fourteenth-century examples. Based upon the incipit, the text has been identified as belonging to the *MVC* family. However, the manuscript contains an assortment of texts: the rubrics listed in the catalogue entry indicate that Passion chapters precede the Infancy chapters, and a wide variety of texts mostly pertaining to the vices and virtues are scattered throughout. Thus, narrative chronology is ignored in favor of situating meditation on the lives of Christ and Mary as a prompt for both moral and spiritual conversion. The manuscript seems to have been made for an educated man entering a monastery or friary.[73] The miniatures depict scenes from the life of Christ and Mary in a half-page rectangular format and are only loosely related to the text. They do not serve as illustrations to introduce individual chapters as in CCC 410 or to represent specific narrative moments within a chapter as in BnF, Ms. ital. 115. Sometimes they are placed in relation to the didactic texts so that, for example, the miniature of Christ withdrawing to the desert is represented following a two-page text on solitude. The impact of Giotto's Arena Chapel frescoes is apparent in some of the illuminations, especially the miniature of the Arrest of Christ (Plate 52). The catalogue entry attributes the manuscript to a

---

[71] Bartal, "Repetition, Opposition, and Invention in an Illuminated *Meditationes vitae Christi*," pp. 169–70.

[72] E. König (ed.), *Leuchtendes Mittelalter, Neue Folge II: dreiunddreißig mittelalterliche Handschriften aus Byzanz, Italien, Frankreich, Deutschland, Flandern und Niederlanden vom 11. bis zum frühen 16. Jahrhundert* (Rotthalmünster: H. Tenschert, 1998), cat. n. 8.

[73] Fol. 129v: *de intrantibus religionem*

follower of Giotto and localizes it to Padua, after 1305. However, the vigorous and almost crude style of the miniatures suggests a provincial product, perhaps from northern Italy. Like Flora, I think they date to the later fourteenth century, not least because the miscellaneous texts included in the codex are at some remove from the established versions of the *MVC*.

The *Meditations on the Life of Christ* manuscript in the Snite Museum at the University of Notre Dame (acc. no. 85.25) is the only illustrated fourteenth-century example of the ca. 40-chapter Italian text yet identified.[74] In almost every aspect, it impresses one as a kind of "golden mean": it presents the story of the life of Christ in a vivid and compelling manner, includes the didactic passages though toning down some of the emphases on poverty, and illustrates each chapter with miniatures that mostly employ conventional iconographies while including innovative details. Unsigned and undated, the manuscript was given to the Snite Museum in 1985 by Ann McNear in memory of her husband, Everett McNear.[75] Now in a modern binding, it was originally a book of 128 folios of which 121 survive, and consists of 43 chapters plus a prologue that are illustrated by 48 miniatures (Plates 1–48). The chapters fall into three almost equal categories, devoted respectively to Mary's early life and Christ's Infancy, his Passion, and his post-Passion appearances; there are no chapters devoted to his adult ministry nor

---

[74] McNamer, "Further Evidence for the Date of the Pseudo-Bonaventuran *Meditationes vitae Christi*," p. 257, observed that there are several manuscripts of the ca. 40-chapter Italian text, and it is more cohesive than the ca. 100-chapter *MVC* text. Thus, the strong possibility remains that it is the original version. Falvay, "St. Elizabeth of Hungary in Italian Vernacular Literature," p. 149, n. 39, states that he and Tommaso Gramigni are working on a joint publication of the Italian *MVC* manuscripts.

[75] The history of the manuscript since its arrival in America in the mid-nineteenth-century is presented in an Appendix.

the treatise on the active and contemplative lives. The way in which the chapters of the ca. 40-chapter *MVC* fall into three categories suggests that it could well be the original version of the text: it seems like a conscious decision to use the three stages of Christ's life to focus on the vulnerability which the Son of God accepted in becoming a human infant; the suffering he endured in the Passion; and the victory he experienced in the Resurrection.[76]

The text in the Snite *MVC* most resembles part of the edition of the Italian text published in 1933 by Sarri:[77] the portions that reproduce the text of Florence, Biblioteca Riccardiana, Ms. 1419, also a fourteenth-century manuscript.[78] The Snite manuscript lacks some references pertinent to life as a religious in the longer text[79] though there is no clear pattern to the omissions. Many features of the long text that seem pitched to a cloistered nun but much less appealing to a worldly layman—such as the emphasis on Christ's humility and self-abasement as a model for the reader—are retained, albeit shorn of Bernardine exegesis.[80] Like the other versions of the *MVC*, the Snite text is peppered

---

[76] In a similar vein, it is interesting that the Crucifixion miniature in the Snite MVC would have been the thirty-third illumination, if miniatures for three of the earlier chpaters were not missing, i.e., the Dispute between Mercy and Truth; Christ among the Doctors; Jesus between age thirteen and thirty.

[77] Francesco Sarri (ed.), *"Le meditazione della vita di Cristo" di un frate minore del secolo XIV* (Milan: Società Editrice "Vita e Pensiero," 1933).

[78] See McNamer, "The Origins of the *Meditationes vitae Christi*," p. 910, n. 8, on the nomenclature of the Italian versions of the *MVC* and on the peculiarities of Sarri's edition.

[79] E.g., it lacks the description of the young John the Baptist as the first hermit and model for the religious in the chapter on the Return from Egypt.

[80] E.g., in the two chapters in the Snite *MVC* that treat Christ's life in the period between his dispute among the doctors in the temple and his baptism, the emphasis is on Christ's exemplary mediocrity and contemptibility from his adolescence through his twenties as a lesson for the reader that earthly achievements are meaningless and an obstacle to humility. However, the

by invocations to the reader to "see" and "watch" the episode being described so that while the life of Christ is narrated as a historical event, the author intends that it be eternally present to the meditant.[81] In phrases such as "observe [or consider] attentively" and "watch and have compassion," the author urges the reader to witness the Christological events not as a dispassionate observer but as an emotionally engaged participant. The reader's imagined involvement is to be a whole body experience: s/he is instructed to stay with the holy family in the episodes of Christ's infancy, to help with his care, to kneel before holy personages and ask their blessing at the beginning and close of an episode. In the Infancy chapters where Christ is small and vulnerable, the reader is encouraged to "touch" and "hold" him, an invitation redolent with eucharistic significance. Even when the author recognizes that the subject to be imagined, i.e., the First Person of the Trinity who wills the Incarnation, is incorporeal, the reader is urged to

> Be attentive here and study as much as you are able to be present with your mind to those things that are said and done [at the Annunciation] and imagine here and regard God the Father accordingly as you are able because he has no body, but put in your mind as if he is a great king who sits upon a most excellent throne with a kind face, pious and paternal. . .[82] (Plate 2)

Following the list of chapters at the close of the *MVC* text, the Snite manuscript concludes with a short anecdote that relates a eucharistic vision experienced by a saintly

---

treatise on humility derived from Bernard's sermons that appears in the chapter on Christ's journey to his baptism in the long version of the *MVC* is absent.

[81] Karnes, *Imagination, Meditation and Cognition in the Middle Ages,* ch. 4, discusses the function of the imagination in the *MVC*. See Flora, *Devout Belief of the Imagination*, p. 46, on the use of the historical present tense in the *MVC*.

[82] Snite *MVC*, fol. 8v: "attendi bene qui e studiati quanto puoi d esser presente colla mente a quelle cose che qui se dicano e si fanno e inmagina qui e riguarda dio padre segondamente che tu poi in percio che no a corpo ma polli mente si como uno gram re lo quale siede sopra una sedia excellentissima con uno volto benigno pietoxo e paterno. . . "

bishop Albert, which seems to be an early version of a story associated with Albert the Great.[83] The pronounced Dominican presence in Bologna probably accounts for the inclusion of this text. It says that while celebrating Mass, Albert beseeched Christ to tell him what to do to be a good Christian. Christ responds by articulating eight aphorisms in which he juxtaposes the quiet, genuine Christian behavior that is pleasing to God against the extravagant but insincere act of piety. The anecdote reinforces one of the main themes of the *MVC* text—how to be a true follower of Christ—but speaks of behaviors that would be pertinent to people living in the world rather than nuns cloistered in a convent.

The Snite manuscript is pocketbook size: its parchment leaves are 180 x 125 mm with 25 or 26 long lines of text written in the *littera rotunda* script typical of fourteenth-century Bologna. Decorated initials are placed at the beginning of its chapters with foliage elements and small gold dots extending into the margins. The miniatures are generally placed at the beginning of each chapter in proximity to the rubric and represent the main subject of the chapter (e.g., Plate 29). They are rectangular in shape and usually slightly larger than a half-page in size. Considering that the text had emerged only about fifty years earlier and that there was no standard program for its illustration, it is notable that the Snite manuscript strikes the twenty-first-century viewer as quite "modern" in terms of its format and layout.

Yet there were Bolognese manuscript precedents for this format. A small (146 x 100 mm) late thirteenth-century manuscript illuminated by a Bolognese artist and now in the Biblioteca Riccardiana (Ms. 453) includes the life of Saint Margaret (in Latin) and

[83] Because of his extraordinary scientific knowledge, Albert the Great acquired a reputation as a wonder-worker, though he was not formally canonized until 1931. G. Nitz, *Albertus Magnus in der Volkskunst: Die Alberti-Tafeln* (Munich: Schnell & Steiner, 1980), reviews the history of this legend and its representation in later Northern art.

legend of Saint Agnes (in Italian) and other devotional texts.[84] The life of Saint Margaret is illustrated with 33 large miniatures. These occupy much of the page and are placed above or below long lines of text, typically at the beginning of the text relating the episode depicted (Plate 53). The number and quality of the illuminations suggest a discerning patron. Perhaps not surprisingly given the Greek origins of the hagiographic text, Byzantine influence has been perceived in the format and style of the miniatures that recall illuminated menologia. The same format, but in larger scale (248 x 170 mm), was used for a manuscript ca. 1330 of the life of Saint Anthony Abbot illustrated with 48 large rectangular miniatures attributed to the Bolognese illuminator known as the Master of the Hungarian Legendary[85] (Plate 54). From these examples, it seems that the Snite illuminator appropriated for this relatively new text (re)telling the life of Christ a layout that had been employed for the illustration of episodes of saints' lives and also included—in the manner of saints' lives—comments about how Christ's conduct provides moral examples that the reader should emulate.[86]

---

[84] M. Medica (ed.), *Duecento: Forme e colore del Medioevo a Bologna*, exh. cat., Museo Archeologico, Bologna, 2000 (Venice: Marsilio, 2000), cat. no. 106.

[85] Jörn Günther, *Fifty Manuscripts & Miniatures*, Catalogue 8 (Hamburg: Jörn Günther Antiquariat, 2006), p. 30, cat. no. 8. The catalogue description hypothesizes that the manuscript was made for the monastery of S. Antonio in Venice, with the text depending on eastern Mediterranean sources brought back by pilgrims returning from the Holy Land.

[86] Another apposite example is Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Ms. Rossi 3—a manuscript of dimensions (173 x 125 mm) similar to the Snite *MVC* that is famous for its opening treatise on the *Ways of Prayer of St. Dominic*. Each of the nine ways of prayer in this short text for novices is illustrated by a large (mostly half-page) rectangular miniature of St. Dominic performing the described mode of prayer (Plate 55). Rossi 3 also includes an assortment of miscellaneous religious texts; among them are the ca. 40-chapter *MVC* and the *Revelations of St. Elizabeth*. L. E. Boyle, "'The Ways of Prayer of St Dominic': Notes on MS Rossi 3 in the Vatican Library," *Archivium Fratrum Praedicatorum* 64 (1994): 5–17, proposes that the manuscript was written in southern France in the second quarter of the fourteenth century. Boyle also argues that Rossi 3 is closest to what must have been the archetype of the text, and that the text was conceived from the beginning to be accompanied by pictures. As Bernard Gui is known to have sent a codex on St.

A similar page layout appears in another manuscript type relevant to the *Meditations on the Life of Christ*: illuminated books of hours. Although books of hours were not nearly as common in Italy as in northern Europe, there are two examples pertinent to the Snite manuscript. The recently rediscovered "Officiolum" of Francesco da Barberino is a small manuscript (134 x 100 mm) that includes the Office of the Virgin, the Office of the Cross, the Office of the Dead, the Seven Penitential Psalms, and other texts, including moralizing allegories with specific personal meaning for the patron, a lawyer, statesman, and poet.[87] Most of the illuminations are large rectangular miniatures placed either directly above or below the lines of text to which they refer, though the decoration also includes historiated initials and elaborate foliage borders that are characteristic of deluxe Bolognese manuscripts (Plate 56). Kay Sutton has proposed that Francesco da Barberino, who was educated in Bologna, commissioned the manuscript ca. 1305 from Bolognese illuminators resident in Padua. In 1349 a book of hours now in Kremsmünster (Ms. CC Cim 4), which included a similar group of offices as well as the Office of the Passion (sometimes attributed to Bonaventure), was illuminated by a major Bolognese artist and the young Nicolò da Bologna.[88] Its folios are illustrated with large

---

Dominic's ways of prayer to the Master General of the Dominicans in 1314, it is highly likely that this manuscript type was known in Bologna and may have originated there. The *Ways of Prayer of St. Dominic* in Ms. Rossi 3 is a consummate example of a didactic devotional text illustrated with scenes of the saintly exemplar for the reader to emulate, here in a literal fashion.

[87] K. Sutton, " The lost 'Officiolum' of Francesco da Barberino rediscovered," *Burlington Magazine* 147 (March 2005): 152–64.

[88] R. Bosi, "L'*Offiziolo* bolognese della Biblioteca Abbaziale Kremsmünster," in *"Conosco un ottimo storico dell'arte. . ." per Enrico Castelnuovo: Scritti di allievi e amici pisani*, ed. M. M. Donato and M. Ferretti (Pisa: Edizioni della Normale, 2012), pp. 131–9; G. Schmidt, "'Andreas me pinsit': Frühe Miniaturen von Nicolò di Giacomo und Andrea de' Bartoli in dem Bologneser Offiziolo der Stiftsbibliothek Kremsmünster," *Wiener Jahrbuch für Kunstgeschichte* 26 (1973): 57–73; H. Fill, *Katalog der Handschriften des Benediktinerstiftes Kremsmünster*, pt. 2,

historiated initials of Christological and Mariological subjects contained within rectilinear frames; the margins of the folios are also decorated with wide borders punctuated by portrait medallions (Plate 57). The iconography of many of the historiated initials in the Kremsmünster Hours bears a resemblance to the similar subjects in the Snite *MVC*. Because the rubrics for most of the Snite chapters on the Passion of Christ mention the liturgical hour associated with the particular episode following the pattern employed for illustrated Hours of the Passion, the existence of this book of hours that was lavishly illuminated in mid-fourteenth-century Bologna provides an example of the kind of codex that may have been familiar both to the Snite scribe and the illuminator. Reference to the canonical hours in the rubrics of the *MVC* Passion chapters indicates that reading this devotional guide to the life of Christ was regarded as belonging to a continuum of paraliturgical prayer practices widespread among religious and laity.[89]

In order to understand the array of concerns that shaped the pictorial program of the Snite *MVC*, the principal method employed in this study will be iconographical analysis. Partly because so much of Trecento Bolognese illumination appears in legal manuscripts and thus seems so secular in character, the field of Bolognese illumination has been dominated by the effort to attribute and date works based upon stylistic characteristics.[90] Admittedly, the almost comic-book-like miniatures appear to be transparent in their meaning and geared to "popular" sensibilities, even though the

---

Zimeliencodices und Spätmittelalterliche Handschriften nach 1325 bis einschließlich CC 100, Phil-Hist. Kl. Denkschriften, Bd. 270 (Vienna, 2000), CC Cim. 4, 25–29.

[89] Meany, "The *Meditaciones vite Christi* as a Book of Prayer," p. 223.

[90] The work of Robert Gibbs and Susan L'Engle on the iconography of legal manuscript illumination is a notable exception, although Melnikas's volumes on illuminated *Decretum Gratiani* manuscripts paved the way.

Bolognese clientele was highly educated. Longhi characterized the work of one of the most skilled miniaturists of the mid-fourteenth-century as providing "a magic lantern onto Bolognese life" in legal manuscript illuminations that seem like illustrations of knightly romances or popular novelle, and his opinion has dominated the modern perception of Bolognese illumination.[91] But a mid-fourteenth-century illustrated manuscript of the *Meditations on the Life of Christ* made for a secular patron requires a reassessment of the "worldly" character of the educated elite in Bologna. Close study of the iconography of the Snite miniatures will show the range of images upon which the illuminator drew, which included illustrations for liturgical books, guild statutes, and legal manuscripts, as well as monumental painting. The analysis will shed light not only on workshop practices but also upon the conscious intermingling of secular and religious motifs in the Snite illuminations. The miniatures will be examined in the narrative sequence of the story in order to show the development of particular visual themes that would especially appeal to an educated layman as well as the recurrence of motifs throughout the Christological pictures that demonstrate an appreciation for subtle theological meanings.

In the exploration of iconographical motifs as well as of compositional and figural models that the Snite artist could have known, the artistic network that linked Bologna with Padua, Rimini, and Venice will become readily apparent. The work of Bolognese illuminators provides some of the earliest testimony of the impact of Giotto's Arena

---

[91] R. Longhi, *Lavori in Valpadana del trecento al primo Cinquecento, 1934-1964*, Edizione delle opera complete di Roberto Longhi 6 (Florence: Sansoni, 1973), pp. 24-5.

Chapel frescoes and his influence continues to be apparent in the Snite miniatures.[92] At the same time, the lingering attraction of Byzantine art, which had influenced Bolognese style in the thirteenth-century, is discernible in the Snite illustrations. Bolognese illuminators participated in the decoration of a series of liturgical books made for San Marco in Venice in the second quarter of the fourteenth century. They were also involved there with Venetian illuminators in the extensive illustration of a Latin text on the life of the Virgin and life of Christ attributed to Epiphanius of Salamis (Oxford, Bodleian Library, Ms. Canonici misc. 476). It was actually written by a ninth-century Byzantine monk now designated as the Pseudo-Epiphanius and was translated into Latin in the late twelfth-century. Known as the Bodleian *Vita Mariae* and dating to the second third of the Trecento,[93] the manuscript includes 324 historiated initials that represent successive moments—almost like frames from a film strip—in episodes from the life of Mary and Christ recounted in the text that drew upon scriptural, apocryphal and Greek patristic sources. Several motifs in the manuscript's historiated initials, which also appear in the Snite manuscript illuminations, derive from Byzantine models (Plate 58). The text and images of the Bodleian *Vita Mariae* as well as post-Iconoclastic homiletic literature focusing on the Virgin Mary's presence and laments during the stages of Christ's Passion

[92] See, e.g., A. Stolte, "Maestro di Gherarduccio kopiert Gitotto: Zur Rezeption der Arena Fresken in der oberitalienischen Buchmalerei zu Beginn des 14. Jahrhunderts," *Mitteilungen des Kunsthistorischen Instituts in Florenz* 40 (1996): 2-41.

[93] A description of the manuscript is included in the catalogue compiled by R. A. Katzenstein, "Three Liturgical Manuscripts from San Marco: Art and Patronage in Mid-Trecento Venice" (Ph.D. diss., Harvard University, 1987), pp. 134-7, no. 31.

and his first post-Resurrection appearance to her,[94] strongly suggest that the Byzantine tradition merits much closer scrutiny as a contributing factor in the emergence of both the *MVC* text and its illustration.[95]

Though at first glance, the Snite *MVC* appears to be a straightforward work, it resists any interpretation based upon simple binaries such as female and male, religious and secular, clerical and lay, popular and elite, affective and intellectual, Western and Byzantine. I will argue that the patron was an educated layman possibly engaged in the administration of justice or the practice of law in Bologna who commissioned the Snite *MVC* for both his and his wife's use.[96] Its text and illustrations were designed to meet their devotional needs, which in some respects were distinguished by their respective genders and social roles and in other respects were very similar. I think the difference

---

[94] M. Vassilaki and N. Tsironis, "Representations of the Virgin and Their Association with the Passion of Christ," in *Mother of God: Representations of the Virgin in Byzantine Art*, ed. M. Vassilaki (Milan: Skira, 2000), pp. 453–63.

[95] It is interesting that Matteo Canonici, an eighteenth-century Jesuit and antiquarian whose collection included both the *MVC* manuscript that McNamer thinks represents the original form of the text and the Pseudo-Epiphanius *Vita Mariae* manuscript, was born in Venice, lived in Bologna, and died at Treviso. Scholars of the *MVC* have mostly focused on Tuscany as its place of origin, but they likely should broaden their scope.

[96] D. Phillips, "The *Meditations on the Life of Christ*: An Illuminated Fourteenth-Century Italian Manuscript at the University of Notre Dame," in *The Text in the Community: Essays on Medieval Works, Manuscripts, Authors and Readers*, ed. J. Mann and M. Nolan (Notre Dame, Ind.: Univ. of Notre Dame Press, 2006), pp. 237–81, summarizes the main pictorial themes in the Snite manuscript and its particular significance in relation to the standard views of the *MVC* that focus exclusively upon its orientation to female readers based upon the illustrated Paris *MVC*. H. Flora repeatedly cites that essay in her "Gender, Image, and Devotion in Illustrated Manuscripts of the *Meditationes Vitae Christi*," in which she compares the Infancy images in the Paris *MVC* to those in the Snite manuscript. She explicitly confirms my argument that its significance lies in its attention to pictorial models appropriate for a layman, but also draws attention to how the female figures in the Snite *MVC* Infancy illuminations would have been meaningful to female laity, a point that I also discussed in the 2006 essay with regard to the Snite *MVC* Passion miniatures.

between female and male spiritualities was not so distinct as McNamer claims.[97] Michelle Karnes's recent study of the imagination in medieval cognition, which explores the linkage of intellect and affect in scholastic thought, aptly observes that "the purpose of imagining Christ's life was, after all, to know him as well as to love and desire him,"[98] a goal shared by women and men, religious and lay. McNamer's discussion of Ubertino da Casale's *Arbor vitae crucifixae iesu christi,* whose stylistic strategies and affective goals she regards as similar to the *MVC*, is telling. She notes that in the preface Ubertino acknowledges that he learned to meditate on "arcana" from a male Franciscan tertiary, Pietro Pettinaio, and a devout virgin, Cecilia, yet she then ignores Pietro's influence.[99]

Because so much attention has been given to female and Franciscan spirituality, the Snite manuscript affords a particularly welcome opportunity to consider the cultivation of lay male spirituality, oddly neglected especially in light of the power wielded in late medieval Italian society by educated lay men trained in the law. [100] Manuscripts illuminated by Bolognese artists in the early Trecento—such as Francesco da Barberino's 'Officiolum' and a miscellany in Italian (Biblioteca Riccardiana, Ms.

---

[97] Karnes has recently argued against ascribing a primary role to gender in the rise of affective meditation in the high and late Middle Ages, e.g., *Imagination, Meditation and Cognition in the Middle Ages,* p. 13: "Unconvinced that compassion belongs essentially to women, I hold that affective meditation is at its foundation neither female nor lay-oriented."

[98] Ibid., p. 18.

[99] McNamer, *Affective Meditation and the Invention of Medieval Compassion*, p. 92–3. Compare A. Thompson, *Cities of God: The Religion of the Italian Communes, 1125–1325* (University Park: Univ. of Pennsylvania Press, 2005), who frequently cites Pietro Pettinaio as an example of a devout married layman.

[100] Because of the focus on Tuscany that dominates the study of Trecento art, the patrons in play are typically merchants or bankers and little attention paid to their intellectual training. R. Mazo Karras, *From Boys to Men: Formations of Masculinity in Late Medieval Europe* (Philadelphia: Univ. of Pennsylvania Press, 2003), has studied the construction of masculinity in the medieval university primarily in terms of the classroom experience but does not consider the spiritual lives of such men.

1538)[101] that includes the Gospel of Matthew, Cicero's *Orations*, a translation of the *Faits des Romains*, and various religious and moralizing texts—indicate that wealthy educated laymen pursued serious religious interests in tandem with their secular lives.[102] At the least, the Snite manuscript demonstrates that this late medieval devotional text written for women religious found a ready reception among laymen.[103]

The dissertation falls into six chapters. In chapter one, the question of style and date is addressed by placing the Snite miniatures in relation to Bolognese illumination ca. 1325–75. I argue that the Snite manuscript should be dated to the 1350s and attributed to an artist in the workshop led by the Azzi family, whose father and then son were active in Bologna throughout most of the Trecento. In chapters two through five, I examine the illuminations in the Snite manuscript, beginning with the illustrations for the Prologue and the early life of the Virgin Mary through the episode of Joseph's Doubts; then the Infancy of Christ; the Passion miniatures; and finally the post-Passion appearances of Christ through Pentecost. Throughout those chapters, the primary focus is on iconographic analysis, with specific attention to pictorial models that could have been known to an illuminator active in mid-fourteenth-century Bologna. In the concluding

---

[101] See G. Baldissin Molli, et al. (eds), *La miniatura a Padova dal medioevo al settecento*, (Modena: Franco Cosimo Panini, 1999), pp. 106–109, cat. no. 32. Art historians are divided on whether the illuminator of this manuscript was of Bolognese or Paduan origin, although they agree that the manuscript itself is a product of the Bolognese university environment. Francesca Flores D'Arcais, who wrote the entry in this exhibition catalogue, believes he was Paduan and names him the Master of the Paduan Antiphonaries; Almut Stolte and most scholars of Bolognese illumination believe he was Bolognese-trained and call him the Master of Gherarduccio.

[102] Cf., D. Kent, "Charity and Power in Renaissance Florence: Surmounting Cynicism in Historiography," *Common Knowledge* 9:2 (2003): 254–72, esp. p. 270.

[103] On the interest in religious literature in the vernacular among late medieval Italian laymen and women, see A. Cornish, *Vernacular Translation in Dante's Italy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), ch. 4: "Translation as miracle: illiterate learning and religious translation."

chapter, I explore the patronage and the social and religious context of this devotional book and consider the formation of lay spirituality in a university city dominated by the teaching of law. A detailed description of the Snite manuscript and its history in America are included in appendices.

CHAPTER 1

STYLE AND DATE OF THE SNITE *MVC* MANUSCRIPT

The site of a renowned university and famous for its illuminated legal manuscripts, Bologna is unexpected as the place of origin of an illustrated devotional text like the *Meditationes Vitae Christi*. By the mid-fourteenth century, the city was in a state of decline.[1] It had prospered in the preceding century in large part because of its flourishing university: by the end of the thirteenth century the population was close to 50,000, including approximately 2,000 students. The slow downward trajectory began in the 1270s with the transfer of the Romagna to papal authority and the repeated expulsions of the Lambertazzi from Bologna during the last quarter of the century. From the late thirteenth century until the reestablishment of the Commune in 1376, political power was wielded by a series of *signori*—various members of the wealthy Bolognese clan, the Pepoli; papal legates striving to reassert papal control in Italy; and members of the Milanese Visconti intent upon thwarting papal aspirations.[2] The century was marked by a

[1] However, recently S. Kelly Wray, Communities *and Crisis: Bologna during the Black Death* (Leiden/Boston: Brill, 2009), pp. 58–9, has modified this traditional view and argues that, rather than being in a state of decline, Bologna was simply stagnant during the first half of the fourteenth century.

[2] For a brief summary of the various figures who ruled fourteenth-century Bologna see G. Fasoli, "Bologna nell'età medievale," in *Storia di Bologna*, ed. A. Ferri and G. Roversi (Bologna: Bononia University Press, 2005), pp. 163–7.

string of wars and military skirmishes[3] and, from 1348 on, periodic outbreaks of plague. In 1324, the population was approximately 43,500; it is estimated to have dropped by about 35% in 1348; and recovered to approximately 32,000 in 1371.[4]

Although the university in Trecento Bologna may not have been as vigorous as it was during its thirteenth-century heyday, it remained famous for its law faculty, especially during the first half of the fourteenth-century. The prominence of legal scholars like Giovanni d'Andrea has prompted an historian of Bologna to characterize the 1330s as a "golden age of medieval jurists,"[5] and the deft political and administrative skills of Taddeo Pepoli, doctor of civil and canon law, made his signory during 1337–47 a period of relative calm. The trend toward centralization, rationalization, and codification of public law that papal representatives pursued in their relations with the communes may have contributed to the vibrancy of legal manuscript illumination in the second quarter of the Trecento.[6] Three notable illuminators stand out from that period: the Master of 1328, whose name derives from the matricola (roster) of the mercers' guild that he illuminated in 1328; the Illustratore, a name coined by Roberto Longhi for his genius at pictorial narrative; and the Master of 1346, named after the illuminated 1346

---

[3] See P. Partner, *The Lands of St. Peter: The Papal State in the Middle Ages and Early Renaissance* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: Univ. of California Press, 1972), chs. 9 and 10.

[4] Kelly Wray, *Communities and Crisis*, pp. 95–6, and R. Pini, *Il mondo dei pittori a Bologna: 1348–1430* (Bologna: CLUEB, 2005), p. 32.

[5] Kelly Wray, *Communities and Crisis*, p. 60. The first half of the 1330s was also a flourishing time for monumental art in Bologna. After the city submitted to the papal legate, Bertrand du Poujet (Bertrando del Poggetto) in 1327, he undertook the construction of the Castello Galliera in anticipation of the pope's imminent return from Avignon to reside in Bologna. This precipitated a flurry of artistic activity that diminished with the Bolognese rebellion against the legate in 1334. See Medica (ed.), *Giotto e le arti a Bologna al tempo di Bertrando del Poggetto* (Cinsello Balsamo, Milan: Silvana, 2005).

[6] Partner, *The Lands of St. Peter,* pp. 348–9, remarks on the trends toward rationalization and centralization in the legislation of Bertrand de Deaulx (Deux) and Gil Albornoz.

matricola of the silk trade guild.[7] One need only glance at a sampling of works attributed to them (Plates 59–61) to recognize the inventiveness and immediacy that characterize their style. Active in the third and fourth decades, the 1328 Master adapted the compositional breadth of monumental painting characteristic of the Giottesque tradition that is especially apparent in the illuminated folios attributed to him now in the Morgan Library (M. 716, f. 4). The Illustratore seems to have begun his career ca. 1330 in the shop of the 1328 Master[8] and imparted to his figures a dynamic expressiveness often by means of twisting poses akin to the work of Vitale da Bologna. The style of the Master of 1346, who was active in the 1340s, is very similar to that of the Illustratore though somewhat more restrained.[9]

By ca. 1350, these three illuminators had vanished. Among the lives claimed by the Black Death were Taddeo Pepoli, the ruler of the signoria; Giovanni d'Andrea, the

---

[7] R. Gibbs, "Recent developments in the study of Bolognese and trecento illustration," *Burlington Magazine* 126 (October 1984): 639, acknowledged the possibility that the Illustratore and 1346 Master were identical, and recommended Ghiti's and D'Arcais's proposal that the Illustratore may be identified as Tomaso Galvani, son of the scribe, Galvano di Rinaldo da Vigo. Recently, R. Gibbs, "Vat. lat. 1388: A Novel Copy of Gregory IX's *Decretals* considered in relation to the origins of the Stefano Azzi workshop," in *Buchschätze des Mittelalters,* ed. K. G. Beuckers et al. (Regensburg: Schnell and Steiner, 2011), p. 257, has suggested that Tomaso's brother, Simone, might be the 1346 Master.

[8] There is a consensus among art historians that the illumination of a *Decretum Gratiani* manuscript in the Biblioteca Vaticana, Vat. lat. 1366, was led by the 1328 Master, working with the young Illustratore and other older artists, e.g., M. Bollati (ed.), *Dizionario biografico dei miniatori italiani* (Milan: Edizioni Sylvestre Bonnard, 2004), s.v."Illustratore," by M. Medica.

[9] While Gibbs, "Recent developments in the study of Bolognese and trecento illustration," p. 639, rejected Cassee's identification of the 1346 Master as Andrea da Bologna, he did not rule out her view that the Illustratore and 1346 Master represent the early and later career of the same artist. Medica has recently summarized the significance of the Missal of Cardinal Bertrand de Deux (BAV, Cod. Cap. B 63), which Cassee had attributed to Andrea da Bologna, and reasserted its attribution to the 1346 Master; see F. Avril; B. Maurice-Chabard; and M. Medica (eds.), *Bologne et le pontifical d'Autun: chef d'oeuvre inconnu du premier Trecento, 1330–1340* (Langres: Éditions Dominique Guéniot, 2012), cat. no. 11.

preeminent jurist; and most probably the Illustratore and 1346 Master.[10] But, just as Kelly Wray's research on the wills registered in Bologna during the summer of 1348 has revealed the continuation of the routines of Bolognese urban life through the devastation of the plague, the extant illuminated manuscripts from the second half of the century, including the 1350s, attest to the persistence of manuscript production.[11] Though the genres of texts that were illuminated seem to have shifted during the second half of the century—fewer manuscripts of the primary legal texts but more legal commentaries, and, an increase in deluxe choir books and guild statutes[12]—scholars have not noted a precipitous reduction in quantity.

An illuminator who did survive the Black Death was Nicolò da Bologna, one of two Bolognese miniaturists whose careers span the entire second half of the century. Nicolò has been identified working alongside the Illustratore and the 1346 Master in the early 1340s in a *Digestum vetus* manuscript now in Roermond.[13] Equal in talent to these older illuminators, Nicolò continued to work in the lively style that they had developed and was a prolific artist who signed some of his major works.[14] (Plate 62) As the leading

---

[10] The graph on p. 41 of R. Pini, *Il mondo dei pittori a Bologna,* shows 25 painters documented in Bologna in 1345 but only 10 in 1349.

[11] Ibid., p. 43, notes a slow but steady increase in the number of painters during the 1350s that was halted by another outbreak of plague in 1360 but quickened again after the reestablishment of the Commune in 1376 and grew significantly with the launch of the construction of San Petronio.

[12] Oxford Art online: Grove Art online, sv. "Bologna, II. Art Life and Organization. Before ca. 1400," by R. Gibbs.

[13] J. de Veer-Langezaal, "A Cutting Illuminated by the Illustratore (Ms. 13) and Bolognese Miniature Painting of the Middle of the Fourteenth Century," *J. Paul Getty Museum Journal* 20 (1992): 121–38.

[14] Since P. M. de Winter, "Bolognese Miniatures at the Cleveland Museum," *Bulletin of the Cleveland Museum of Art* 70:8 (October 1983): 349, n. 29, compiled a list of works to be attributed to Nicolò da Bologna, several more have been added by scholars.

Bolognese illuminator of the second half of the century, Nicolò seems to have been the principal on several manuscripts in whose illumination he collaborated with Stefano Azzi, a less talented but similarly long-lived Bolognese illuminator. It is Stefano's oeuvre that is key to the attribution and dating of the Snite manuscript.

Stefano was the son of Alberto Azzi, the latter recorded as Albertus de Açonis in *Venticinquina* of 1330 of the Porta Stiera quarter.[15] Alberto's parish affiliation is listed as San Lorenzo and his occupation as "miniator." Apart from Robert Gibbs's tentative proposal that the frontispieces in Vat. lat. 1388, datable to 1340–42, might have been illuminated by Alberto Azzi, no other work has been attributed to him.[16] Located in the northwest quarter of Bologna, the Porta Stiera district was one of the oldest of the city whose residents were largely working class;[17] the church of San Francesco is adjacent to its southern boundary. Alberto's three sons must have been ambitious: Jacopo was a goldsmith, Pietro a notary, and Stefano seems to have been successful following in his father's footsteps.[18] Stefano is registered as the son "of Alberto, miniaturist," in the *Venticinquine* of 1354–60 in the parish of San Lorenzo of Porta Stiera; the notation specifying "Stephanus quondam Alberti miniator" in the 1359 list indicates that Alberto

[15] The *Venticinquine* were lists compiled for each of the four districts of Bologna of 25 male citizens, ages 18–70, who were required to serve terms as infantrymen. See A. I. Pini, "Miniatori, pittori e scrittori nelle 'venticinquine' bolognesi del Due e Trecento," *Il Carrobbio* 7 (1981): 358, 360.

[16] Gibbs, "Vat. lat. 1388. A Novel Copy of Gregory IX's *Decretals,*" pp. 259; 261–3.

[17] S. R. Blanshei, *Politics and Justice in Late Medieval Bologna* (Leiden/Boston: Brill, 2010), p. 118.

[18] R. Pini, *Il mondo dei pittori a Bologna,* p. 65.

was dead by then.[19] A decade later Stefano was living in the Porta Procola quarter,[20] the more prosperous southwestern district of Bologna where the activities and personnel associated with the university were concentrated, as well as the location of the church of San Domenico where the law faculty clustered.[21] In 1402, Stefano is specified as "miniator sive bidellus"[22] in the act of selling a house in the parish of San Procolo.[23] Like other prominent Trecento Bolognese artists, he seems to have been well regarded in his maturity: in 1383 he was elected podestà of the lands of Ceretolo, Lauro, Predosa and San Martino in Casola.[24]

Stefano Azzi's work has been distinguished from Nicolò da Bologna's only relatively recently.[25] The homogeneity of artistic style that characterizes Trecento Bolognese illumination especially after ca. 1340 resulted, in part, from the tradition of

---

[19] A. I. Pini, "Miniatori, pittori e scrittori nelle 'venticinquine' bolognesi," p. 365. Cf. Gibbs, "Vat. lat. 1388. A Novel Copy of Gregory IX's *Decretals,*" p. 261, says that Alberto Azzi was dead before 1353 and speculates that he might have been a 1348 plague victim.

[20] Medica "I miniatori dei corali agostiniani: Nicolò di Giacomo e Stefano di Alberto Azzi," in *I corali di San Giacomo Maggiore: Miniatori e committenti a Bologna nel Trecento,* ed. G. Benevolo and M. Medica (Ferrara: Edisai, 2003), p. 92. R. Pini, *Il mondo dei pittori a Bologna*, p. 31, says that Stefano di Alberto Azzi and his wife are recorded as living in the quarter of Porta Procola in the Boccactico dated 1387, a register that listed the names of the members of all the households in Bologna for the purpose of levying the salt tax.

[21] R. Pini, *Il mondo dei pittori a Bologna*, p. 46.

[22] The beadle was an administrator responsible for the logistics of keeping classes organized and running.

[23] R. Pini, *Il mondo dei pittori a Bologna*, pp. 65–6.

[24] Medica "I miniatori dei corali agostiniani: Nicolò di Giacomo e Stefano di Alberto Azzi," p. 92. Cf. F. Boggi and R. Gibbs, *The Life and Career of Lippo di Dalmasio* (Lewiston, N.Y.: Edwin Mellen, 2010), pp. 4–5, reporting that Dalmasio became a notary in 1392, and a knight and a judge before his death.

[25] In the late nineteenth century Malaguzzi Valeri identified Stefano di Alberto Azzi as a student of Nicolò da Bologna and discovered the document tying Stefano to a specific commission. However, efforts to distinguish Stefano's works from Nicolò's only began in earnest in the later twentieth century. See Medica (ed.), "*Haec sunt statuta*," cat. no. 22, by Silvia Battistini.

transmitting the family trade from father to son, as was the case for Stefano and also very probably for Nicolò, whose father was either a painter or scribe.[26] Moreover, there were close, often familial ties between Bolognese illuminators, who tended to live in the university neighborhood where their clientele was concentrated.[27] The complexity of monumental legal manuscripts with their extensive pictorial programs frequently led to the assignment of the many gatherings that constituted the book to a variety of illuminators, requiring close collaboration among miniaturists.[28] Although illuminations within a single law manuscript sometimes range in style from "old-fashioned" to "avant-garde," as the fourteenth-century progressed such variety becomes less frequent. Nicolò's tendency to sign his works and the distinctive excellence of his style, equal to that of the Illustratore and Master of 1346, has made the refinement of his oeuvre comparatively easy. Stefano presents a quite different case. No signed work by him is extant, and he can be connected securely only to the illuminated Statutes and Matricola of the Notaries' Guild of 1382 and 1387 (Bologna, Archivio di Stato, cod. min. 22 and 24), respectively, for which notices of payment exist (Plate 63). Produced in the mature phase of his career, the narrow historiated initial commencing the statutes provides minimal stylistic evidence.[29] It represents a notary writing at a desk placed at a slightly oblique angle. The

---

[26] A. Conti, Review of *The Missal of Cardinal Bertrand de Deux,* by Elly Cassee, in *Prospettiva* n. 24 (January 1981), p. 80, remarks on the uniformity of style in the second half of the century.

[27] For a study of intermarriage among artistic families see R. Gibbs, "Two Families of Painters at Bologna in the later Fourteenth Century." *Burlington Magazine* 121 (1979): 560–68.

[28] S. L'Engle and R. Gibbs, *Illuminating the Law: Legal Manuscripts in Cambridge Collections.* (London/Turnhout: Harvey Miller, 2001), pp. 46–8.

[29] The illumination of the Notaries' Matricola is even skimpier, consisting mainly of two initials with half-length figures, repr. in Medica (ed.), "*Haec sunt statuta,*" p. 70, fig. 15.

dull, wooden, and fastidious treatment of the figure, with its tightly controlled contours, is striking when compared to the dynamism and suavity of Nicolò's work.

From this literally slender evidence, art historians have attempted to reconstruct Stefano's career. Massimo Medica has provided the most comprehensive account to date in his essay on Nicolò and Stefano in the catalogue of the 2003 exhibition of choirbooks commissioned for San Giacomo Maggiore in the second half of the fourteenth century.[30] His attributions include a wide range of manuscripts: legal texts, liturgical books, historical and literary texts in the vernacular, and guild statutes and civic documents. Medica takes as his starting point for Stefano's career two manuscripts dated 1354: the illuminations for Books IV and V (Plates 64–65) in a *Novella*[31] manuscript (Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, Ms. B 42 inf, fols. 159r and 205r), whose famous frontispiece for Book III was signed and dated by Nicolò da Bologna (Plate 66); and, the frontispieces to a manuscript in three volumes of Durandus's *Speculum iudiciale* (Holkham Hall, Ms.

---

[30] Medica "I miniatori dei corali agostiniani: Nicolò di Giacomo e Stefano di Alberto Azzi," in *I corali di San Giacomo Maggiore: Miniatori e committenti a Bologna nel Trecento,* pp. 63–105, at pp. 89–97. In his entry for Stefano Azzi in M. Bollati (ed.), *Dizionario biografico dei miniatori italiani*, sv. "Azzi, Stefano di Alberto," pp. 54–6, Medica presents a similar chronology. F. Avril's summary of Stefano's career, with which Medica largely agrees, appears in the *Enciclopedia dell'arte medievale*, II, pp. 816–8, but is incorrectly headed, "Azzi, Alberto di Stefano" although it is clear that Avril is referring to Stefano. Gibbs, "Recent developments in the study of Bolognese and Trecento illustration," p. 640, n. 28, also provides a chronology of works that he attributes to Stefano Azzi.

[31] *Novella* is the title Giovanni d'Andrea gave to his commentary on the *Decretales* of Pope Gregory IX and on the *Liber Sextus,* the collection of canons commissioned by Pope Boniface VIII. (Giovanni d'Andrea's mother and daughter were both named "Novella.") It is not to be confused with the *Novellae,* which is the last volume of Roman law comprising Justinian's legislation from 534, when the revised version of the *Codex* was published, up to his death; the version that circulated in the West was also known as the *Authenticum*. For an explanation of the civil and canon law texts that were illuminated in the middle ages and their often confusing nomenclature, see L'Engle and Gibbs, *Illuminating the Law*, ch. 1: The Texts.

225.1–3).[32] Following Avril, Medica also attributes to Stefano and dates to the 1350s, the large illuminations of the Trees of Consanguinity and of Affinity in a manuscript of Boniface VIII's *Liber sextus* now in Vienna (ÖNB, Cod. 2042, fol. 116v and 117r; Plates 67–68). The frontispiece of the manuscript is by another hand in a style characteristic of the late 1330s-early 1340s and the manuscript bears an inscription indicating that it was owned by a Hungarian bishop, Giovanni Uzsai, who was rector of the studio in Bologna in 1343, so it seems more likely that it is a work of the fifth decade.[33]

In the late 1350s through 1360s, Medica perceives Stefano's hand in the illuminations in a manuscript of the *Histoire ancienne jusqu'à César* (Paris, BnF, Ms. fr. 168; Plates 69–70); in a series of antiphonaries in Padua (Biblioteca Antoniana, K, L, P, Q, S; Plate 71); and in a *Decretum Gratiani* now in Munich (Bayr. SB, Clm. 13003; Plate 72). He also sees Stefano collaborating with Nicolò in the 1366 Matricola of the Blacksmiths' Guild[34] (Plate 73) and attributes to Stefano the illuminations for one of the antiphonaries commissioned for San Giacomo Maggiore in Bologna and produced in the late 1360s (Plate 74). Among the manuscripts of the 1370s and '80s in which Medica discerns Stefano's presence is the deluxe manuscript dated 1376 of miscellaneous texts by the great canonist Giovanni da Legnano (BAV, Vat. lat. 2639), where he again works

---

[32] S. Reynolds, *A Catalogue of the Manuscripts in the Library at Holkham Hall*, I:1 (Turnhout, Belgium: Brepols, 2015), pp. 146–50. Reynolds, p. 149, notes that the date of 1354 in the colophon also appears in other *Speculum iudiciale* manuscripts copied from the same exemplar and may not refer to the actual date of the production of the Holkham Hall manuscript.

[33] L. Vayer, "Rapporti tra miniatura italiana e ungherese," in *La miniatura italiana tra gotico e rinascimento: Atti del II Congresso di storia della miniatura italiana (Cortona, 24-26 settembre 1982)*, ed. E. Sesti (Florence: L. S. Olschki, 1985), vol. I, p. 19.

[34] Medica (ed.), "*Haec sunt statuta*," cat. no. 17, by Silvia Battistini.

as a secondary artist (Plate 75) with Nicolò da Bologna, who signed the lavish opening cycle of scenes from the life of Christ.

Medica also attributes to Stefano Azzi and dates to the late 1370s–1380s, the illuminations in a manuscript of Dante's *Divine Comedy* (Perugia, Biblioteca Augusta, B. 25;[35] Plate 76). He considers a manuscript of Ovid's *Metamorphoses* (Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, Ms. Z. L. 449a) a work illuminated by Stefano in the 1380s or 1390s and would also date to that period an illuminated manuscript of the *Institutiones* in the Vatican (BAV, Urb. lat. 164; Plate 77). Among Stefano's latest works, Medica places the Crucifixion frontispiece from a missal commissioned by the Tailors' Guild (New York, Metropolitan Museum; Plate 95) whose unusual palette Medica suggests might have been influenced by the work of the Master of the Brussels Initials.[36]

There is a strong "familial" resemblance among these examples of the many works attributed to Stefano by Medica and other current scholars in the field. When compared to the fluidity and dynamism of Nicolò's style, this "Stefano" is routine and uninspired, typically favoring frontal figures and balanced compositions with minimal suggestion of spatial depth and often characterized by a retardataire quality in the retention of pictorial habits typical of the first half of the century. However, while this "Stefano" constitutes a distinct strain separable from Nicolò's verve and talent, I believe that the works attributed to him by Medica et al. are not all by the same hand. For example, the illuminations of the secondary pages of the 1366 Blacksmiths' Guild matricola strike one as fussy and constrained, more consistent with the style of the 1382

---

[35] See also Benevolo and Medica (eds.), *I corali di San Giacomo Maggiore: Miniatori e committenti a Bologna nel Trecento*, cat. no. 9, by Silvia Battistini.

[36] Medica, "I miniatori dei corali agostiniani: Nicolò di Giacomo e Stefano di Alberto Azzi," p. 97. See also Palladino, *Treasures of a Lost Art,* cat. no. 15.

Notaries' Guild Statutes, whereas the illuminations in the *Histoire ancienne jusqu'à César,* which Medica would place *earlier* in the same decade, are broader and looser in execution, considerably less wooden than the figures in the blacksmiths' illuminations.

The style of the majority of the Snite manuscript illuminations is more consistent with that of the miniatures in the *Histoire ancienne jusqu'à César.* The distinction between what one might call the "inhibited" vs. the "casual" Stefano, and the probability that these are in fact different artists, is most readily apparent in the illuminations in a *Digestum vetus* in Munich (Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm. 3503), a manuscript unnoticed by Medica, Gibbs, or Avril, but attributed to Stefano Azzi by Susan L'Engle, who suggests a date during the 1350s[37] or ca.1340–60.[38] As her primary interest is the iconography of the frontispiece of Bolognese manuscripts of the *Digestum vetus* (the first volume of Justinian's codification of Roman law), L'Engle discusses only the large miniature for Book I (fol. 3r), which she attributes to Stefano (Plate 78). Despite the drama of the subject—the attempts by the lawyers at the left to bribe the enthroned figure of justice in the upper register, the execution of a criminal in the middle register, and the burning of a heretical bishop between the columns of text—it has the plodding character typical of an Azzi illumination but the manner of execution seems almost rough.

A similar static quality suffuses the crowded market scene on folio 171r that illustrates Book 12 (Plate 79) but, while the figures are somewhat similar, the execution is quite different: the contours of the figures and facial features are precise, the draperies are matte without white highlights on the crests of the folds or at the protrusion of the

---

[37] S. L'Engle, "The Illumination of Legal Manuscripts in Bologna, 1250–1350: Production and Iconography" (Ph.D. dissertation, Institute of Fine Arts, New York University, 2000), p. 291.

[38] Ibid., p. 314.

knees, and the vertical muscles at the neck are carefully depicted. A telling comparison is provided by the tilted head of the female figure at the far left of the Munich market scene and the female head in an historiated initial in Vat. lat. 2639, fol. 80v (Plate 75), the Giovanni da Legnano manuscript on which Stefano Azzi is thought to have collaborated in 1376 in a secondary role to Nicolò da Bologna, who painted its opening Christological cycle.[39] The historiated initials on folios 115v, 219v, and 277v (Plates 80–82) of the Munich *Digest* appear to be the work of yet another, albeit related, hand that seems even more crude than the first and has similar figures with short necks indifferently rendered, but this artist eschews highlighted drapery folds as did the market scene illuminator. In contrast to these minaturists of limited talent, the artist who illustrated Book 10 (fol. 152v; Plate 83) is noticeably more sophisticated in the complexity of his composition, the dynamism of the figures, and the variation of the drapery folds—possibly the 1346 Master or Nicolò da Bologna. An artist of the previous generation also contributed to the manuscript, as is apparent in the illumination for Book 11 (fol. 163v; Plate 84), which evokes the style of the 1330s–early 1340s.[40]

Gibbs has recently written of Stefano Azzi's style that it is "slightly bloodless but ever charming,"[41] an apt description of the market scene illumination in the Munich *Digest* (fol. 171r; Plate 79), especially if one compares it to the vibrant style of an illumination of the same subject in a *Digestum vetus* in Paris (BnF, Ms. lat. 14339, fol. 183) that is generally attributed to the 1346 Master (Plate 61). One can imagine the artist

---

[39] Medica, "I miniatori dei corali agostiniani: Nicolò di Giacomo e Stefano di Alberto Azzi," p. 93.

[40] Further folios in the Munich *Digestum vetus* (Bayerische SB, Clm 3503) relevant to the Snite artist include 19r, 141v, 163v, 211v, 263v.

[41] Gibbs, "Vat. lat. 1388. A Novel Copy of Gregory IX's *Decretals*," p. 261.

of the Munich market scene producing the illumination of the seated notary for the 1382 Notaries' Statutes connected with Stefano Azzi (Plate 63). It also closely resembles a miniature of preaching and penance in a *Decretum Gratiani* (Munich, Bayr. SB, Clm., 13003, fol. 346; Plate 72) that has been attributed to Stefano Azzi by Avril, Gibbs, and Medica; Medica considers the Decretum miniature a work of the 1350s or '60s.[42] It seems quite unlikely that this artist whose manner is so deliberate, i.e., Stefano Azzi, would also have produced the illuminations on, e.g., folios 115v, 219v, and 277v of the Munich *Digestum vetus*, whose execution approaches the slipshod. I believe that they are the work of another illuminator in the Azzi workshop, and that *he* was responsible for most of the miniatures in the Snite *Meditationes Vitae Christi.*

Comparing the illumination of Book 22—a representation of a pawnshop to illustrate usury—in the Munich *Digestum vetus* (fol. 277v; Plate 82) to the miniature of the Presentation of Christ in the Temple in the Snite *MVC* (fol. 23v; Plate 12) demonstrates their stylistic similarity. The figures in both have slightly stockier proportions than those characteristic of Stefano Azzi, whose figures are taller and slimmer.[43] Their draperies are relatively simple, falling in parallel vertical folds over the length of the bodies with occasional tiers of v-shaped folds at the hips and elbows; the latter similarity is readily apparent if one compares the drapery passage of the High Priest's cope in the Snite *Presentation* to the mantle worn by the female figure at the far left of the Munich *Digestum vetus* miniature on folio 219v (Plate 81), which is by the

[42] A cutting of an historiated initial of a Dominican preaching in the Cini Foundation, 2047 (74) is also very close in style and date to the illuminations attributed to Stefano Azzi in the Munich *Decretum Gratiani* (Clm. 13003). The historiated initial is catalogued and reproduced in G. Mariani Canova, *Miniature dell'Italia settentrionale nella Fondazione Giorgio Cini* (Venice: N. Pozza , 1978), cat. no. 44.

[43] Gibbs, "Vat. lat. 1388. A Novel Copy of Gregory IX's *Decretals,*" p. 261.

same artist as the pawn shop scene. The edges of cloaks are often defined by thin white outlines. As noted earlier, the crests of the folds are not highlighted,[44] but the valleys are indicated by shading in deeper tones. The pigments in the Snite illuminations and those on the *Digestum* folios 115v, 219v, and 277v are matte and of a limited palette: intense blue, bright red, rose-pink, medium cool green, and dull gray.

The facial types of the pertinent *Digestum* miniatures and most of the Snite illuminations are also similar: the heads of the young adults have a shape that approximates an inverted egg, with broad foreheads, smooth cheeks, and tapered but rounded chins. Older male faces often have more prominent cheekbones. The manner of rendering the faces is consistent: white highlights just below the eye socket to suggest the cheek bone, and along the bridge of the nose; rosy "blush" where the cheek hollows would be (if the faces were not so smoothly plump), as well as across the middle of the forehead, and at the tip of the nose; and narrow shadows in the nasolabial folds and along the contour of the chin. The eyes are depicted with dark velvety pupils and dark eyeliner that extends past the outer corner of the eye in a barely perceptible upward curve. The brows extend in a fine wide arc above the eyes. Mouths are fleshy with lips that are almost rubbery. A comparison of the male figure in the right foreground of the *Digestum vetus* pawnbroking illumination (Plate 82) to the figures of Martha at the hearth and Mary Magdalen kneeling before Christ on folio 57v of the Snite *MVC* (Plate 18) demonstrates the facial profile typical of this illuminator: long sloping forehead and nose, bulbous lips, and rounded chin. All that said, the execution of the *Digest* illuminations seems less careful than the Snite miniatures and the style slightly more simplistic, e.g., the

[44] The Snite artist does, however, use very subtle—almost imperceptible—white hatching on the pregnant Virgin Mary's abdomen, whose significance will be considered in chapter two.

harvesting scene on folio 115v.[45] (Plate 80) Given the presence in the Munich *Digestum vetus* on folio 163v (Plate 84) of an illuminator working in the style of the preceding generation—perhaps Alberto Azzi—I think that the Munich manuscript likely dates to the 1340s, perhaps a decade before the illumination of the Snite *MVC.*

The strong resemblance of the Snite miniatures such as the First Mocking of Christ (Plate 23) and the Crucifixion (Plate 30) to illuminations in the *Histoire ancienne jusqu'à César* (Paris, BnF, Ms. fr. 168, folios 17r and 108; Plates 69–70), suggests that they were both produced in the 1350s or early '60s. One can imagine this artist—in close contact with Nicolò da Bologna in the execution of the choirbooks for San Giacomo Maggiore—producing some of the historiated initials in one of its Antiphonaries (Bologna, Museo Civico Medievale, Ms. 4110, fol. 142v; Plate 74)[46] almost a decade later, in the late 1360s. Likewise, the historiated initials in a manuscript of Ovid's *Metamorphoses* in Venice (Biblioteca Marciana, Ms. Z. L. 449a) exhibit very similar stylistic qualities to the bulk of the Snite miniatures, although their notable coarseness suggests that the illuminator may have been much advanced in years at the time of their execution (Plates 87–89). A comparison of the historiated initial depicting Orpheus attacked by the maenads in the Marciana *Metamorphoses* (Plate 87) to the miniature of the First Bath of the Infant Christ in the Snite *MVC* (Plate 8) reveals similar facial types—particularly the eyes, mouth, and jawline—similar palettes, and similar treatment

---

[45]The harvesting scene on folio 115v seems a more advanced version of the same subject in Vat. lat. 1411, fol. 136v (Plate 85), which is thought to be the work of an illuminator active ca. 1320–1345. The Munich illumination is a striking contrast to the illumination of the same subject in a cutting from the Roermond *Digestum vetus* attributed to the Illustratore now in the Getty Museum (ms. 13, recto; Plate 86).

[46] Benevolo and Medica (eds.), *I corali di San Giacomo Maggiore: Miniatori e committenti a Bologna nel Trecento*, cat. no. 14, by Silvia Battistini.

of draperies, though the contours of the figures in the Marciana initial are less carefully executed. The Marciana *Metamorphoses* illuminations have been attributed to Stefano Azzi and dated to the 1380s or 1390s by Medica and D'Arcais, among others, and connected to the illuminated initials in another manuscript of Ovid's *Metamorphoses* in Cesena (Biblioteca Malatestiana, Ms. S.XXV.6).[47] Its opening initial of Ovid (Plate 90) does have the elongated prim figure characteristic of Stefano's style but the face and jawline are more precise and taut than, for example, the fleshy male heads in the Marciana *Metamorphoses* initial of Cipus refusing the Crown of Rome (Plate 88).

The Snite manuscript thus presents an anchor to which a variety of works by an illuminator who is close to, but not identical with, Stefano Azzi can be attributed. However, while most of the Snite miniatures are by this artist—whom I designate the "Snite Illuminator"—some of the illuminations for the chapters on Christ's post-Passion appearances evince a shift to slightly more elongated figures whose contours are more restrained and carefully drawn and whose faces are blander, with less fleshy features. A comparison of the Annunciation miniature (fol. 8r; Plate 4) and the Apparition of Christ to the Virgin Mary (fol. 94r; Plate 34) manifests these differences, as well as a shift in the depiction of the rocky ground from irregular paving stone to tiers of more precisely depicted cleft rock. Those rocky terraces also appear in some of the Infancy scenes, but

[47] On the two illuminated *Metamorphoses* manuscripts see E. Mattia, "Due Ovidio illustrati di scuola bolognese," *Miniatura* 3–4 (1990–91): 63–72. Mattia does not attribute them to a specific illuminator but thinks the Marciana manuscript is the later of the two. She observes (p. 68) the balance in its miniatures between inventiveness and archaizing tendencies, and its reportial approach to the subject matter. She concludes that the illuminator of both manuscripts likely was among those mid-Trecento illuminators active in the wake of the Illustratore. More recently, F. Flores D'Arcais, "Osservazioni su Stefano degli Azzi, miniatore delle *Metamorfosi* di Ovidio (Venezia, Biblioteca Marciana, ms Lat. Z 449)," in *Miniatura: Lo sguardo e la parola*, ed. F. Toniolo and G. Toscano (Cinisello Balsamo, Milan: Silvana, 2012), pp. 133–9, considers both manuscripts to be works by Stefano Azzi of the late fourteenth century.

there they are more schematically rendered.[48] I think the illuminations on folios 93r, 95v, 97v, 107v, 108v, and 117r of the Snite manuscript may be the work of a second illluminator, possibly the one responsible for the historiated initial with scenes from the legend of Mary Magdalen in one of the series of antiphonaries in the Biblioteca Antoniana in Padua, whose illuminations have been attributed to Stefano Azzi and dated to the 1350s or '60s.[49] The antiphonary initial (Plate 71) bears a resemblance to the Noli me tangere miniature on folio 97v in the Snite *MVC* (Plate 36). Or, perhaps the same artist responsible for the bulk of the Snite miniatures, regularly working in close proximity to Stefano Azzi, appropriated some of his more meticulous habits in the course of completing the more than 48 miniatures that would have illustrated the intact Snite *MVC*.[50]

As invoked by art historians since 1978,[51] the name "Stefano Azzi" seems to have been used as a capacious category to designate works produced by a group of illuminators active in the same circle whose style is more restrained and more conservative than Nicolò's, albeit striving to approximate the justifiably more famous master. This is best exemplified by a comparison of three illuminations that include

---

[48] The blocky schematic treatment of the rocky tiers of ground in the Snite *Nativity* (Plate 7) is also apparent in the initial of Eurydice bitten by a snake as she flees from an unwelcome suitor that illustrates Book X of the Marciana *Metamorphoses* (Plate 89), perhaps an instance of the elderly Snite artist reverting to the habits of his early career.

[49] Medica, "I miniatori dei corali agostiniani: Nicolò di Giacomo e Stefano di Alberto Azzi," p. 93.

[50] It bears noting that, in comparison, illuminated *Decretum Gratiani* manuscripts typically included 38 miniatures. See C. Nordenfalk, review of *The Corpus of the Miniatures in the Manuscripts of the Decretum Gratiani*, by A. Melnikas, in *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte* 43 (1980): 319.

[51] E.g., A. Conti's brief passage on Stefano Azzi in his entry on Nicolò da Bologna in F. Arcangeli, *Pittura bolognese del '300: Scritti di Francesco Arcangeli* (Bologna: Cassa di Risparmio, 1978), p. 178.

representations of the Annunciation. The first is in the *Novella* manuscript (Biblioteca Ambrosiana, Ms. B 42 inf), whose frontispiece to Book III representing Virtues and Vices and the Liberal Arts was signed by Nicolò and dated 1354 (Plate 66). The illuminations for Book IV, of the Annunciation and Marriage of the Virgin (fol 159r; Plate 64), and Book V, of Christ and the Woman taken in Adultery (fol. 205r; Plate 65) are usually attributed to Stefano Azzi,[52] although Gibbs has recently revised his view and now believes they are the work of a close associate.[53] The Annunciation composition is similar to that in the Snite manuscript (Plate 4) but the drapery folds in the *Novella* miniature are more luxuriant, partly because of the profuse highlighting along the crests that resembles the drapery treatment in the frontispiece to the Munich *Digestum vetus* (Plate 78), and the necklines are wider. Also typically attributed to Stefano Azzi are the large miniatures of the Trees of Consanguinity and Affinity in the *Liber Sextus* manuscript with Giovanni D'Andrea's *Novella* in Vienna (ÖNB, Cod. 2042, fols. 116v and 117r), whose date, as noted above, may be in the mid-1340s. The Affinity table (fol. 117r; Plate 68) includes a scene of the Annunciation in the lower right corner that is similar to the Snite Annunciation in the use of streaks of paint to represent the descent of the Holy Spirit (rather than the medallion head of God in the Ambrosiana illlumination) and the treatment of the Virgin's mantle drawn up nun-like over her head, but the stiffness and precision in the figures' contours and the flatness of the faces, especially of

---

[52] See Benevolo and Medica (eds.), *I corali di San Giacomo Maggiore: Miniatori e committenti a Bologna nel Trecento*, cat. no. 1, by Milvia Bollati, and Medica's essay in the same volume, "I miniatori dei corali agostiniani: Nicolò di Giacomo e Stefano di Alberto Azzi," p. 92.

[53] Gibbs, "Vat. lat. 1388. A Novel Copy of Gregory IX's *Decretals,*" p. 259, n. 22: "Niccolò's collaborator in Giovanni d'Andrea's *Novella* on the *Decretales*, Milan, Bibl. Ambrosiana, Ms. B. 42 inf., is not Azzi as Medica states and I used to think, but a close associate present with Azzi in the *Parvum Volumen*, BAV Urb. lat. 164 and therefore clearly distinguishable from him."

the young aristocratic woman in the upper left, is unlike the Snite *Annunciation,* though not dissimilar to the Snite Noli me tangere (Plate 36).[54] As these three manuscripts all likely date to the same decade (ca. 1345–55), it seems improbable that they are all attributable to a single artist, i.e., Stefano Azzi.[55]

Though untangling and identifying the diverse hands that fall under the "Stefano Azzi" umbrella is beyond the scope of this study, what *can* be affirmed about the Azzi style is the tendency among its practitioners to retain iconographies and compositional schemes of the first half of the century. This archaizing impulse is apparent in the adaptation of the Adoration of the Magi miniature in the Snite *MVC* (Plate 11) for the upper register of a large illumination in an *Institutiones* manuscript commonly attributed to Stefano Azzi now in the Vatican Library (Urb. lat. 164, fol. 77r; Plate 77).[56] L'Engle dates it to the 1340s or 1350s[57] and Medica to the 1380s or 1390s.[58] Apart from the

---

[54] The careful delineation of the fleshy pads in the aristocratic woman's open palm is also evident in Mary Magdalen's proper left hand.

[55] It is interesting that the stiff grouping of the central figures in the Marriage of the Virgin scene in the Ambrosiana *Novella* contrasts to the Marriage illumination in a cutting attributed to Nicolò da Bologna (National Gallery, Washington, DC, B-22,225) that is regarded as a work of the 1350s (Plate 91). In the latter, the officiant extends his arms around the shoulders of the bride and groom flanking him on either side. Though the Snite artist is akin to (but not identical with) the illuminator of the Ambrosiana illumination, in the Snite miniature of the Virgin Mary, Holy Women, and St. John Lamenting (fol. 80r), the Virgin Mary also drapes her arms around the two female companions flanking her (Plate 28).

[56] Gibbs, "Vat. lat. 1388. A Novel Copy of Gregory IX's *Decretals,*" p. 262, and figs. 8 and 9, considers Urb. lat. 164 an important manuscript for the definition of Stefano Azzi's style but he does not discuss the major illuminations in the manuscript. Rather, he cites two of its smaller miniatures as exemplifying Stefano Azzi's hand (fol. 229v) and the different hand of his "close associate" (fol. 275r). While Gibbs does not remark on the different treatment of the drapery in the two examples, the miniature that Gibbs attributes to the latter has highlighted drapery folds; the one that he attributes to Stefano Azzi does not. I am not convinced by Gibbs's attribution of the miniature on fol. 229v to Stefano as the figures are stocky and the facial features are blunt.

[57] L'Engle,"Illumination of Legal Manuscripts," indicates 1340–1350 on p. 302 and 1350–1360 on p. 172.

addition of a large retinue at the right behind the magi, the *Institutiones* composition retains the basic elements of the Snite miniature but heightens its aulic character by making the figures even more static and reverent. Yet, at the same time, the illuminator increases the complexity of the drapery, adding white highlights to the crests of the folds, and sharpens the contours of the figures, more consistent with the Mary Magdalen initial from the Paduan antiphonary. In comparison, the Snite Adoration seems to retain more of the blunt quality and directness of the historiated initial of the Adoration of the Magi in a choirbook likely executed for the Dominican convent of S. Maria Maddalena di Valdipietra in the 1330s, which is attributed to the Master of the Crucifixion D (Plate 92). His work, which extends from the 1320s to the early 1340s, seems to have been very familiar to the Snite Illuminator.[59]

A comparison of the Crucifixion miniatures attributed to the Master of the Crucifixion D that date to the 1330s (Plates 93–94), the Crucifixion miniature in the Snite *MVC* that likely dates to the 1350s (Plate 30), and the Crucifixion from the Tailors' Guild Missal (Metropolitan Museum), which is regarded as a late work by Stefano Azzi likely dating to ca. 1390–1400 (Plate 95), suggests that their illuminators share artistic DNA. Relative to the fluent style of their more talented contemporaries, they all favor static figures in simple compositions with comparatively uncomplicated drapery folds. As will be made apparent in the iconographical analysis of the Snite illuminations, the work of

---

[58] Medica, "I miniatori dei corali agostiniani: di Giacomo e Stefano di Alberto Azzi," p. 95.

[59] On the Master of the Crucifixion D, see M. Medica, "La miniatura a Bologna al tempo di Bertrando del Poggetto," in *Corali miniati di Faenza, Bagnacavallo e Cotignola* (Faenza [Ravenna]: Edit Faenza, 2000), pp. 85–7.

the Master of the Crucifixion D and his older collaborator, the Master of Esau,[60] is a recurrent resource for its artist, though the Snite Illuminator and, even more, Stefano Azzi, drain the earlier style of its blunt vigor. No one has suggested that the Master of the Crucifixion D might be Alberto Azzi, but it is an intriguing possibility.[61] Certainly there seems to be a kinship in the treatment of the figures, heads, drapery, and palettes, in work attributed to the Master of the Crucifixion D, such as an historated initial of the Virgin, St. Joseph, and angels in the Gradual made for S. Maria Maddalena di Valdipietra[62] (Plate 96), and the Snite miniatures, e.g., the Lamentation (Plate 31). Perhaps the relationship between the Master of the Crucifixion D, the Snite illuminator, and Stefano Azzi was analogous to that between the 1328 Master, the Illustratore/1346 Master, and Nicolò da Bologna. The two groups, whose work spans most of the Trecento, represent parallel stylistic strands, the latter excelling in talent, sophistication, and innovation, while the former is more direct, wooden, and conventional—increasingly so, as the century progresses.

The three illuminators—the Master of the Crucifixion D, the Snite Illuminator, and Stefano Azzi—likely do not represent three generations within the same family. The Snite Illuminator seems to be older than Stefano but not old enough to be his father, especially since men in Italy typically did not marry until around age thirty and it was not

---

[60] M. Medica, "'Miniatori-pittori': il 'Maestro del Gherarduccio', Lando di Antonio, il 'Maestro del 1328' ed altri. Alcune considerazioni sulla produzione miniatoria bolognese del 1320–30," in *Francesco da Rimini e gli esordi del gotico bolognese* (Bologna: Nuova Alfa, 1990), pp. 101–108, discusses the Master of the Crucifixion D and the Master of Esau, and notes similarities to scenes in the altarpieces attributed to the Pseudo-Jacopino, another iconographic source that the Snite Infancy miniatures reflect.

[61] I find unconvincing Gibb's suggestion that Alberto Azzi perhaps was the principal illuminator of Vat. lat. 1388.

[62] See M. Medica, *Un Libro per le Domenicane* (Padua: Nova Charta, 2011), p. 81.

unusual for them to father children in their forties and beyond. Perhaps the Snite Illuminator in age and style bridged the generations between Alberto Azzi and Stefano Azzi, similar to the uncle figure (i.e., the father's younger brother who is uncle to the son), whom Daniel Bornstein has identified as pivotal in the transmission of family workshops from father to son in fifteenth-century Cortona.[63] Or, he may simply have been a colleague who, as a young artist participated in commissions with the older Master of the Crucifixion D and, when mature, was a senior collaborator with Stefano Azzi.

The hypothesis that the illuminator of the Snite manuscript was an older colleague of Stefano Azzi's who may have been trained in the later 1330s or early 1340s is supported by the style of the figures, faces, drapery, and treatment of the rocky ground. The gold and rose foliage backgrounds in the Snite miniatures are characteristic of the 1340s and 1350s. The costume of the figures is somewhat old-fashioned for the second half of the century, perhaps not surprising given the Christological subject matter. A date in the 1350s seems most likely for the Snite manuscript.[64] A number of the miniatures show an awareness of the frescoes with scenes from the life of Christ detached from the walls of the oratory at Mezzaratta and now in the Pinacoteca Nazionale in Bologna. The most famous of these is the *Nativity with the First Bath of Christ* from the counterfacade wall attributed to Vitale da Bologna and possibly dating as early as 1338[65] (Plate 97). The Snite manuscript also includes an illumination of the First Bath (Plate 8) but it is

---

[63] D. Bornstein, "Provincial Painters: Local Artists in Quattrocento Cortona and the Origins of Luca Signorelli," *Renaissance Studies* 14:4 (2000): 435–52, especially p. 451.

[64] Robert Gibbs suggested a date in the 1350s, possibly 1355–60, in letters to me written 2 February 1993 and 13 March 1993.

[65] J. Bentini; G. P. Cammarota, and D. Scaglietti Kalescian (eds.), *Pinacoteca Nazionale di Bologna Catalogo Generale*, vol. I, cat. no. 23, by A. Volpe.

notably static and reverent compared to Vitale's dynamic figures. Similarly, as will be demonstrated in the iconographical analyses in chapters three and four, the Snite miniatures of the Circumcision, the Adoration of the Magi, and the Baptism of Christ, all suggest that the illuminator was familiar with those frescoes on the north wall of the oratory that Volpe proposes were executed from the mid-1340s to the early 1350s.[66] Compared to the Mezzaratta frescoes, especially those attributed to Vitale, the Snite artist consistently favors a conservative approach. His temperament and limited artistic talent are both characteristic of the Azzi workshop and contrast to the stylistic innovation and artistic skill of the most admired vein of Trecento Bolognese illlumination that extends from the 1328 Master through Nicolò da Bologna. To the modern scholar it is surprising, if not disappointing, that an unexceptional artist with a traditional disposition was selected to illuminate the novel and influential *MVC* text by the patron of the Snite manuscript.[67] Close study of the iconography of its illuminations will show, however,

---

[66] A.Volpe, *Mezzaratta: Vitale e altri pittori per una confraternita bolognese* (Bologna: Bononia Univ. Press, 2005), pp. 39–67. The connections between the Mezzaratta frescoes and Bolognese manuscript illumination were observed by Conti in his description of the frescoes in *Pittura bolognese del '300: Scritti di Francesco Arcangeli*, p. 138, where he remarks that illuminators present in the choirbooks for San Pietro (likely dating to the late 1320s) and in the antiphonaries for Santa Maria dei Servi (of the 1330s) form the cultural base for some of the frescoes. He further proposed that the similarity of the miniature of Christ and the Woman taken in Adultery in the Ambrosiana *Novella* manuscript dated 1354 to the fresco of the same subject from the north wall of Mezzaratta (Plate 185) provides a terminus *ante quem* for the latter scene. Conti did not note, however, that the underdrawing of the Mezzaratta fresco shows the woman crossing her right arm over her left, as does the figure in the *Novella* manuscript, but the fresco layer has her crossing her left arm over her right. Furthermore, both the Mezzaratta underdrawing and the *Novella* illumination represent a plain sleeve of her dress while the fresco layer represents fashionable *manicottoli* trailing from the sleeve.

[67] An apt analogy in this regard is the illuminator and painter Pacino di Bonaguida, active in Florence in the first half of the fourteenth century. Although generally regarded among art historians as an artist of conservative temperament and modest talent, he, too, undertook a wide variety of commissions requiring iconographic improvisation. Among his works is the picture book of scenes from the life of Christ and the Blessed Gherardo Villamagna in the Pierpont

that the Snite Illuminator approached his task with theological acumen, and that his conservatism may have been exactly what the patron desired to moderate and enrich the innovative text.

Morgan Library, New York, M. 643. See L. B. Kanter et al., *Painting and Illumination in Early Renaissance Florence*, 1300–1450 (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1994), pp. 44–55.

CHAPTER 2

ILLUMINATIONS FOR THE PROLOGUE AND THE LIFE OF THE VIRGIN MARY

The illuminations for the Prologue and the first six chapters of the Snite *MVC* lack a unified theme. In this they are consistent with the chapters that they illustrate, which cover a broad range of material and employ literary approaches appropriate to their different topics. The prologue introduces the subject of the book and the nature of its contents. It also provides the justification for its composition and has a strong prescriptive component. The *Meditations* narrative then begins by sketching the "backstory" to the Incarnation in two chapters, showing that the primary motive was divine love. The first imagines the angels entreating God in heaven to save fallen humanity. The second, on the Dispute between the Virtues before God, turns to Bernard of Clairvaux's Advent sermon on the Annunciation to furnish a kind of forensics lesson on the divine economy whereby the disputants—Mercy and Truth, and Peace and Justice—are reconciled, and agree that the Incarnation is the means by which humans can be saved. The following chapter on the early life of the Virgin Mary before the Annunciation draws upon apocryphal and visionary sources. At the center of its text appears the excerpt from the *Revelations of Saint Elizabeth*. The passage includes a list of the Virgin Mary's prayer petitions while she resided in the temple as a child that serve to articulate key Christian concepts, e.g., the love of God and neighbor, the essential virtues of humility and patience, the

incarnation of God through a virgin birth, and the authoritative role of the church (temple) and its priests in serving God. There is only passing mention of the marriage of the Virgin to Joseph, likely because the episode would have been considered irrelevant to the life of a woman religious reader.

The chapter on the Annunciation combines the theologically didactic and the affective, explaining how the Incarnation was effected and lingering over the Virgin Mary's state of mind as she considered the words of Gabriel. The chapter on the Visitation continues in a similar vein, elaborating the Lucan account so that the Virgin's exceptional role is manifested in her humble service. In the final chapter before the birth of Christ, the author relates Joseph's distress over Mary's pregnancy and his response to this test of faith. That chapter concludes with a consideration of the humility inherent in Christ's gestation confined within the womb, which the author compares to the security provided by religion, gesturing to the Virgin Mary as figure of the Church. Throughout these chapters the author pursues multiple goals, seeking to produce an emotionally appealing narrative that is theologically informed and catechetically sound. Faced with such diversity in the text of the early *MVC* chapters, the illuminator appropriated iconographic motifs from various sources, e.g., illuminated liturgical and legal manuscripts as well as religious wall and panel paintings. Close analysis of these early miniatures will show that, while they do not adhere slavishly to the text, his pictorial appropriations were typically apposite, resulting in illustrations embedded with a range of associations that complement the manifold aims of the text and speak to the concerns of its new lay readers.

Christ Enthroned with patrons (fol. 1r) and

God the Father Enthroned in Heaven (fol 37r)

Seemingly conventional in its general disposition but singular in its nuances, the opening miniature of the Snite *Meditations* sets the tone for the subsequent pictorial program (Plate 1). This first illumination is a deceptively simple image of an enthroned figure flanked by two kneeling figures. In its badly abraded condition the configuration dimly suggests a Madonna and Child Enthroned flanked by supplicant patrons[1]—a ubiquitous late medieval image and one that would seem to anticipate the love between Mother and Son that is so prevalent in the text. But, closer examination reveals that the seated figure holds a book, not a baby, propped up in his lap, and further, that he has a dark complexion and beard of the type that are proper to the adult Christ.

In its basic elements the Snite opening miniature differs from those of the Paris (Plate 99) and Oxford *MVC* manuscripts, both of which include specific Franciscan pictorial references. Though the text of the prologue upholds St. Cecilia as a model for her constant meditation on the life of Christ, and St. Francis as an example of the perfection of the virtues attained through his total assimilation to the life of Christ, it offers no striking visual details. As is typical of book introductions, for the most part the author concentrates on articulating a justification for the work and his approach. He provides an exposition of the benefits to be derived from meditation on the life of Christ, gestures to the standard topos of the author's humility and the advantages of the simple as opposed to the ornate style, and concludes with some brief remarks on his sources and methods. Consequently, lacking an obvious subject matter that would readily translate

[1] For example, a simpler more static version along the lines of the Madonna and Child Enthroned (Plate 98) in the main panel from Vitale da Bologna's *Madonna dei Denti* altarpiece (Bologna, Museo Davia Bargellini).

into pictorial form, and unconstrained by a visual tradition for the opening of this new narrative text, the Snite illuminator turned to a conventional iconographic type that, when employed in this fresh context, proves to be quite exceptional.

Though one of the most basic of Christian images, the figure of Christ in majesty as shown in the Snite miniature—adored by two kneeling figures who are neither angels nor saints and detached from a specific narrative subject such as the Last Judgment—is something of a conundrum. Though panel paintings of the Madonna and Child flanked by donors are ubiquitous, a survey of Trecento painting yields few images of the Enthroned Christ similarly adored:[2] one need only cite the central panel of the Stefaneschi Altarpiece to recall the infrequency of the subject in fourteenth-century panel painting despite its venerable Romanesque past.[3] However, Bolognese liturgical and legal manuscripts provide examples that likely informed the Snite composition.

Among the iconographies employed in both Mass and Office books for the first Sunday of Advent, the initial feast of the temporal cycle and the one most often illustrated, one of the more frequent types comprises the image of Christ in majesty joined variously by kneeling angels and expectant prophets, apostles, and saints. The theological significance of Advent embraces the range of Christian themes: in its first weeks it looks to Christ's Second Coming and Last Judgment as the fulfillment of his

---

[2] Among the examples of works with donor portraits compiled in D. Kocks, *Die Stifterdarstellung in der italienischen Malereri* (Cologne: Bothmann, 1971), pp. 343–507, very few are of Christ Enthroned adored by donors, and those are almost exclusively restricted to works of monumental scale.

[3] Interestingly, B. Kempers and S. de Blaauw, "Jacopo Stefaneschi," *Mededelingen van het Nederlands Instituut te Rome* 47 (1987): 92, n. 47 (p. 107), speculate on the possible influence of Bolognese illuminators and Sienese painters in Avignon upon the altarpiece.

divine kingship;[4] as Christmas draws near, the incarnational focus sharpens. The emphasis throughout Advent is upon conversion and penitence in readiness for Christ's final return at the end of time and his imminent arrival in the Nativity.[5] The imagery for Advent in liturgical manuscripts vacillates between the specific, such as the representation of the Annunciation or Last Judgment, and the more allusive—the Maiestas Domini, Salvator Mundi, or Pantocrator. In the case of the latter, the focal point is the figure of Christ Enthroned, usually flanked by angels, either aloft or kneeling, and accompanied below by standing or kneeling figures depicted in gestures of supplication or anticipation.[6] An historiated intial "A" (Plate 100) marking the Introit *Ad te levavi* of the Mass of the First Sunday of Advent in a Gradual possibly made for the female Dominican community of S. Maria Maddalena di Valdipietra in Bologna in the mid-1330s shows a typical Bolognese composition: Christ is seated upon a draped throne bracketed by two flying angels in the upper compartment of the initial while below David kneels and proffers an inscribed scroll that extends upward to Christ.[7]

---

[4] The gospel reading for the First Sunday of Advent is drawn from Luke 21, whose verse 27 includes the vision of the Son of Man appearing in great majesty at the end of the world.

[5] C. O'Brien, "Illustration of First Sunday in Advent," p. 149, observes that "the textual themes meshed together in this office are prophetic, Marian and Incarnational, and parousial."

[6] The gestures and attitudes of the figures below depend on whether the site is a Missal (or Gradual), where the opening words of the Introit for the Mass of the First Sunday of Advent, i.e., "Ad te, Domine, levavi animam meam," inspired the motif of raised hands (often of the single figure of David in prayer), or, the Breviary (or Antiphonary), where the "Aspiciens a longe" response of the First Nocturn of Matins for the First Sunday of Advent prompted figures gazing toward the distant Divinity. It should be noted, too, that the aspirant aspects of both texts, given their Advent setting, enabled the same compositional formats to be used interchangeably; see G. Castiglioni, "Per un' iconologia del Messale," p. 181–3.

[7] Cf., R. D'Amico et al., *Francesco da Rimini*, no. 18.

Drawing upon Advent imagery to introduce a text that retells the life of Christ implicitly links this new devotional book to the liturgy and expresses the potential of the *MVC* to facilitate the reader's encounter with God, the desire expressed in the psalm recited at Mass on the First Sunday of Advent: "O Lord God of hosts, convert us and show thy face, and we shall be saved" (Ps. 79:20). The eschatological significance of the Snite miniature is sealed by its close correspondence with the penultimate illumination of the Ascendant Christ praised by the Saints (Plate 47): the Christ whom the kneeling patrons adore at the opening of the book is the same Christ who reigns in heaven adored by the blessed and who will come again to judge the living and the dead. Because the early focus of Advent is upon the anticipation of Christ's coming as divine judge, the vigilance and penitence that characterize Advent would likewise be appropriate attitudes to encourage in the readers about to begin the *MVC* text, whose purpose is to cultivate deeper devotion to Christ to advance their salvation. Given the periodic outbreaks of plague that afflicted Bologna from the late 1340s to the 1360s,[8] it is not unreasonable to think that a keen awareness of the real possibility of sudden death might have augmented the readers' interest in a devotional aid that readied them for Christ's judgment.

Divine judgment of human worthiness is the theme of the two chapters immediately following the prologue. First the angels pray for the salvation of humankind before God the Father enthroned in heaven (Plate 2). Then the personifications of Mercy, Justice, Peace, and Truth debate in the court of heaven before God the Father about whether humanity should be saved, a dispute that God resolves by deciding to become incarnate. Though the folio that would have borne the illumination of the Dispute between the Virtues is missing from the Snite manuscript, it is telling that the

[8] R. Pini, *Il mondo dei pittori a Bologna*, pp. 17–18.

illuminators of both the Paris (Plate 101) and Oxford (Plate 102) *MVC* manuscripts turned to Advent precedents for its illustration, creating compositions in which God, bearing a book and making a blessing gesture, is enthroned as judge in an elevated position above the kneeling plaintiffs and defendants. Ragusa and Green cite the iconography of the *Aspiciens a longe* response from Matins for the First Sunday of Advent as a likely source for the Paris illustration and observe that the unusual representation of the Virtues as male might have been assimilated from the Old Testament prophets that gesture toward Christ in the typical historiated Advent initial.[9]

For the figures of the kneeling patrons in the opening Snite illumination, who are shown in almost-equal scale as the enthroned Christ and lack saintly sponsors standing behind them, it is likely that the illuminator's exemplars were drawn from fourteenth-century legal manuscript illuminations. Deriving from early Christian *traditio legis* iconography, the first large illumination for the *Distinctiones* of *Decretum Gratiani* manuscripts usually represents the central enthroned figure of Christ flanked by kneeling figures of the pope, to his proper right, and the emperor, to his left, on whom are bestowed the attributes of their respective offices (Plate 103).[10] This hieratic format, simple at its core, was progressively elaborated through the fourteenth century, aspiring

---

[9] Ragusa and Green, *Meditations*, pp. 403–4, no. 3. Ragusa, "The Dispute of the Virtues Miniature in the 'Meditations on the life of Christ'," p. 52, states that the artist's depiction of the four Virtues as male is a "blunder." Flora, *Devout Belief of the Imagination,* p.76, likewise interprets the male gender of the kneeling Virtues as a misunderstanding on the part of the artist. The three illuminations devoted to the Dispute in the Oxford *MVC* (fols. 3v, 4r, 4v) bear a striking similarity to the group of Christ flanked by two kneeling angels in the upper half of an *Ad te levavi* historiated initial in an early fourteenth-century Gradual made for S. Domenico in Perugia; the Perugian Gradual is included in F. Porzio (ed.), *Francesco d'Assisi*, p. 225, no. 24 and p. 164.

[10] See the discussion in Melnikas, *Miniatures of the Decretum Gratiani*, I: 41–53.

to a sophisticated articulation of the distribution of powers between ecclesiastical and civil representatives, while underscoring Christ as the source of all authority in an ever more insistent way. Characterized by symmetry and hierarchy, and thus expressive of the properties of equity and order associated with justice, this pictorial formula was adapted for various legal manuscripts, e.g., in civil law manuscripts such as the *Digestum vetus* where Justinian/Justice assumes Christ's central enthroned position flanked by subordinates (Plate 78), and in canon law manuscripts where the pope often appears as the central enthroned figure who receives texts presented by kneeling clerics or lawyers (Plate 104).[11] The appropriation of this pictorial type for images beyond the legal domain is especially apparent in mid-fourteenth-century Dominican commissions such as the Strozzi Altarpiece and the chapterhouse frescoes in Santa Maria Novella.[12] Because of their historical involvement in the teaching of law and adjudication of doctrinal disputes, the Dominicans' recourse to legal and conciliar iconographies comes as no surprise.

Although the *MVC* text of the Snite manuscript has long been associated with Franciscan spirituality and is of a genre far removed from legal texts or juridical concerns, the format of its opening miniature seems to be a deliberate effort to insinuate authority into a work that retells the life of Christ by embellishing the spare accounts of

---

[11] Gibbs, "'Sober as a Judge': Ambrogio Lorenzetti's *Allegory of Justice in the Good Commune* 'Under the Influence' of the *Digest* and other Bolognese Illuminated Law Manuscripts," in *Under the Influence: The Concept of Influence and the Study of Illuminated Manuscripts*, ed. J. Lowden and A. Bovey (Leiden: Brepols, 2007), pp. 121–38, discusses these legal manuscripts' opening illuminations and their impact on Ambrogio Lorenzetti's Good Government fresco in the Palazzo Pubblico, Siena.

[12] On the Strozzi altarpiece see J. T. Paoletti, "The Strozzi Altarpiece Reconsidered," *Memorie Domenicane* n.s. 20 (1989), pp. 285, 289–91. For the doctrinal and legal nuances in the compositional formulae of Dominican chapterhouse frescoes see J. Gardner, "Andrea di Bonaiuto and the Chapterhouse Frescoes in Santa Maria Novella," *Art History* 2 (1979): 119–25, and R. Gibbs, *Tomaso da Modena*, pp. 74–6.

the canonical gospels. The author's awareness that the legitimacy of his project might be vulnerable to criticism is evident in the fact that he concludes the prologue by acknowledging the unofficial status of his work. He takes care to both justify and limit its claims upon the reader:

> With regard to Holy Scripture, we are able to think about, expound, and understand [it] in many ways as we believe is needed, that is insofar as [they are] not against the catholic faith and good customs. Thus when you will hear it said [here], 'This was said and done by the Lord Jesus,' or other things of which I speak, if I cannot prove [it] through Scripture or through the saying of a learned doctor, do not take it otherwise than as needed for devout contemplation. Take it as if I were to have said, 'Think [i.e., suppose] that this is what Jesus Christ said and did.'[13]

Though the author acknowledges that the *MVC* text does not require the intellectual assent on the part of the Christian reader that scripture or doctrine do, he asserts that the thoughts, words, and episodes that he has imagined for Christ, the Virgin Mary, and other Gospel figures are fruitful for the reader's contemplative experience if attended to diligently.[14] The enthroned Christ holding a book in the Snite opening miniature, because of its cognates in liturgical and legal manuscript illuminations, functions as a pictorial

---

[13] Snite *MVC*, fol. 3v: ". . . in percio che intorno ala divina scriptura noi possiam pensare e sponere e intendere in multi modi segundo che nuj crediamo che sia bisogno con cio sia cosa che non sia contra la fede cattolica e contra li buoni custumi dunqua quando odirai dire cosi fece Jesu Cristo e cosi disse o d altri di cui io parlasse se quella cosa io non poroe provare per la scriptura o per dicto d alcuno savio doctore no lla prendere altramente che sia bisongno a devoti pensieri e inpercio cusi la prendi como se io dicesse pensa cusi disse e fece Jesu Cristo. . . ." The author refers to this circumscription of the claims of his text later in the *MVC* when he writes about the apparent insignificance of Jesus' life between the age of thirteen and thirty, Snite MVC, fol. 41r; cf. Ragusa and Green, *Meditations*, p. 95. In the beginning of the chapter titled "Quelle chosse chesse pertiegneno alla passione di cristo," in the Snite *MVC,* on fol. 65v the author again insists, "io non intendo nulla cosa afermare la qual non sia affermata per la scriptura or per dicti di santi o kesse dica per oppinione o provata."

[14] Snite *MVC*, fol. 3v: ". . .se tu desideri [the text continues on fol. 37r, where the folio was incorrectly inserted] d avere fructo di queste cose [i.e., the imagined words and actions of Christ] fa che tuti faci si presente a queste cose che ssi dicano che ssiam dite e facte per jesu cristo con tuta la toa mente e desiderio diligentemente e atentamente quando puoi e lassa stare ogna cura e sollicitudine. . ."

imprimatur to this new and innovative text: the picture implies that God himself is author and subject of this text, just as He is author and subject of the Law.

The identity of the kneeling figures that flank Christ is uncertain, but from their dress it seems most likely that they are the husband and wife of the family that commissioned the Snite manuscript. As is customary, the male figure kneels in the favored position at Christ's proper right hand. However, it should be noted that Christ's head inclines slightly toward the female figure on his left. She is almost illegible, but appears to be dressed in a blue hooded mantle of the style worn by a kneeling donatrix shown opposite a bourgeois male counterpart in a Trecento Tuscan panel of the Madonna and Child now in Ottawa (Plate 105).[15] The Snite matron appears to have her hands crossed upon her breast in a gesture connoting awe and submission similar to that later assumed by the Virgin Mary in the Presentation (fol. 5v) and Annunciation (fol. 8r).[16] Her husband opposite is represented with his hands raised, palms pressed together, in the prayer gesture traditional since the thirteenth century.[17] He appears to have cropped hair and perhaps a trim beard. He is dressed in a red tunic,[18] snug fitting through the torso and

---

[15] M. Boskovits, *The Fourteenth Century: The Painters of the Miniaturist Tendency* (Sec. III, vol. IX of R. Offner with K. Steinweg, *A Critical and Historical Corpus of Florentine Painting*), (Florence, 1984), pl. XCII (the woman kneels at the viewer's left). Boskovits, p. 46, suggests a date in the third or early fourth decade.

[16] On the crossed-hands gesture in Trecento art, see M. Barasch, *Giotto and Gesture*, ch. 4.

[17] E.H. Gombrich, "Ritualized Gesture and Expression in Art," in his *The Image and the Eye* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell Univ. Press, 1982), pp. 71–2.

[18] It bears noting that Geoffroi de Charney, in his description of the knighting ceremony in his famous mid-fourteenth-century knight's manual, associates humility with the red cloak with which the knight was vested and describes the attachment of precious gold spurs on the knight's feet as a sign that he should overcome covetousness; see Kaeuper and Kennedy (eds.), *Book of Chivalry of Geoffroi de Charney*, pp. 167–71. However, on red clothing as a marker of wealth, see J. H. Munro, "The Medieval Scarlet and the Economics of Sartorial Splendor" in *Cloth and*

slightly gathered at the hips by a low-slung belt—the garment would be about calf-length were he standing—with a small hood that has fallen in a compact mound at the back of his neck.[19] Almost imperceptible traces of spurs are visible at his feet. Such costume carries distinctly chivalric pretensions, the belt and spurs typically associated with knighthood.[20] In the repertoire of mid-fourteenth-century Bolognese images, it closely resembles the dress of the *cavalieri* represented on the 1347 tomb of Taddeo Pepoli (Plate 106), or the knightly saints in a lavish illumination for the treatise on penance from a *Decretum Gratiani* (BAV, Urb. Lat. 161) attributed to the 1346 Master (Plate 107). Similar garb is worn by the imperial standard-bearer at the left of an historiated initial, representing Cipus refusing the crown of Rome, in a manuscript of Ovid's *Metamorphoses* in the Biblioteca Marciana (Ms. Z. L. 449a), whose illumination I have attributed to the Snite Illuminator (Plate 88). However, it is important to note that knightly dress need not have precluded professional activity: among the accoutrements that William Durandus allows to the well-dressed advocate in his late-thirteenth-century treatise, *De advocato*, are breast-plates, spurs, and buckles.[21]

Clothing: Essays in Memory of Professor E.M. Carus-Wilson, ed. N.B. Harte and K.G. Ponting (London: Heinemann Educational Books, 1983), pp. 13–70.

[19] A male donor wearing a costume of similar cut, albeit with the more fashionable shorter skirt, kneels at the right of a fresco of the Adoration of the Magi in the Abbazia di Vezzolano, ca. 1351–54, reproduced and discussed in S. M. Newton, *Fashion in the Age of the Black Prince* (Woodbridge, Suffolk: Boydell Press, 1980), pp. 105–7.

[20] Cf. the scene of the Knighting of St. Martin in the Lower Church at Assisi where Martin is vested with the sword belt and spurs; my thanks to Andrea von Hülsen-Esch for noting the spurs in the Snite miniature.

[21] William Durand, *On the Advocate,* pt. 2 [what types of vestments advocates should wear], trans. Patrick J. Lally from Guilelmus Durandus, *Speculum iudicale*, 2 vols. (Basel: Ambrosius & Aurelius Frobenius [fratres], 1574): 1:259–71, revised by Osvaldo Cavallar, Constantin Fasolt, and Julius Kirshner for a forthcoming anthology of Ius Commune texts in English translation, ed.

The Presentation of the Virgin to the Temple (fol. 5v)

The book motif and the links to legal and liturgical manuscript illumination that were evident in the opening illumination persist in the illustration for the chapter on the Virgin Mary's life prior to the Annunciation (Plate 3). The instructions to the illuminator, still partly visible in the upper and lower margins of folio 5v, make clear his two-fold task: to "show how the Virgin Mary was offered in the temple and how she is in her cell and studies in her book. . . "[22] The artist adhered to these instructions by combining the two successive episodes within the single pictorial field, representing a scene of the Presentation of the Virgin Mary as a little girl at the left and, on the right, a view of her as an older girl now reading in her chambers.

For the first episode, the text of the *Meditations* provides no visual description. The opening line of the chapter in the Snite manuscript states baldly that "at the age of three years the little Virgin Mary was offered in the temple by her father and her mother and stayed there until she was fourteen."[23] Later in this chapter, the author depends heavily on the apocryphal texts that narrate the Virgin's early life, but he strangely eschews any lengthy descriptions regarding the manner of the Virgin's Presentation, not even indulging in the few terse lines that Jacobus de Voragine expends in his account.[24]

Julius Kirshner and Osvaldo Cavallar. Conversely, legal professional dress did not preclude knightly status.

[22] The instruction at the top of fol. 5v reads, "fac qui chomo la vergene maria offerta al tempio" and continues at the bottom of fol. 5v, "e fac qui chome la vergene maria e in la cella sua e studia in sunno libro. . ."

[23] Snite *MVC*, fol 5v: "Essendo la vergene maria picola de tri anni foe offerta dal padre e dala madre nel tempio e qui stete infine ali quatordici anni."

[24] Cf., Jacobus de Voragine, *Golden Legend*, II, p. 152.

In the Oxford *MVC*, the lack of interest in the Presentation itself that is apparent in the text resulted in the omission of this scene from the two illustrations for this chapter, which instead depict the Virgin's activities once resident in the temple. Deprived of any textual direction for the Presentation scene, the Snite illuminator turned to pictorial tradition, one long-developed in the Byzantine world but still nascent in the West, where the feast of the Presentation of the Virgin was not celebrated until the late fourteenth century.[25]

In its general disposition, the Presentation portion in the left half of the Snite miniature recalls Byzantine tradition more than it resembles Western representations of this event, which tend to display far greater diversity.[26] The Byzantine iconography of the theme (Plate 108), though usually arranged to be read from left to right, most often consists of a group of candle-bearing virgins in procession behind Anna and Joachim who follow their daughter Mary as she approaches the High Priest at the entrance to the temple sanctuary, generally designated by a ciborium-sheltered altar. Beyond this central group, often in the upper right corner, is appended the scene of the Virgin receiving food

---

[25] The feast was first formally celebrated in the Latin Church before the papal court at the Franciscan church in Avignon on 21 November 1372. For the history of the feast, see M. J. Kishpaugh, *The Feast of the Presentation of the Virgin Mary to the Temple* (Washington, D.C.: The Catholic University of America Press, 1941) and W. E. Coleman, ed., *Philippe de Mézières' Campaign for the Feast of Mary's Presentation* (Toronto: Published for the Center for Medieval Studies by the Pontifical Institute for Mediaeval Studies, 1981). G. La Piana, "The Byzantine Iconography of the Presentation of the Virgin Mary to the Temple and a Latin Religious Pageant," in *Late Classical and Medieval Studies in Honor of Albert Mathias Friend, Jr.* , ed. K. Weitzmann (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton Univ. Press, 1955), pp. 261–71, proposes that the Byzantine iconography of the Presentation of the Virgin was the model for the Latin dramatization of the Presentation redacted by Philippe de Mézières.

[26] On the iconography of the Presentation of the Virgin to the Temple see J. Lafontaine-Dosogne, *Iconographie de l'enfance de la Vierge*, I (Brussels: Académie royale de Belgique, 1964; reprint 1992), pp. 136–67; II, pp. 112–34; and G. Schiller, *Ikonographie der christlichen Kunst,* IV/2 (Gütersloh: Gütersloher Verlagshaus G. Mohn, 1966–91), pp. 67–72.

from an angel, an episode of her life in the temple that derives from the Greek *Protoevangelium of James*[27] and which was practically obligatory in the Eastern image. In the West, the single most prominent feature of the Presentation iconography is architectural: a lengthy flight of stairs leading to the temple entrance that the precocious three-year-old Virgin ascends of her own volition to the astonishment of all. The *Gospel of the Pseudo-Matthew*, the principal Latin apocryphal text, specifies that this staircase consisted of fifteen steps, and the subsequent *Gospel of the Nativity of Mary*[28] assimilates the fifteen steps to the fifteen Gradual Psalms. In fourteenth-century Italian art following Giotto, the staircase becomes a pictorial protagonist in the drama, particularly as realized in Taddeo Gaddi's grand Presentation of the Virgin fresco in the Baroncelli Chapel, S. Croce (Plate 109). It evens figures on a modest scale in the Presentation illustration in the Paris *MVC*, as a useful prop to underscore the young Virgin's eagerness (Plate 110). In contrast, the Byzantine Presentation contains no equivalent dramatic ascent: devoid of any mention of a staircase leading to the temple, the *Protoevangelium of James* relates instead that upon the Virgin's reception by the High Priest he placed her on the third step of the altar. Sometimes the Byzantine image represents the altar resting upon such a platform (*bema*), though the moment depicted is typically the immediately preceding one of the initial encounter between Mary and the Priest.[29] Thus the Byzantine Presentation

---

[27] The Presentation account in the Protoevangelium of James is translated in Kishpaugh, *Feast of the Presentation*, pp. 4–5.

[28] Both texts acquired their authority from their spurious connection to St. Jerome. For the Presentation extracts from these two Latin apocryphal texts, see Kishpaugh, *Feast of the Presentation*, pp. 6–9.

[29] See H. Maguire, "*Abaton* and *Oikonomia*," in *Medieval Cyprus: Studies in Art, Architecture, and History in Memory of Doula Mouriki*, ed. N. P. Ševčenko and C. Moss (Princeton, N.J.:

formula generally unfolds at a uniform ground level with the exception of the appended scene of the angelic nourishment, where the young Virgin often sits upon a dramatically elevated throne resembling a bishop's cathedra.

The Snite illuminator's omission of the staircase that is typical of the western Presentation iconography could well be due to spatial constraints. The Presentation predella panel of the later fourteenth century by Simone dei Crocefissi (Bologna, Pinacoteca Nazionale) demonstrates the difficulty of accommodating the staircase while retaining figures of uniform scale within a horizontal format (Plate 111).[30] Perhaps because of the compositional challenge posed by the staircase, Western artists sometimes turned instead to the *Presentation of the Christ Child in the Temple* as a model for the *Presentation of the Virgin.*[31] The format employed by Riminese painters of the first half of the fourteenth century for the *Presentation of the Christ Child*—with a centrally-located altar on a low wooden platform—appears as well in an historiated initial of the same subject in one of the choirbooks commissioned for the Cathedral of S. Pietro in Bologna in the late 1320s (Plate 112).[32]

Princeton, Univ. Press, 1999). pp. 95–105, on the impact of the Byzantine prohibition of women in the sanctuary on the iconography of the Presentation of the Virgin.

[30] Lafontaine-Dosogne, *Iconographie*, II, p. 125, notes the difficulties posed by the staircase to Western artists.

[31] In a Bolognese manuscript of the *Speculum Humanae Salvationis* (formerly in Toledo, Cathedral Library), the same composition was employed for both Presentations (i.e., of the Virgin and also that of Christ). Its illuminator has been identified in other manuscripts produced for the Dominicans in Bologna in the first quarter of the fourteenth-century. On the Toledo *SHS* see E. Silber, "The Reconstructed Toledo *Speculum Humanae Salvationis:* The Italian Connection in the Early Fourteenth Century," *JWCI* 43 (1980): 32–51.

[32] Bologna, Archivio Arcivescovile, corale B. These choirbooks are discussed by L. Gerli, "Aspetti della miniature Bolognese del Trecento: il maestro dei corali di S. Pietro," *Il carrobbio* 5 (1979): 190–98, and by M. Medica in his "Produzione miniatoria Bolognese del 1320–30," in

Another Riminese model is relevant to the Snite *Presentation of the Virgin*, both with regard to its central low wooden platform and placement of the altar, and the group of the Virgin Mary, Anna, and attendant crowd. The upper left quadrant of a panel of an early Trecento diptych attributed to Giovanni da Rimini (formerly at Alnwick Castle, Collection of the Duke of Northumberland; Plate 113) represents an unusual scene that has been variously identified as the *Assumption of St. John the Evangelist* or the *Apotheosis of St. Augustine*, referring to the elderly bishop standing between Christ and the Virgin in the upper row of figures.[33] Below, under an elaborate hexagonal baldachin, is represented an altar before which, sunk into the center foreground, is a carefully delineated rectangular void outlined by a shallow projecting rim. This empty box—a tomb—is the object of the attention of spectators on either side who lean toward it.[34] Foremost among the group at the right is a youth in an ankle-length garment who points to the grave while standing under the protective arms of a veiled female figure. The resemblance of this pair to the typical representation of the Virgin Mary and Anna must have prompted Berenson's identification of the subject of the scene as a *Presentation*.[35]

Francesco da Rimini e gli esordi del gotico bolognese, p. 105 and no. 13. The Presentation of the Christ Child in the Temple initial in Corale B is reproduced in Gerli, p. 192.

[33] C. Volpe, *Pittura riminese* (Milan: M. Spagnol, 1965), p. 71, no. 11, proposed its identification as the *Assumption of John the Evangelist* and the scene does conform to the account of St. John's unusual passing, which resembles the dormition of the Virgin, in Jacobus de Voragine, *Golden Legend,* I, p. 55. The catalogue for the sale at Sotheby's, London, 7 July 2014 identifies it as the *Apotheosis of Augustine*: http://www.sothebys.com/en/auctions/ecatalogue/2014/old-master-british-paintings-evening-l14033/lot.17.html (accessed 7 October 2014).

[34] If the subject of the scene is the Assumption of St. John the Evangelist, then the spectators would be gazing at the manna that filled the empty tomb when St. John, who had lain there in anticipation of his death, was engulfed by light and disappeared at the moment of his death.

[35] B. Berenson, *Italian Pictures of the Renaissance: Central Italian and North Italian Schools* (London: Phaidon, 1968), I: pl. 177.

An intervening image, one certainly Bolognese, mediates between the Giovanni da Rimini scene and the Presentation scene in the Snite miniature. Widely attributed to the Illustratore,[36] it illustrates Causa XX in a lavishly illuminated manuscript of the *Decretum Gratiani* (Vat. lat. 1366, fol. 198r; Plate 114). The case concerns the procedures involved in advancing from the novitiate to full vows and the dilemma presented by a child oblate whose vocation seems uncertain at that time.[37] Though the case has relevance to both male and female religious, the illustrations for Causa XX compiled by Melnikas all represent boy novices, except for the one attributed to the Illustratore.[38] One suspects that he had the Presentation of the Virgin in mind, perhaps even an actual pictorial model—a logical prototype since the textual accounts of Mary's entry into the temple were readily interpreted as analogous to entry into the convent. The Illustratore masterfully conveys the issues of Causa XX by contrasting the willing novice receiving her habit in the center, to the renegade nun at the left shedding her habit and fleeing, and the reluctant novice at the right clinging to her mother. Moreover, when compared to other illustrations of this case, his illumination demonstrates much greater

---

[36] E.g., A. Conti, *La Miniatura bolognese: Scuole e botteghe, 1270–1340* (Bologna: Alfa, 1981), p. 90.

[37] A. Melnikas, *Miniatures of the Decretum Gratiani*, II (Rome: Institutum Gratianum; Columbus, Ohio: Index of Juridical and Civic Iconography, 1975), p. 631.

[38] Ibid., pp. 651–53, figs. 41–46 and compare Causa XX, col. pl. V. In his discussion of the mid-Trecento Bolognese illuminations, Melnikas, II, p. 632, does not remark on the female cast of figures in Vat. lat. 1366, fol. 198r. From the developments in the legal teaching on this case as outlined by R. Metz, "L'Entrée des mineurs dans la vie religieuse et l'authorité des parents d'après le droit classique," *Studia Gratiana* 20 (1976): 187–200, it is clear, though, that the canonists were alert to the issues peculiar to female novices. On the vestition ceremony as one of the main stages in becoming a nun, see K. Lowe, "Secular brides and convent brides: wedding ceremonies in Italy during the Renaissance and Counter-Reformation, " in *Marriage in Italy, 1300–1650*, ed. T. Dean and K.J.P. Lowe (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), pp. 41–65, especially p. 43 and pp. 60–61.

interest in delineating the architectural setting of the church and suggesting the processional mode of the nuns emerging from it to meet the parents and their daughters.[39] His singular handling of the nuns' habits alone, with their creamy white fabric made luminous by deft strokes of brown wash, makes the image compelling and displays his exceptional gift at exploiting the pictorial key to the meaning of the legal question.[40] The Illustratore's composition must have been known in some form to the Snite illuminator: it informs not only his *Presentation of the Virgin*, which likewise employs a group of religious proceeding from the left to meet the parents and child approaching from the right, but was also adapted by the Snite Illuminator for the historiated initial of Noah and his family exiting the ark (Plate 74) in an antiphonary made for S. Giacomo Maggiore in the late 1360s.[41]

The impact of the Illustratore's model is underscored when one recognizes that the right to left reading of the narrative in the Presentation portion of the Snite miniature does not readily cohere with the placement of the subsequent episode at the far right of the older Virgin Mary reading in her cell, presumably within the temple precincts. The usual Byzantine approach to the two-part scene was both more economical and rational, showing the Presentation of the Virgin proceeding from left to right with the High Priest

---

[39] His repetition of the figures of the nuns emerging from the church, arms outstretched and heads inclined at a similar angle, distinctly recalls the four figures (at least three of whom are veiled women) all leaning forward from the left to gaze into the empty tomb in Giovanni da Rimini's panel.

[40] See also L'Engle, "Addressing the Law: Costume as Signifier in Medieval Legal Miniatures," in *Encountering Medieval Textiles and Dress: Objects, Texts, Images*, ed. D. Koslin and J. E. Snyder (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2002), pp. 147–48.

[41] The typological connection between Noah's ark and the Church could well have been the stimulus for the appropriation of the composition.

receiving the Virgin at the center before the altar while to the far right the Virgin is usually represented enclosed within the sanctuary being fed by the angel. Likewise, fourteenth-century Italian examples of the Presentation of the Virgin more often favor a left to right reading.[42] Significantly two exceptions—an historiated initial with an abbreviated vignette in the Missal of Cardinal Bertrand de Deux (Plate 115) and the more ambitious predella panel by Simone dei Crocefissi—are both Bolognese.

While the Snite illuminator absorbed much of the Illustratore's example, he did make some notable adjustments and additions. The ecclesiastical architectural settings of the two illuminations are generally similar but, in contrast to the Illustratore's placement of the altar at the left, i.e., at the end of the church nave which is depicted laterally, parallel to the picture plane, the Snite illuminator both pulls the altar out to the temple/church entrance and collapses the view into the interior. As a result, the temple interior is rendered as a centrally-planned structure while its exterior is longitudinally-oriented, thereby signaling the transformation of the Old Law into the New. Through the manipulation of the temple architecture and its furnishings, he preserves the central placement of the altar as the pictorial element that links the High Priest and the Virgin. The illuminator manages not only to show the Presentation occurring at the entrance of the temple with viewers looking on from the outside but also to imply simultaneously the Virgin's reception into the sanctuary itself. The multiple moments that he alludes to contrast with the usual fourteenth-century Italian representations of the Presentation that emphasize the Virgin's ascent of the exterior staircase to the temple. That moment is conceded by the Snite illuminator only by his placement of the Virgin on the low but

[42] E.g., Giotto's fresco in the Arena Chapel, Padua; Taddeo Gaddi's fresco in the Baroncelli Chapel, S. Croce; and, Bernardo Daddi's predella panel for the S. Pancrazio Altarpiece.

conspicuous wooden platform upon which the altar also rests.[43] This modest architectural element is not present in the Illustratore's *Decretum Gratiani* illumination: its action takes place outside the church on the rocky ground that is commonplace in Bolognese illumination. The Virgin's emphatic placement on the platform, whose wood grain contrasts to the gray stone of the temple, might allude to the description of Ezra standing upon a wooden platform to read the law before the multitude after the return to Jerusalem from exile in Babylon (Neh. 8:4). Ezra's proclamation of the law is followed by exhortations to the people to rejoice, in phrases that foreshadow the celebration of the birth of Christ. In the Snite miniature, the Virgin Mary's presentation to the Temple anticipates her role as bearer of the New Law that will be the cornerstone of the Church.[44]

In the representation of the individual figures in the Presentation portion of the Snite miniature, the continuing influence of Giotto on Bolognese illumination is evident.[45] Although the composition of the miniature does not resemble the Arena Chapel *Presentation of the Virgin*, the figure types and gestures employed for the Virgin, Anna, and the High Priest are similar (Plate 116). Like Giotto, the Snite illuminator gives Anna

---

[43] The High Priest's white robe also drapes partly upon the wooden platform.

[44] A low platform in front of the church—but not made of wood—also appears in the illustration of Causa XX in a mid-century *Decretum Gratiani* in Geneva (Bibl. Publique et Universitaire, Ms. Lat. 60) attributed to the Illustratore and the 1346 Master, that shows an eager boy novice stepping up onto the low curved dais upon which the abbot of the monastery waits just outside the church entrance. Reproduced in Melnikas, *Miniatures of the Decretum Gratiani*, II: p. 653, fig. 46. S. Stelling-Michaud, "Manuscrits juridiques bolonais des XIIIe et XIVe siècles conservés a Genève," *Genava* n.s. 1 (1953): 125, discusses the subject of the miniature. See also G. Freuler, *'Manifestatori delle cose miracolose': Arte italiana del '300 e '400 da collezioni in Svizzera e nel Liechtenstein* (Lugano-Castagnola: Fondazione Thyssen Bornemisza; Einsiedeln: Eidolon, 1991), cat. no. 48.

[45] The literature on the absorption and adaptation of compositions and motifs from Giotto's oeuvre by Bolognese illuminators is voluminous, e.g., Conti, *Miniatura bolognese*, chs. 3 and 4; A. Stolte, "Maestro di Gherarduccio kopiert Giotto;" and, more recently, the catalogue for the 2005 exhibition, *Giotto e le arti a Bologna al tempo di Bertrando del Poggetto*.

the dominant role in presenting the Virgin. However, unlike Giotto who places Joachim at the left edge, partially obscured by a porter bearing offerings but still identifiable, the Snite illuminator places Joachim in the crowd at the center behind Anna and a female onlooker so that only his eyes and forehead are visible, his identity secured by his halo alone. Whereas Byzantine art generally favors Joachim over Anna as the leading parent, the precedence granted to Anna in this episode by both Giotto and the Snite illuminator is typical of Western representations. However, there are exceptions to this, notably in the Presentation illustration of the Paris *MVC* where Joachim is at the forefront and Anna behind and, above all, in the historiated initial of the Presentation of the Virgin (Plate 115) that opens the Mass for Sunday within the Octave of Christmas in the Missal of Cardinal Bertrand de Deux.[46]

While traces of Giotto's impact linger in the Snite *Presentation*, its illuminator opted for a Christian ecclesiastical setting manifested not only in the architecture, but also in the depiction of the High Priest and his tonsured assistant at the far left as Christian clerics. That choice no doubt owes much to a familiarity with the figures and settings typical in canon law manuscripts. It might also suggest a sensitivity to a theological understanding of Mary as the type for Ecclesia and her reception into the temple as an anticipation of the Christian Mass, in that her body will become the temple in which God becomes incarnate. The configuration of the altar between the High Priest and Virgin

---

[46] Cassee, *Missal of Cardinal Bertrand de Deux,* does not discuss the iconography of this folio (22v) at any length, restricting her observations (p. 46) to the second initial on the folio of the Virgin reading. The historiated initial of the Presentation, which includes only Joachim and the Virgin Mary (i.e., excludes Anna) must have taken its cue from the Mass epistle, Galatians 4:1–7, which refers in its second verse to a child "under tutors and governors until the time appointed by the father." Like the Virgin in the Snite *Presentation*, the small figure of the Virgin in this nearly contemporaneous Missal stands at an oblique angle toward the viewer, her hands crossed upon her breast in submission.

Mary with the open book upon it and outline suggestive of an altarpiece (and also the Ark of the Covenant) at the back are clearly evocative of a Christian altar.[47] Similar thinking informs the liturgical drama of the Feast of the Presentation of the Virgin, composed by Philippe de Mézières (erstwhile of Cyprus and Venice), probably while in Avignon in 1372.[48] The drama climaxes with the presentation of Mary in the temple/church and her installation near the altar and segues into the celebration of the Mass, at which point "the temple becomes an altar, the Jewish high priest becomes a Christian bishop, and the Old Testament drama dissolves into the New Testament Mass."[49]

The instructions to the illuminator of the Snite manuscript in the lower margin of this folio, which specify that he also show the Virgin studying in addition to her Presentation, are fulfilled in the right third of the miniature. There she is depicted as an older girl seated in a narrow building and reverently witnessed by a kneeling female figure looking in from the left. Although some of the words of the instructions have been

---

[47] Regarding the representation of the Virgin at the altar or before the Ark of the Covenant in Presentation of the Virgin scenes, Y. Hirn, *The Sacred Shrine* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1957), p. 266 remarks, "nothing could be more significant to theological thought than the idea that the new Ark, i.e., Mary, which was to contain the Gospel was placed before the shrine which hid the tables of the Law." Chapter X of the *Speculum humanae salvationis* confirms the identification of Mary with the Ark: one of the three types it provides for the Presentation of the Christ Child in the Temple asserts that "the Ark of the Covenant signifies Mary."

[48] Mézières had first seen the Feast of the Presentation celebrated during his tenure as Chancellor of Cyprus during the 1360s. At the end of the decade, he arranged for a *representatio figurata* to be mounted as part of the observance of the feast, probably while he was resident there in the Scuola di San Giovanni Evangelista. See Coleman, *Philippe de Mézières' Campaign*, pp. 4 and 43; and D. Rosand, *Painting in Cinquecento Venice* (New Haven and London: Yale Univ. Press, 1982), p. 116.

[49] Coleman, *Philippe de Mézières' Campaign*, p. 16. K. Young, "Philippe de Mézières' Dramatic Office for the Presentation of the Virgin," *PMLA* 26 (1911): 232, n. 2, observes that a 'recommendatio' in the primary manuscript of the Latin *Presentation* liturgy and drama (BN, lat. 17330, fol. 17v) records, in an early-fifteenth-century hand, a celebration of the Presentation feast at Avignon in 1385, noting that the bishop in his role as Old Testament priest was dressed as a Jewish high priest.

trimmed, the concluding words are legible: "vergene sera [or, sora] qui concepa e aparties[c]e lo fijolo de dio." Thus it seems likely that the instructions to the illuminator ended with a final injunction to 'show how Mary reads of . . . the virgin who will conceive and bear the son of God'. This fragment clearly echoes Isaiah 7:14: "Behold a virgin shall conceive and bear a son, and his name will be called Emmanuel," a prophecy of the Virgin Birth familiar to any literate medieval Christian.

An allusion to the Isaiah verse in fact occurs in the first half of the text of this chapter in the *Meditations*, in an account of the Virgin's disclosure of her prayer life while in the temple, purportedly made to "St. Elizabeth of the Third Order."[50] Among the petitions that she would customarily make before the altar of the temple, Mary says that "I asked grace that would be enabled to me to see the time in which would be born she who was to bear the son of God. . . ."[51] It is possible that the cluster of words echoing Isaiah in the marginal instructions were inspired by the specific passage from the *MVC* text when the writer was envisioning the figure of the Virgin studying, but it is more likely that he was familiar with the medieval tradition, originating in the patristic period, of Mary as a reader of Isaiah 7:14 prior to the Annunciation; both Albert the Great and Thomas Aquinas, citing Ambrose, hold this view.[52] For some medieval theologians,

---

[50] On the significance of this passage for the origin and dating of the *Meditations* text, see the Introduction above.

[51] Snite *MVC,* fol. 6v: ". . .adomandava gratia ke mi facesse vedere l tempo nel quale fosse nata colei ke dovera partirire lo filgluolo di dio. . ."

[52] K. Schreiner, "Marienverehrung, Lesekultur, Schriftlichkeit," *Frümittelalterliche Studien* 24 (1990): 324–25. Alternatively, it has sometimes been suggested that the book depicted in medieval representations of the Annunciate Virgin reading would have been identified as a Psalter or Book of Hours, e.g., P.H. Jolly, "On the Meaning of the *Virgin Mary Reading*," *Journal of the Walters Art Gallery* 40 (1982): p. 35, n. 35 (re: Psalter); R.S. Wieck, *Time Sanctified* (New York and Baltimore: Braziller, 1988), p. 41 (re: Book of Hours).

Mary's literacy and learning became an issue of importance because they demonstrated her special suitability for enfleshing the Word.[53] For example, the Pseudo-Albert the Great argued that as a participant in her Son's perfection, Mary could not have been ignorant; he even asserted that she had mastered the liberal arts and had a perfect understanding of scripture and the mysteries of the faith.[54] Another treatise attributed to Albert the Great extolled the Virgin as a specialist in Roman law and canon law.[55] Certainly in Bolognese illumination, a scholarly Virgin Mary is not unfamiliar—likely due to the preponderance of university men in the city. An historiated initial of the *Annunciation* in one of the choirbooks for S. Pietro represents the Virgin reading in a carrel (Plate 117) similar to those occupied by the famous Dominicans in the chapter house frescoes by Tomaso da Modena in Treviso. And, for the Virgin's seat in the Annunciation miniature in the Kremsmünster Hours, dated 1349, Niccolò da Bologna employed an enclosed throne with a portable desk supported upon its arms above her lap (Plate 57), an arrangement identical to the professor's chair from which Giovanni d'Andrea lectures in the opening miniature of one of his legal treatises (Plate 221).

The choice to represent the Virgin studying as an adjunct to her Presentation suggests an attentiveness to the first half of the text of this chapter that relates what the Virgin told St. Elizabeth about what she prayed for while in the temple: to learn the

---

[53] In this they followed the lead of Byzantine theologians, e.g., Maximus the Confessor, *The Life of the Virgin*, Ch. 1:10 (p. 43).

[54] Schreiner, " Marienverehrung, Lesekultur, Schriftlichkeit," p. 338.

[55] Schreiner, *Maria,* p. 134.

divine law and how to obey it.[56] The motif of the literate Virgin contrasts with the illustrations in both the Paris and Oxford *MVC* manuscripts that depict Mary's activities while resident in the temple. Taking their cue from the portion of the Presentation account that cites St. Jerome's description (i.e., the *Gospel of the Pseudo-Matthew*) of the Virgin's life in the temple, the five illustrations in the BnF, ital. 115 show her praying, spinning (while a companion reads from a book), receiving food from an angel and a man, and giving food to the poor; the two illuminations in CCC 410 show her praying, weaving, and receiving food from an angel (Plates 118–119). While the passage in the Snite chapter of the Presentation that describes the Virgin's life in the temple differs slightly from the Paris and Oxford manuscripts, it does not place a notably stronger emphasis on her "study of the law of God." However, instead of explicitly specifying her textile-working activities as both the Paris and Oxford *MVC* texts do, in the parallel passage the Snite text seems to refer simply to her engagement in "esercizio corporale."[57] The omission of the Virgin's textile work—customary female activities in both the home and convent[58]—in both the Snite text and in its illustration is telling, especially as the

---

[56] Snite *MVC*, fol. 6r: The Virgin says, "Quando li miei pare[n]ti mi lassorno in del tempio fermai in del mio core d avere dio padre e devotamente pensava spesse volte ke io posese fare quello che fosse piaxere de dio aço che se inclinase a darmi la soa gratia e fecime dar la legge de dio. E tra tuti li comandamenti della lege divina sinde femai tre spetiali in del cuor mio . . ."

[57] The lines of text are almost illegible at this point in the Snite manuscript (fol. 7r, line 26) but the word "corporale" can be discerned. Cf. Sarri (ed.) "*Meditazioni*," p. 15.

[58] According to apocryphal tradition, the Virgin Mary wove the temple veil during her residency there. R. L. Wyss, "Die Handarbeiten der Maria: Eine ikonographische Studie unter Berücksichtigung der Textilen Techniken," in *Artes Minores: Dank an Werner Abegg* (Bern: Stämpfli, 1973), pp. 114-54 presents the iconographic tradition, mostly in Northern art. For the motif in Byzantine art as a symbolic reference to the Incarnation, see M. Evangelatou, "The Purple Thread of the Flesh: the theological connotations of a narrative iconographic element in Byzantine images of the Annunciation," in *Icon and Word: The Power of Images in Byzantium*, ed. A. Eastmond and L. James (Aldershot, Hants, England: Ashgate, 2003), pp. 261–79. Flora,

illuminator depicted both weaving and spinning in an historiated initial "P" for Book IV of the Marciana manuscript of Ovid's *Metamorphoses* (Plate 120). There he represented three young women around a spinning wheel in the descender while Minerva sits at her loom above, eyeing Arachne who has transformed into a spider busily spinning her web.

The Snite illuminator's familiarity with a pictorial model of women's textile work, and the fact that the Snite text does mention the other activities (praying, receiving food, and practicing charity) selected for the illustration of the Virgin's life in the temple in the Paris and Oxford *MVC* manuscripts underscores the deliberation behind the decision to represent her reading. The intention to demonstrate the Virgin's piety in the Snite miniature by her literary activity is reinforced by the visual parallel drawn between the open book on the temple altar and the open book on Mary's lap, which is tilted at a rather awkward angle as though to display it emphatically for the reader-viewer. In this way, the Virgin's lap is assimilated to the altar and her devotional reading to the High Priest's liturgical reading.[59] The tilt of her book is also echoed by the noticeable tilt of the Virgin's head, a pose typical of reading but also perhaps an allusion to Ps. 44(45):11, "Hearken, O daughter and see, and incline thy ear," which was interpreted as referring to the Virgin Mary[60] and whose subsequent verse is paraphrased in the Snite *MVC* chapter on the Annunciation.

Devout Belief of the Imagination, p. 221 notes the frequency of the Virgin spinning and sewing in the Paris *MVC* illustrations.

[59] A similar notion is evident in Philippe de Mézières *representatio figurata* of the Presentation in which he records how, following Mary's presentation to the High Priest/Bishop, she is to be placed on a platform between the altar and choir and to sit there turning the pages of a little book as though saying the hours. See, Coleman, *Philippe de Mézières' Campaign*, p. 105.

[60] E.g., Maximus the Confessor, *The Life of the Virgin*, Ch. 1:8 (p. 41).

As observed above, Byzantine art almost universally favored the episode of the Virgin receiving food from an angel as the auxiliary scene to the representation of the Presentation. There is, however, an early fourteenth-century Byzantine representation of the Instruction of the Virgin in which she is seated at a lectern adjoining the Presentation mosaic in the Constantinopolitan church of the Kariye Djami.[61] While the theme of the education of Mary is more often represented in the West by the scene of St. Anne teaching the Virgin,[62] occasionally the education of Mary was represented as an element of the representation of the Presentation, though more often in Northern than Italian art.[63] In Italy, the future literary activities in which the Virgin will engage once resident in the temple are only hinted at in scenes of her ascent of the temple staircase: for example, in the Presentation relief by Andrea Orcagna in the Orsanmichele tabernacle, she clutches a closed book at her waist as she mounts the steps while one of the virgins watching from the temple enclosure holds a book and another, musical instrument (Plate 121).

---

[61] The representation of Mary holding a book in her lap while she was resident in the Temple in twelfth-century Byzantine manuscripts of Kokkinobaphos's homilies is discussed by K. Linardou, "Mary and Her Books in the Kokkinobaphos manuscripts: Female Literacy or Visual Strategies of Narration?" *DChAE* 29:4 (2008): 37. While Bolognese illuminators did not likely have direct knowledge of these illuminated manuscripts, Linardou, p. 36, does observe that there was Venetian interest in Greek Marian apocryphal texts during the twelfth century. On the Kariye Djami mosaics see P. A. Underwood, *The Kariye Djami*, I, pp. 72–76 (nos. 91, 93) and J. Lafontaine-Dosogne, "Iconography of the Cycle of the Life of the Virgin," in Underwood, *The Kariye Djami*, IV, pp. 161–94. Lafontaine-Dosogne, *Iconographie de l'enfance de la vierge,* I, pp. 157–58, calls this scene a *hypax* in Byzantine art but abjures any Western influence.

[62] See P. Sheingorn, "'The Wise Mother': The Image of St. Anne Teaching the Virgin Mary," *Gesta* 32 (1993): 69–80. Schiller, *Ikonographie,* IV/2, pp. 72–76, skims over the motif of Mary reading in her discussion of Mary's temple-service and concentrates on the subject of Anna teaching the Virgin in her discussion of the literary education of Mary.

[63] At least this is the conclusion to be drawn from the examples surveyed by Schiller, Ibid., and Lafontaine-Dosogne, *Iconographie de l'enfance de la vierge* II, pp. 132–33.

The representation of the Virgin Mary herself reading after her presentation to the temple known to me are in manuscripts related to Trecento Bologna. Among the series of historiated initials illustrating the Virgin's life in the temple following her presentation in the Bodleian *Vita Mariae* (Canon. misc. 476), whose decoration likely involved Bolognese illuminators, the one (fol. 12r) that follows the rubric, "De eloquencia castisime virginis marie," shows the seated Virgin holding an open book aloft as though to make it visible to herself and the viewer (Plate 122). Though the text expounds on her virtuous speech, it does not mention her studying. The closest Bolognese precedent for the Snite configuration of the Virgin reading a conspicuously open book subsequent to the Presentation episode is the second historiated initial that illustrates the Mass for the Sunday within the Octave of Christmas in the Missal of Cardinal Bertrand de Deux;[64] it appears on the same folio as the initial that depicted Joachim presenting the Virgin to the temple (Plate 115). Within the initial and to the left of the Virgin, a female figure raises her hands in prayer in a dramatically pious gesture. Unlike the reverent witness to the Virgin's reading in the Snite illumination, the devotee in the Missal initial is dressed in clothing strongly resembling that of a nun: her wimple and mantle are unlike the bare head and exposed neckline of the comparable Snite figure. Though the Missal initial lacks any architectural setting, the group of the Virgin and kneeling companion, especially when enclosed by the simple cell architecture as in the Snite miniature, likely owes its origins to Giotto's fresco of the *Annunciation to Anna* in the Arena Chapel, which represents Anna kneeling in the main room while her maidservant sits and spins in the adjoining antechamber (Plate 123). That composition was adapted and inverted for an historiated initial representing the Prayer of St. Lucy (Plate 124) for one of the Paduan

[64] Cassee, *Missal of Cardinal Bertrand de Deux*, p. 46.

Antiphonaries[65] illuminated soon after the completion of the Arena frescoes, which may, in turn, lie behind both the Missal initial and the Snite configuration of the reading Virgin Mary reverenced by her companion. It also had a long afterlife in the many pairs of seated confessors and kneeling penitents that often appear in Bolognese illuminations of the treatise on Penance in *Decretum Gratiani* manuscripts (Plate 72).

While the choice of the Virgin *reading* to encapsulate her life in the temple in the period between the Presentation and her betrothal could have been informed by theological reflection on the Incarnation and selected to appeal to the male reader of this manuscript, the repetition of the worshipful female figure in blue within the Snite Presentation miniature suggests an equal concern for the devotional interests of female members of this household. In the Presentation scene, the female figure veiled in blue with her clasped hands drawn up reverentially to her breast stands beside Anna and gazes down at the little Virgin as she is received by the High Priest. In the adjoining scene of the Virgin reading in her cell, that same female figure in blue, now with her head uncovered, kneels at the opening in the side wall and joins her hands in prayer as she watches the Virgin, who lowers her head as though in humility before the contents of the open book. Holly Flora has rightly proposed that "she may be intended as a female figure of identification for the book's female reader."[66] The prominence accorded to the figure of Anna presenting her daughter to the temple and the figure of the literate Virgin Mary

---

[65] The Antiphonary miniature is reproduced in G. Mariani Canova, "La miniatura veneta del Trecento tra Padova e Venezia," p. 384, fig. 492, where the caption identifies it as Padova, Biblioteca Capitolare, B15; however, in the text at p. 383, the location of the same miniature is specified as B14, fol. 209v. Cf., L. Grossato, *Da Giotto al Mantegna*, exh. cat., Padua, Palazzo della Ragione, 1974, no. 99, specifies B14, fol. 207v for the Prayer of St. Lucy.

[66] Flora, *Devout Belief of the Imagination*, p. 57, and her "Gender, Image, and Devotion in Illustrated Manuscripts of the *Meditationes Vitae Christi*," p. 175.

would have been both satisfying and encouraging to the mother of the family that owned this book, for such mothers typically assumed responsibility for their children's introduction to literacy and early religious training.

The Annunciation (fol. 8r)

Rather than being placed in immediate proximity to the rubric specifying the subject of the chapter as is usual in the Snite manuscript, the illustration for the chapter on the Incarnation of Christ in the womb of his Mother[67] is preceded by the opening lines of the chapter (Plate 4). The miniature interrupts the text precisely where God declares to Gabriel the reasons for Mary's election. With words that allude to Psalm 44(45):12, God says, "Va a maria dillectissima e carissima nostra filgluola sopra tute le altre creature la quale e disposata a ioseph e di li che l mio filgluolo a desidrata la sua belleça ed a la ellecta per sua madre."[68] Following the pictorial punctuation mark provided by the miniature, the subsequent pages of the chapter proceed to relate the process of the incarnation at some length. The instructions to the illuminator in the lower margin[69] first reiterate their author's preoccupation with the notion of Mary studying in her cell that was seen in the Presentation illustration. He then slips into direct quotation in Latin of Mary's assent to Gabriel's proposal as in Luke 1:38 and, as an afterthought, mentions Gabriel

---

[67] The rubric (fol. 8r, lines 3-5) reads: "la meditatione della vita de Cristo in prima come fu incarnato nel ventre della sua madre."

[68] Fol. 8r, lines 14–18.

[69] The instruction at the bottom of fol. 8r reads: "chomo la vergene maria e in la cella soa e studia ea libro auto e dixe ecce ancill[a]/domini fiat mihi secundum verbum tuum e chome l angello la saluta e favela sue bel[remainder trimmed]."

saluting and speaking to her. Since Gabriel's salutation and speech should properly precede Mary's acquiescence, the instructions again suggest a writer attuned more to theological than representational concerns. That is, the "Incarnation in Mary's womb" specified in the rubric seems to have elicited first and foremost in his mind the Virgin's crucial words of consent,[70] and this consummate incarnational moment was apparently more compelling to him than providing instruction keyed to pictorial translation.

Unlike the Annunciation chapters of the Paris and Oxford *Meditations*, both of which employ multiple illuminations to illustrate the successive moments of the event (Plates 125–127, Pl. 50),[71] the Snite manuscript makes do with a single scene of a rather conventional sort. Like the initial Annunciation illustrations in the two other manuscripts, the Snite illumination shows the angel at the left against an open background approaching the Virgin seated in a shallow structure at the right—a small rectangular portico in the case of the Snite miniature, complex multi-storied throne-edifices in the Oxford and Paris manuscripts. But whereas the illustrations of the Paris and Oxford books represent the Virgin's acquiescence to Gabriel's charge in subsequent scenes in which Mary, too, kneels before the genuflecting Gabriel, the Snite artist conveys Mary's ultimate assent through the mere gesture of her crossed hands upon her breast.[72] He thus accommodates in a single image successive moments of the event within the parameters of the traditional iconography and in so doing retains a restrained, dignified Virgin as opposed to the humble, kneeling figure in the Oxford and Paris

---

[70] The Virgin's assent is quoted in Italian in the text, too, on fol. 9v.

[71] Ragusa and Green, *Meditations*, pp. 16-19, ills. 11-14; Oxford, CCC 410, fols. 7v, 8v.

[72] The Snite *text*, however, describes the Virgin kneeling and with hands joined (on fol. 9v).

illustrations. Interestingly, for Pächt, the motif of the kneeling Virgin in the *Annunciations* of the Oxford and Paris *Meditations* constituted strong evidence for the impact of this illustrated text on innovative Trecento artists, apparent above all in Giotto's kneeling Gabriel and kneeling Virgin in the spandrels of the Arena Chapel altar wall.[73]

The setting for the Snite illumination combining an open portico for the Virgin with Gabriel kneeling in the exposed space just outside[74] is typical of Trecento *Annunciations*.[75] Besides being traditional, it is not inconsistent with the text's description of the locale as a room in the Virgin's little house.[76] The simple arrangement of the figures in the foreground, turned only slightly inward from the picture plane, and the left-to-right reading of the narrative are likewise customary. Gabriel's pose, through somewhat vaguely rendered, suggests that he has just arrived, for he genuflects on his bent right knee while his left forearm rests upon his raised left knee and his wings are still

---

[73] O. Pächt, "Künstlerische Originalität und ikonographische Erneuerung," reprinted in his *Methodisches zur kunsthistorischen Praxis* (Munich: Prestel, 1977), pp. 154–8. While Pächt considered both the Oxford and Paris manuscripts to be mid-fourteenth century works, he believed that the resemblance of the Virgin's throne in the Oxford (and to some extent in the Paris) *Meditations* to the throne in Pietro Cavallini's Annunciation mosaic in S. Maria in Trastevere, indicated that the Oxford illuminator was working from a late Dugento model. Earlier, without however referring to either the Oxford or Paris *MVC* illlustrations, D. Robb, "Iconography of the Annunciation in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries," *Art Bulletin* 18 (1936): 485, had conjectured that the *Meditations* text was the likely source for the kneeling Virgin. L. Réau, *Iconographie de l'art chrétien* II/2 (Paris: Presses universitaires de France, 1957), pp. 180 and 182, rejected the notion of the influence of the *MVC* text on Giotto's conception.

[74] Indicated merely by the irregularly paved ground (perhaps to suggest a courtyard?) on which the angel kneels.

[75] Robb, "Iconography of the Annunciation," *passim,* often notes the Italian preference for the portico setting.

[76] Snite *MVC,* fol. 8v: "incontinentemente l angello si levo alegro e iocondo e volo in alto e prese forma humana in uno picolo momento e foe denanci ala vergene maria la quale stava in della camara della sua caseta."

fully extended. He raises his right hand in an ancient gesture denoting speech and benediction and holds in his left hand the attribute of a herald, a white scepter with a fleur-de-lis finial.

Between Gabriel and the left corner of the Virgin's shelter, the illuminator has inserted the occasionally troublesome motif that serves to connote the notion of the Holy Spirit overshadowing Mary.[77] It consists of a blue ovoid shape in the sky streaked with white at its center from which emanate raking red lines that underscore the flight path of a white bird whose wings extend back in its descent toward the Virgin. Often the dove and light rays suffice in fourteenth-century *Annunciations* to express the overshadowing of Mary, but there were various mid-century Bolognese attempts to indicate more specifically the participation of the Triune God in the incarnation, a theological point about which the *Meditations* text is insistent.[78] The color and shape of the blue oval echo the blue mandorla that surrounds God the Father in the illumination for the first *MVC* chapter (Plate 2).[79] Further, the precise placement of the ovoid motif at the exact juncture where the words of the text are interrupted by the miniature suggests that a complex and

---

[77] For a consideration of the theological and pictorial problems inherent in conceiving the mechanics of the Virgin Mary's impregnation, see L. Steinberg, "'How Shall This Be?': Reflections on Filippo Lippi's *Annunciation* in London, Part I," *Artibus et Historiae* 8: 16 (1987): 25–44.

[78] See Ragusa and Green, *Meditations*, pp. 16-18. The pertinent folio is missing from the Snite manuscript. However, the final lines on fol. 8v read: "inpercio che tu dei sapere che lla excellentissima operatione della incarnatione del filgluol di dio si fu operatione di tuta la trinitade avengna che solamente la persona del filgluolo fose incar[nato];" and again on fol. 9r, lines 10-11 assert: "poni mente qui per dio e pensa chomo tuta la trinita sta quive."

[79] The folio bearing the illumination of God the Father enthroned in heaven that illustrated the first chapter (whose rubric reads, "Delle meditatione ke sii possono avere nel tempo inanci alla incarnatione e prima como li angeli pregavano per noi") has been removed from its proper position and subsequently reinserted incorrectly so that it now appears as fol. 37r.

quite subtle point was intended, that is, to make the invisible speaker of the words expressing God's love for Mary and his Son's desire for her beauty propel the descent of the Holy Spirit upon her. It is probably not accidental that a diagonal line can be traced originating from the opening of the blue ovoid shape through the descending dove over the corner column capital and then across the words of the open book on the lectern to rest at the Virgin's abdomen below her crossed arms.

While the Snite illuminator indicates the overshadowing of Mary by the Holy Spirit, he does not endow her figure with any marked inclination of the head, one of her usual responsive gestures seen in the *Annunciations* in the Oxford and Paris *Meditations*.[80] Similarly, there has been no attempt to convey in any particular way the *conceptio per aurem*, another emphasis common since the high Middle Ages. Instead, as observed above, he signifies the utterance of her consent, "Behold the handmaid of the Lord; be it unto me according to thy word," by the submissive gesture of her hands crossed upon her breast. While the crossed-hands connote the Virgin's humility,[81] this is tempered by her seated pose, apparently upon a chair, albeit not visible, before a lectern. The lowliness inherent in a kneeling Virgin clearly did not appeal to either the illuminator or patron of the Snite *Meditations*.[82] The lectern and open book upon it signify the

---

[80] Oxford, CCC 410, fol. 7v; Ragusa and Green, *Meditations*, pp. 17-18, ills. 12-13. According to Schiller, *Iconography of Christian Art* (trans. Seligman), I, p. 42, this was a convention common since the eleventh century, probably inspired by Ps. 44 (45): 11: "Hearken, O daughter, and see, and incline thy ear."

[81] M. Baxandall, *Painting and Experience in Fifteenth Century Italy: A Primer in the Social History of Pictorial Style* (Oxford/New York: Oxford Univ. Press, 1972), pp. 51 and 55.

[82] Giotto's kneeling Virgin of the Arena *Annunciation* had had an impact on earlier Trecento Bolognese illuminators: she is thus posed in the Annunciation initial of the Paduan Antiphonary A15, fol. 188r, discussed by Stolte, "Maestro di Gherarduccio kopiert Giotto," p. 7 and repr. fig. 6.

Virgin's wisdom and scriptural devotion and so reinforce the themes of the preceding illumination. Though the figure of the literate Virgin seated in a cell-like enclosure is very like the studious Virgin at the right of the Presentation miniature, in the Annunciation she wears both a dark blue garment and mantle drawn over her head—costume appropriate to a pious married woman—rather than the pink cloak worn over a blue garment and narrow white fillet[83] encircling the hair in the earlier image.

While there is no single image that serves as a precise model for the Snite miniature,[84] it does fit into a long line of Bolognese *Annunciations* that depict Gabriel kneeling in an open space before the Virgin seated at a reading desk or in a sort of carrel. Attention to the setting of these *Annunciations* highlights a notable feature of the Snite illumination. In his study of the iconography of the Annunciation, Robb repeatedly remarks on the most common Italian setting: an open portico or arcade with a column separating Gabriel from the Virgin, which Robb treats as a purely functional element.[85] A Bolognese example dating to the second quarter of the fourteenth-century of such a setting can be seen in the Annunciation panel in the upper left register of the *Dormition of the Virgin* polyptych (Plate 128) for S. Maria Nuova, which is generally attributed to the Pseudo-Jacopino (Bologna, Pinacoteca Nazionale). There the Virgin kneels at a prie-dieu

---

[83] Thompson, *Cities of God*, p. 142, observes that in medieval Italy a married woman veiled her hair while an unmarried woman left it uncovered.

[84] The historiated initials for the Annunciation chapters of the Bodleian *Vita Mariae* (Canon. misc. 476, fols. 23v, 24r, 24v) do not appear to have served as models for the *Annunciation* in the Snite manuscript. But, they are relevant to the Annunciation initials in the Missal of Cardinal Bertrand de Deux, fol. 395r (repr. in Cassee, *Missal of Cardinal Bertrand de Deux*, fig. 36).

[85] Robb,"Iconography of the Annunciation," passim. Schiller, *Iconography of Christian Art* (trans. Seligman), I, p. 42 also notes the ubiquity of this device.

in a narrow rectangular portico whose foremost left corner is supported, as in the Snite Annunciation, by a slender column. At first glance, then, the Virgin's shelter in the Snite miniature seems not particularly distinctive, until it is compared with the very similiar illumination later in the manuscript of the Apparition of Christ to His Mother (fol. 94r; Plate 34), a non-scriptural episode taking place early on Easter Sunday. The illustration shows the risen Christ approaching the grieving Virgin who kneels at a prie-dieu in a simple cell-like enclosure like that of the Annunciation, save for the significant omission of the prominent pink column that supports the left foreground corner of the latter's portico. The color and profile of the column, markedly different from the rectilinear supports of the other corners of the structure, and its proximity to the acquiescent Virgin in the Snite Annunciation, suggest that its purpose may have been more than purely utilitarian.

Similar prominent columns appear in other fourteenth-century representations of the Annunciation.[86] The motif seems especially to have been favored by Venetian artists.[87] It appears, for example, in the Annunciation miniature in the Marciana Sacramentary [Missal] where the seated Virgin, approached by Gabriel, reaches out with her right hand to grasp the nearby column (Plate 129) and in an even more dramatic

---

[86] H. Papastavrou, "Le symbolisme de la colonne dans la scène de l'Annonciation," *DChAE* 15:4 (1989–1990): 153–4, discusses the column in Western representations of the Annunciation as a symbol of Christ and of Mary's virginity but does not develop the connection between incarnational theology and the column's sapiential significance, which I believe is paramount. On the rich store of sapiential imagery applied to the Virgin Mary in the Byzantine tradition, see M. Barker, "Wisdom Imagery and the Mother of God," in *The Cult of the Mother of God in Byzantium*, ed. L. Brubaker and M. B. Cunningham (Farnham, Surrey, England: Ashgate, 2011), pp. 91–108.

[87] E.g., R. Pallucchini, *La pittura veneziana del Trecento (*Rome: Istituto per la collaborazione culturale, 1964), figs. 217, 228, 288, 686.

version in the Marciana Evangeliary, where the Virgin turns her body away from Gabriel in order to cling to a large mottled column with both her arms (Plate 130).[88] Of course, Ambrogio Lorenzetti's contemporaneous sinopia underdrawing for the *Annunciation* at Montesiepi is the best-known variation on this theme, one that was radically modified in the final execution of the fresco.[89] Scholars generally relate the motif of the column grasped by the Virgin to an artifact reported in fourteenth-century pilgrims' accounts of their journeys to Nazareth where, in the chapel of the Annunciation, they were shown "the column which St. Mary held on to for fear when the angel gave the message."[90] However, while the grasped-column apparently had an appeal for Trecento Bolognese illuminators, figuring, for example, in an Annunciation initial in one of the choirbooks for S. Domenico of the first quarter of the century (Plate 131), the column in the Snite miniature does not function as a literal prop for a fearful Virgin Mary.[91]

---

[88] Katzenstein, "Liturgical Manuscripts from San Marco," pp. 200-207, discusses these *Annunciations* and on p. 202 suggests a Byzantine source for the grasped-column in the thirteenth-century mosaics of the Moses cupola in the atrium of S. Marco. Boskovits et al., *Thyssen-Bornemisza Collection,* no. 19 (at p. 120, n. 6), remarks on the motif in the right shutter of a portable altarpiece attributed to Lorenzo Veneziano.

[89] E. Borsook, *Gli Affreschi di Montesiepi* (Florence: EDAM, 1969), pp. 27–32. S. Settis, ""The Iconography of Italian Art 1100–1500," ch. 2 in *History of Italian Art*, v. 2, trans. C. Dorey (Cambridge, UK: Polity Press, 1994), pp. 238–40, discusses the Montesiepi *Annunciation* but misses the mark in asserting that the composition in the underdrawing is an "isolated" example that was rejected because it violated the Mariological cult.

[90] Fra Niccolò of Poggibonsi, *A Voyage Beyond the Seas (1346–1350)*, trans. T. Bellorini and E. Hoade (Jerusalem: Franciscan Press 1945), pp. 64–5; see also the excerpts in D. Baldi, ed., *Enchiridion locorum sanctorum* (Jerusalem: Typis PP. Franciscanorum, 1955), pp. 20–23. This is the explanation favored by Katzenstein, "Three Liturgical Manuscripts from San Marco," pp. 203–7, where she relates the topographically accurate detail of the column to Venice's political and economic stake in the Crusades.

[91] It is also unlikely that the column in the Snite *MVC Annunciation* was intended to refer to the column against which the Virgin leaned while giving birth that is described in the *Meditations* chapter on the Nativity, for there is no hint of such an architectural element in any of the Snite

Still, there is a range of theological and symbolic references pertinent to the meaning of the Snite column. At the most basic level, there was a venerable Christian tradition stemming from the Old Testament itself, of the column as an attribute of the Temple of Solomon, and thus of Wisdom, and so of Ecclesia, and thus of the Virgin Mary. The description of the Solomonic temple complex in 3 Kings 7 mentions a variety of pillars, especially as a feature of its porch,[92] and further Old Testament passages of a pronounced sapiential cast link Divine Wisdom with pillars (e.g., Proverbs 9:1; Ecclesiasticus [Sirach] 24:4).[93] In fourteenth-century Bolognese illumination, the traditional understanding of the Temple as the type for Ecclesia[94] and the role of columns to figure that identity is apparent, for example, in a comparison of two large illuminations in legal manuscripts by Nicolò da Bologna. In one, a representation of Christ among the Doctors (Plate 132),[95] the Temple of Jerusalem is evoked by a shallow polygonal

---

Nativity illuminations (cf., fols. 13v, 15r, 16v). However, on the inclusion of the column in representations of the Nativity and the Adoration of the Child, see G. Bandmann, "Höhle und Säule auf Darstellungen Mariens mit dem Kinde," in *Festschrift für Gert von der Osten* (Cologne, 1970), 130–48.

[92] Cf., Giotto's Presentation of the Virgin fresco in the Arena Chapel.

[93] In fact, the Virgin's act of grasping the column as represented in the Annunciation scenes cited above was likely intended as a literal interpretation of Psalm 110(111):10, "the fear of the Lord is the beginning of wisdom," in that the Virgin's submission to God's will makes possible the incarnation of the Word/Wisdom of God. The angel Gabriel's reassurance to the Virgin to "fear not" (Luke 1:30) would have provided the verbal link to the psalm. Ambrogio Lorenzetti's sinopia for the Montesiepi Annuncation fresco is a vivid pictorialization of this thought. A full-page miniature of the Annunciation in the Stammheim Missal produced ca. 1170 for St. Michael's Abbey in Hildesheim provides a pictorial summary of the Incarnation-column-Wisdom connection; see, E. C. Teviotdale, *The Stammheim Missal* (Los Angeles: Getty Museum, 2001), pp. 59–61 and fig. 44.

[94] C.H. Krinsky, "Representations of the Temple of Jerusalem before 1500," *JWCI* 33 (1970): 11.

[95] BAV, Vat. lat. 2598, fol. 1r. This is the opening illumination of a manuscript of Bartolo of Sassoferrato's *Lectures on the "Infortiatum,"* dated 1378. The notion of Christ's wisdom and

structure with two central foreground columns while in the other, a representation of the elevation of the Host at the Mass (Plate 133), an idealized church is depicted as a similar polygonal pavilion, its two principal foreground corners again supported by columns.[96] In the first half of the century, the Master of 1328 placed a single column in the center foreground of an otherwise rectilinear church structure, which is represented as the site of the Mass, in a large illumination for a *Decretals* manuscript at the Morgan Library (Plate 134): there the priest is shown directly behind the column as he bows before the altar while speaking the words of consecration over the Host.[97]

The medieval train of thought that linked the Temple of Solomon with Ecclesia and Ecclesia with the Virgin could thus apprehend the Virgin Mary at the Annunciation, through her consent to enflesh the Logos, as the House of Wisdom, the New Temple of Solomon, and the embodiment of Ecclesia.[98] A mid-thirteenth century Bolognese *lauda*

---

teaching as the source of legal authority would be the reason for this subject. Nicolò employed this same structure for the Temple in his representation of the Circumcision of Christ in the Munich Missal series of scenes from the life of Christ and for the Presentation of Christ to the Temple in the similar series in the Vatican manuscript of Giovanni da Legnano's collected works.

[96] BAV, Vat. lat. 2534, fol. 1r. The illumination prefaces Book III (De vita et honestate clericorum) of Giovanni d'Andrea's *Novella in Decretales*. Krinsky, "Temple of Jerusalem," p. 10, characterizes the polygonal pavilion as a conventional late medieval iconographic type for the Temple of Jerusalem.

[97] New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, M. 716 (leaves from a *Decretals of Gregory IX*, with commentary of Giovanni d'Andrea), fol. 4.

[98] J. Liebrich, *Die Verkündigung an Maria* (Cologne/Weimar/Vienna: Böhlau Verlag, 1997), p. 71 notes the presence of columns in Annunciation scenes and their association with the Temple of Solomon but does not draw out the sapiential significance in relation to the Incarnation. For example, in Book III. 9 of Mechthild of Magdeburg's *Flowing Light of the Divinity*, ed. S. Clark, trans. C.M. Galvani (New York: Garland, 1991), p. 76, the Incarnation at the Annunciation is described thus: "The beautiful procession [of the Trinity] descended with great joy into the temple of Solomon [i.e., the Virgin Mary], where almighty God wanted to take shelter for nine months."

of the Servi della Vergine, "Rayna possentissima," praises the Virgin as "the pillar of the ages," and continues, saying, "You are wisdom . . . filled with knowledge" and "filled with the salt of wisdom."[99] And, as the Morgan *Decretals* illumination of the Mass suggests, the theme of Christ's sacrifice was inherent in medieval understanding of divine wisdom.[100] The Christological trajectory of the column as symbol of divine wisdom was clearly active in the mind of the illuminator of the Snite *MVC*: among all of its illuminations, there is only one other in which a prominent column appears—the miniature of the Flagellation (Plate 25). There the column serves as the foremost center support of the torture chamber. Though Christ stands bound before the column, his body concealing much of its length, the smooth cylindrical profile of the shaft and the flare of its capital and base are identical to the column in the Annunciation. This identity is sealed by the color of both columns: each is of a rosy hue—pink in the case of the Annunciation, terracotta in the Flagellation. Consequently, in both illuminations the color of the columns stands out from the stone grey walls of the architectural enclosures. The reddish color conforms to medieval notions about the actual column of the Flagellation: pilgrims related that they saw a relic of a porphyry column from the house of Pilate in the church of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem.[101]

---

[99] The "Rayna possentissima" is included in M. A. Cirigliano, *Melancholia Poetica: A Dual Language Anthology of Italian Poetry, 1160–1560* (Troubador Italian, 2007), p. 17.

[100] Cf., Thompson, *Cities of God*, p. 363, who notes with interest that thirteenth- and early fourteenth-century prayer books for the laity sometimes include prayers that "emphasize unexpected aspects of Christ's person, his nature as wisdom incarnate, for example." He quotes an example of such a prayer in the vernacular, likely written by a Franciscan ca. 1300, on p. 367.

[101] R. W. Lightbown, *Carlo Crivelli* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2004), p. 104. Cimabue's *Flagellation* panel (ca. 1280) in the Frick Collection, New York, shows Christ bound to a mottled brownish-red column. In addition to referring to the "royal blood" of Christ shed in his scourging, the red color likely also has typological significance. It may allude to the "pillar of

Though this specific Passion reference in an Annunciation scene is precocious, by the fifteenth century allusions to the Flagellation, either by the device of the column or some other motif of Christ's imprisonment, can be discerned in representations of the Nativity.[102] These result from the medieval Christian affinity for prolepsis, articulated in the fourteenth-century, for example, in the *Revelations* of St. Bridget of Sweden in which the Virgin's reverie on her joys at contemplating the beauty of the newborn infant prompt painful memories of his mutilated hands and feet at the crucifixion so that she can conclude: "Et sic semper erat leticia mea mixta cum dolore."[103] Just as the Passion event inaugurated by the Virgin's assent to the Incarnation is foretold by the column in the Snite Annunciation, so, too, her later participation in the suffering of her son is made explicit in the Flagellation miniature with its unusual inclusion of the figure of the mother pressing against the closed door of the torture chamber. Thus, in the Snite *MVC* the motif of the Virgin's literacy that was introduced in the Presentation miniature deepens in the

---

fire" in which God guided the Israelites during the night in their journey across the desert out of Egypt (Exodus 13: 21–22)—the exemplar of the salvific column that signifies the Church.

[102] Bandmann, "Höhle und Säule," pp. 132–3, 137. Bandmann devotes particular attention to the center panel of Rogier van der Weyden's Bladelin Altarpiece (Berlin-Dahlem, Staatliche Museen) in which a prominent column supporting the shelter of the Nativity is adjacent to a grated opening that Bandmann identifies as a reference to Christ's incarceration. See also A. Acres, "Porous Subject Matter and Christ's Haunted Infancy," in *The Mind's Eye: Art and Theological Argument in the Middle Ages*, ed. J. F. Hamburger and A-M. Bouché (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 2006), pp. 257–8.

[103] Sancta Birgitta, *Revelaciones, Book I*, ed. C.-G. Undhagen (Stockholm: Almqvist and Wiksell, 1977), p. 266 (cap. 10, 14). The column against which the Virgin leans as the Christ Child lies before her in an illustration for the Nativity chapter in the Paris *MVC* (Ragusa and Green, p. 33, fig. 27) very likely has sapiential and ecclesiological meaning, of which McNamer, "Origins," p. 932, seems unaware. The Paris manuscript ends with the arrest of Christ so does not have Passion illustrations; therefore, one cannot determine whether a similar column was intended for the illustration of the Flagellation.

Annunciation illumination to comprehend her role as the bearer of God's wisdom that will appear as foolishness to the world in the culminating events of the Passion.

The Visitation (fol. 10v)

Unlike the two preceding miniatures, significant instruction to the illuminator regarding the representation of the Visitation is lacking. The illumination is placed in the lower portion of folio 10v, directly above the rubric which reads "como la nostra dona andoe a visitare santa elisabeta" (Plate 5). These same words are written in a cursive hand in the margin below, suggesting that this minimal message was intended to serve for both the rubric and the miniature.[104] In the absence of detailed direction, the illuminator employed a scheme that derives from Giotto's *Visitation* fresco (Plate 135) and its opposite, the *Pact of Judas* (Plate 136), both prominently placed on the altar wall of the Arena Chapel.

Like the Arena *Visitation*, the Snite miniature depicts the encounter of the Virgin Mary and Elizabeth taking place in the open before a simple rectangular architectural structure. This is the usual setting in fourteenth-century Italian painting,[105] one approximating the text's description of the meeting as occurring as Mary enters Elizabeth's house.[106] Similarly, both compositions include witnesses flanking the main

---

[104] Unfortunately, the original subsequent folio is missing, so that it is impossible to know whether a lengthier instruction regarding the illumination was written in the margins of the facing page.

[105] For an extended discussion of the pictorial setting of the Visitation and especially of the later predilection for a landscape background, see Z. Urbach, "Die *Heimsuchung Mariä*, ein Tafelbild des Meisters M S (Beiträge zur mittelalterlichen Entwicklungsgeschichte des Heimsuchungsthemas)," *Acta historiae artium* 10 (1964): 79–94.

[106] Ragusa and Green, *Meditations*, p. 23.

pair, although the female attendants of Giotto's fresco have been replaced in the illumination with a completely male cast of characters. While the Snite illuminator basically adheres to the Giottesque figural group of an erect Virgin Mary meeting a more stooped Elizabeth, both with arms extended, he has made some adjustments to Giotto's emotionally intense duo. Above all, the deliberate vertical alignment of Mary's and Elizabeth's hands, unlike the intertwined embrace of the Arena pair, suggests that some elements of the fresco of Judas's Pact on the opposite wall infiltrated a Visitation model to which the Snite illuminator had access. Barasch's analysis of the choreography of the hands of Judas and the High Priest in the Bribe fresco—the Priest carefully protecting the manual transaction of the exchange of the purse—demonstrates the centrality of hand gestures to the Betrayal narrative.[107] Although the legal nuances that Barasch perceives in the hands of those two protagonists are inapplicable to the stacked hands that punctuate the interval between Mary and Elizabeth in the miniature, it is likely that Giotto's isolation of the hands in the Bribe fresco as a visual focus for a simple encounter between two figures was appreciated and adapted by subsequent artists.[108] In the Snite *Visitation*, the reaching hands of Mary and Elizabeth direct the viewer's attention toward the swollen bellies of each miraculously pregnant woman.

The Snite illuminator has subjected the pair of Mary and Elizabeth in Giotto's fresco to further modifications. While he preserves the contrast between the postures of

---

[107] M. Barasch, *Giotto and the Language of Gesture* (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1987), pp. 166–8.

[108] E.g., Giusto de' Menabuoi's Visitation fresco in the Baptistry at Padua similarly employs a hand clasp between Mary and Elizabeth; repr. in A.M. Spiazzi, ed., *Giusto de' Menabuoi nel Battistero di Padova* (Trieste: Lint, 1989), fig. 39.

the older and younger woman to symbolize this encounter between the Old and New Covenants,[109] he has given Elizabeth an even more overtly reverent pose than her Arena counterpart. Whereas Giotto's aged Elizabeth bends forward at the waist to gaze deeply into the Virgin's face as though seeking there the meaning of this moment, the Snite artist represents her in the act of genuflecting: her left leg is bent under a cascade of drapery folds as her right knee projects forward to support her weight, and her gaze drops to fix upon the Virgin's womb.[110] Like the explicit alignment of the hands, this deferential pose telegraphs its meaning in a more obvious way, lacking the emotional depth and subtlety of Giotto's conception, but consistent with Elizabeth's recognition of Mary as "the mother of my Lord" as recorded in Luke 1:43.

As observed above, one of the most notable features of the Snite Visitation is its substitution of male witnesses for the customary female attendants. Though they bear no obvious resemblance to the Snite miniature, there are a few fourteenth-century representations of this episode that include a male figure, usually Joseph.[111] Generally, scholars have attributed his presence to the impact of the *Meditations* narrative: indeed, the chapter on the Visitation early states that Mary travelled to her cousin's "alone with her husband Joseph"[112] and later observes that while Mary stayed with Elizabeth during

---

[109] On the contrast in characterization of the Virgin Mary and Elizabeth in Visitation scenes, see Hirn, *Sacred Shrine*, pp. 324–5, and Urbach, "*Heimsuchung Mariä*," pp. 75–7.

[110] In his Visitation quatrefoil for the Santa Croce sacristy panels, Taddeo Gaddi gives Elizabeth an even more reverential pose, representing her kneeling on both knees before the approaching Virgin; repr. in A. Ladis, *Taddeo Gaddi* (Columbia: Univ. of Missouri Press, 1982), 6b-1.

[111] E.g., the *Visitation* in the upper left corner of a panel with scenes from the life of John the Baptist attributed to Deodato Orlandi (Berlin, Gemäldegalerie) and in a custodia panel with scenes from the life of Christ attributed to Pacino di Bonaguida (Tucson, University of Arizona).

[112] Ragusa and Green, *Meditations*, p. 21.

her confinement, "those magnificent old men Zacharias and Joseph are there also.[113] Significantly, the illustrations for the Visitation in both the Paris and Oxford *Meditations* include Joseph *and* Zacharias.[114] In the Oxford illumination (fol. 10r), they enter behind their respective spouses as they do in the Snite Visitation, while in the Paris manuscript, the two female cousins embracing at the left are matched on the right by their two embracing husbands (Plate 137); this latter conception may have derived from a typological source or a Byzantine model.[115] Though the Oxford illumination represents Joseph and Zacharias as similar physical types, the Paris illustration endows Zacharias with a long beard more suggestive of age than Joseph's trim one.[116] This contrast between the middle-aged spouse of Mary and Elizabeth's elderly husband,[117] in spite of

---

[113] Ibid. p. 24. The Snite text, fol. 11r, similarly specifies that Mary and Elizabeth were together "anco con quelli due vechi Çaccharia e Joseph cosi venerabili."

[114] Unlike the Snite manuscript, which restricts itself to one illustration for this chapter, the Paris manuscript includes six (Ragusa and Green, *Meditations*, ills. 15–20) and the Oxford manuscript, two (fols. 10r and 11r). The elaboration of the Visitation episode in the *MVC* text may have been inspired by special Franciscan concerns: in 1263, Bonaventura introduced the Feast of the Visitation to the Franciscan order. (More than a century passed before it was fixed on July 2 and declared a church-wide feast.) On the cultivation of the feast, see Urbach, "*Heimsuchung Mariä*," p. 78.

[115] In the transcription of the table of subjects from an early thirteenth-century typological manual, compiled by M. R. James, "*Pictor in Carmine*," *Archaeologia* 94 (1951): 141–66, the embrace of Moses and Aaron is specified as a type for the Visitation at p. 151: "Salutant se invicem Maria et Elisabeth: Moyses et Aaron sibi obviantes in monte dei oscula iungunt." P. Hethrington (trans.), *The "Painter's Manual" of Dionysius of Fourna,* (Redondo Beach, Calif.: Oakwood Publications, 1989), p. 32, n. 3, states that Joseph and Zacharias are present in Byzantine representations of the Visitation from the sixth century onwards.

[116] The two male figures in the Paris *MVC* Visitation illustration (Ragusa and Green, *Meditations*, p. 22, ill. 16) were misidentified by the scribe who inscribed the titulus: the middle aged man is labelled as Zacharias and the older man with long beard as Joseph but comparison with the other illustrations for this chapter confirms that Joseph is middle aged and has a trimmer beard whereas Zacharias has a long forked beard.

[117] The long forked beard and receding hairline of Zacharias in the Snite *Visitation* strongly resembles the physiognomy of the High Priest in the earlier *Presentation* miniature. This similarity was no doubt deliberate since the High Priest was customarily identified as Zacharias in

the textual characterization of both as old men, is pronounced in the Snite miniature as is Joseph's greater importance, which is conveyed by his compositionally-central location in contrast to the marginal placement of Zacharias entering the scene at the far right.

In addition to the inclusion of Joseph and Zacharias, the Snite *Visitation* is notable for the group of standing male figures who crowd in at the far left. From their headshawls and beards, it is clear that they are characterized as Jews.[118] Likely intended in a negative sense, they conform to the physical type employed for one of the Pharisees flanking the adulteress in the illumination of Christ and the Woman accused of Adultery (Plate 65) that illustrates Book V of the Novella manuscript in the Biblioteca Ambrosiana. Again, the inspiration for this group of gesticulating figures in the Snite Visitation may have been Giotto's fresco of the *Pact of Judas* where two bearded figures converse at the right behind the High Priest, one pointing emphatically with his thumb to the principal party. A similar pair of bearded witnesses, both wearing headshawls, stands at the right and gestures toward the main group in Giotto's Presentation of the Virgin fresco (Plate 116).[119] From the demonstrative hand gestures and distinctive dress of the group of witnesses in the Snite Visitation, it appears that the illuminator's intention was to contrast their skeptical and even incredulous response to the holy event to both Joseph's

---

the Byzantine tradition; cf. O. Demus, *The Mosaics of San Marco in Venice* I:1 (Univ. of Chicago Press for Dumbarton Oaks, 1984), p. 132.

[118] R. Mellinkoff, *Outcasts* (Berkeley: Univ. of California Press, 1993), pp. 59–60.

[119] In a fourteenth-century scene of the Presentation on a panel attributed to Turone (repr. in Sandberg Vavala, "Fourteenth Century Iconography: Verona," 392, fig. 29), this pair of gesticulating witnesses with headshawls has been transposed to the left and turned to face outward as in the Snite Visitation miniature. On the function of such Jewish figures, as eyewitnesses to, but separated from, the main event, see Rosand, *Painting in Cinquecento Venice*, pp. 15–6.

and Zacharias's reverent apprehension of the meeting of Mary and Elizabeth. Although medieval Christians were aware of and troubled by Zacharias's qualms over his wife's pregnancy[120] and by Joseph's doubts, in this miniature the two saintly husbands are represented as respectful, comprehending witnesses.[121] Indeed, for the medieval reader, the opposition of the figure of Zacharias to the skeptical Jews might well have summoned recollection of Zacharias's prophecy regarding the significance of the events surrounding the Visitation that he voices in the *Benedictus* (Lk. 1:68–79), which was recited daily at Lauds.[122]

The centrality accorded Joseph by his placement in the Snite *Visitation* is complemented by the attention given his distinctively contemporary dress. Unlike the Paris and Oxford manuscripts, where he wears the generic clothing of a holy person—a long garment and voluminous draped mantle—the cut of his garb in the Snite miniature suggests modern dress familiar to the fourteenth-century urban dweller. Such representation of Joseph in contemporary clothes seems to have been a widespread trend in Bolognese Trecento art[123] and stands in contrast to his conventional nondescript dress

---

[120] E.g., Jacobus de Voragine, *Golden Legend*, I, pp. 198–99, strives to draw an explicit distinction between the Virgin Mary's interrogation of Gabriel at the Annunciation and the doubts expressed by Zacharias regarding Elizabeth's miraculous fertility, which resulted in his being struck dumb.

[121] See Mellinkoff, *Outcasts*, p. 41, for her comments on gradations of goodness attributed to the Jews of the gospel story in late medieval imagery.

[122] Zacharias's identification with the *Benedictus* is confirmed towards the end of the chapter on the Visitation (Snite *MVC,* fol. 11r), where it is recounted that at the circumcision of John the Baptist, Zacharias's silence was broken with the hymn, overheard by the Virgin Mary.

[123] E.g., Joseph appears in costume, including the rolled-up fur-trimmed hood, similar to that of the Snite manuscript in numerous mid-fourteenth-century Bolognese illuminations (see Cassee, *Missal of Cardinal Bertrand de Deux*, figs. 40, 41, 48, 49, 57) and in the Uffizi Nativity panel signed by Simone dei Crocefissi (L. Marcucci, *Gallerie Nazionali di Firenze: I dipinti toscani del secolo XIV* [Rome: Libreria dello stato, 1965], no. 123). He is depicted in contemporary dress,

in the work of such artists as Giotto, Duccio, Simone Martini, and Pacino di Bonaguida.[124] To the fourteenth-century Italian reader, the style of Joseph's dress that is introduced in the Snite Visitation and is employed throughout the Infancy miniatures[125] would mark him as a man of respectability—the sort of clothing worn by those engaged in professional or mercantile occupations. In Trecento art, the long gown with elbow-length capelet and rolled-up, fur-trimmed hood pulled over a close-fitting coif, is the garb favored for erudite men like Dante,[126] for professionals like notaries[127] and medical

---

but with slightly different headgear, in the scenes of the Nativity and Flight into Egypt in the *Dormition of the Virgin* polyptych attributed to the Pseudo-Jacopino (Bologna, Pinacoteca Nazionale); in a *Nativity* panel in the Thyssen-Bornemisza collection (the panel is attributed to Cristoforo da Bologna in Freuler, *'Manifestatori delle cose miracolose'*, no. 50, but R. Gibbs, "Sorting out Simone," *Apollo* 135 [1992]: 362–6 asserts Simone dei Crocefissi); and in some of the Infancy scenes of the detached fresco cycle from Mezzaratta (e.g., the *Circumcision*). In these latter examples, Joseph's round, close-fitting fur-trimmed cap is of a style seen most clearly as worn by the schoolmaster in the fresco of the Education of St. Nicholas of Tolentino in the Cappellone di S. Nicola, Tolentino (repr. in color in *Il Cappellone di San Nicola a Tolentino* [Milan, 1992], p. 210).

[124] E.g., Giotto's frescoes in the Arena Chapel, the Infancy scenes on Duccio's *Maestà*, Simone Martini's Liverpool panel of the *Young Christ's Return to his Parents*, the Infancy illuminations in the Pacino di Bonaguida series of scenes from the life of Christ and of Blessed Gerardo da Villamagna (New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, M. 643).

[125] The single exception is in the miniature of *Joseph's Doubts* (fol. 12r), where Joseph's dress is grey as in the other Infancy illuminations, but he wears a belted calf-length garment rather than an ankle-length cloak.

[126] Examples of Dante wearing similar dress in illuminated manuscripts of the Commedia include: Rome, Bibl. Corsiniana, ms. 44 G 3, fol. 63 (repr. in Conti, *Miniatura bolognese*, fig. 226); Florence, Bibl. Riccardiana, ms. 1005, fol. 177v (repr. in A. Conti, review of *The Missal of Cardinal Bertrand de Deux*, by Elly Cassee, *Prospettiva* n. 24 [January 1981]: p. 73, fig. 3); Bibl. Laurenziana, MS Plut. 40.3, fol. 1v (repr. in *Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana* [Florence: Nardini, 1986], tav. LXXXIV); Perugia, Bibl. Augusta, MS B. 25, fol. 113r (repr. in P. Brieger, M. Meiss and C.S. Singleton, *Illuminated Manuscripts of the Divine Comedy* [Princeton, N.J.: Princeton Univ. Press, 1969], pl. 28b). R. Levi Pisetsky, *Storia del costume in Italia* (Milan: Istituto Editoriale Italia, 1964), II: fig. 24 reproduces a detail from the *Via Veritatis* fresco in the Spanish Chapel, Santa Maria Novella, in which she characterizes the headpiece, similar to Joseph's, that is worn by a figure whom she identifies as Boccaccio, as a "berretto dottorale."

[127] See the fourteenth-century illuminations from the *matricole* of the Perugian guild of notaries reproduced in R. Abbondanza, *Il notariato a Perugia* (Rome: Consiglio nazionale del notariato,

doctors,[128] for civic dignitaries,[129] and more generally, for prosperous urban men.[130] Yet, at the same time, the uniform grey color of Joseph's clothing through the Infancy sequence of the Snite *Meditations* could constitute a deliberate concession to the virtue of humility appropriate to the foster father of Jesus, a carpenter by trade. The text of the *MVC* chapter on the Visitation concludes with an emphasis on the poverty of Mary and Joseph in contrast to their rich relatives, Elizabeth and Zacharias. It seems significant that the color grey was particularly associated with the Franciscans in this period, as is evident by the luminous grey habit worn by St. Francis at the far right in the frontispiece to the 1329 Matricola of the Compagnia di S. Maria delle Laudi, a Bolognese

---

1973), frontispiece and pls. 2, 8, 10. Ironically, a figure dressed in similar fashion is represented kneeling beside an altar opposite an older male figure wearing the generic dress of the holy person in the lower half of an illumination illustrating the contrast between humility and pride in a fourteenth-century Tuscan translation of the *Somme le Roi* (Florence, Bibl. Laurenziana, MS Rediano 102, fol. 64r). According to V. Moleta, "The 'Somme le roi' from French Court to Italian City State," in *Patronage and Public in the Trecento*, ed. V. Moleta (Florence: L.S. Olschki, 1986), p. 134 and fig. 8, the old man represents the contrite sinner while the younger man, "dressed as a notary or lawyer," personifies the hypocrite.

[128] See the Bolognese tomb relief of a professor of anatomy reproduced in O. Capitani (ed.), *L'Università a Bologna: Personaggi, momenti e luoghi dalle origini al XVI secolo* (Milan: Silvana, 1987), 52–53, fig. 22.

[129] E.g., the procession of magistrates in Ambrogio Lorenzetti's *Allegory of Good Government*, repr. in E. Borsook, *The Mural Painters of Tuscany*, 2nd. ed. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1980), pl. 47; for comments on their style of dress see Newton, *Fashion in the Age of the Black Prince*, p. 105. Similarly dressed figures are represented on the tomb of the Bolognese lord, Taddeo Pepoli, repr. in Grandi, *Monumenti dei Dottori*, pl. 134. L'Engle, "Addressing the Law," p. 146 and fig. 8.4, identifies a figure wearing dress similar to the Snite St. Joseph that is depicted in the middle of a Bolognese illumination (Plate 138), ca. 1340-50, for Book 18 of Justinian's *Digetum vetus* (Paris, BnF, Ms. Lat. 14339, fol. 251v) as the legal agent of the wealthy landowner (with sword and fur-lined cape) who stands beside him.

[130] Compare the dress of the men carrying purses who give alms to Christ in the Paris *Meditations* (Plate 139). On the sensitivity to clothing as a marker of status among fourteenth-century Italian *sapientes*, see S. M. Stuard, "Gravitas and Consumption," in *Conflicted Identities and Multiple Masculinities,* ed. J. Murray (New York: Garland, 1999), pp. 215–42.

confraternity associated with the Church of San Francesco.[131] The symbolic connotations of the color grey would not have been lost to a wealthy Italian layman. One finds this mentality at work, for example, in the deliberate affectation of austere white and grey habits by the members of the Trevisan Cavalieri Gaudenti, a semi-military order dedicated to the Virgin Mary, to signify their personal renunciation of the sumptuary privileges that were theirs as aristocrats and merchant princes.[132]

Joseph's Doubts (fol. 12r)

In contrast to the Visitation miniature, the representation of Joseph's doubts about the reason for Mary's pregnancy marks his nadir, literally and figuratively (Plate 6). The portrayal of this episode—one of the larger miniatures in the manuscript—must have constituted a challenge for the illuminator, given its scant iconographic tradition in the West and the dearth of visual clues in the text.[133] There is an instruction in a cursive hand written in the lower margin of the facing page (fol. 11v) but it merely repeats the rubric for the chapter, "como ioseph volse abandonare la soa sposa," which appears

---

[131] Bologna, Bibl. dell' Archiginnasio, fondo Ospedali, 73, fol. 5r. The illumination is attributed to Lando di Antonio and discussed in *Francesco da Rimini e gli esordi del gotico bolognese*, no. 15, and reproduced in color on p. 39. The dun-colored garment of John the Baptist standing at the center of the illumination further underscores the association of the color grey with austerity.

[132] R. Gibbs, *Tomaso da Modena* (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1989), p. 126, see also p. 124. Formally known as the Order of the Blessed Virgin Mary, it was founded in Bologna in the mid-thirteenth century by the brother of Diana d'Andolò, one of St. Dominic's early female followers. Dante includes two Cavalieri Gaudenti from Bologna among the Hypocrites in the *Inferno*, Canto XXIII, lines 100–108.

[133] For the iconography of Joseph's Doubts see Z. Urbach, "'Dominus possedit me . . .' (Prov. 8, 22): Beitrag zur Ikonographie des Josephszweifels," *Acta Historiae Artium* 20 (1974): 199–266. Foster, "The Iconography of St. Joseph in Netherlandish Art, 1400–1550" (Ph.D. Diss., University of Kansas, 1978), pp. 87–95; and, Wilson, *St. Joseph in Italian Renaissance Society and Art: New Directions and Interpretations*. Philadelphia: St. Joseph's University Press, 2001.

immediately above, following the conclusion of the Visitation text. While this sort of double-duty instruction directed to both the rubricator and illuminator was employed at the beginning of the Visitation chapter, there the instruction specified an action that not only could be depicted but, further, one that had a longstanding visual tradition. In this subsequent chapter, the rubric and instruction describe a state of mind—an action contemplated but not fulfilled.[134] This is consistent with the *Meditations* text for the chapter that dwells on the torment of Joseph and Mary, intensifying the private anguish of each protagonist precisely by insisting that it was neither voiced nor acted upon. Faced with this problem, the illuminator opted for a literal interpretation of the key words of the instruction, producing an image in which the central figure of Joseph walks out on Mary.

The absence of an iconographical tradition in the West for this episode is in part due to the sparseness of the canonical scriptural source, Matthew 1:18–24. It reports that when Joseph learned of Mary's pregnancy during their betrothal, he resolved to dispatch her privately. However, an angel appeared to him in his sleep, reassured him about the source of her condition and told him to take her as his wife, and instructed him to name the prospective child "Jesus;" upon wakening Joseph fulfilled these divine directives. In the face of such a laconic account and given the deeply human urge to identify with Joseph's plight, it is no surprise that apocryphal texts of the early Christian and medieval periods recounted the episode with varying degrees of embellishment. The *Protoevangelium of James*, condemned in the West though it circulated widely in the East, is the most elaborate, dilating on Joseph's distress at his discovery of Mary's

[134] On medieval approaches to this sort of challenge see S. Ringbom, "Some pictorial conventions for the recounting of thoughts and experiences in late medieval art," in *Medieval Iconography and Narrative: A Symposium*, ed. F. G. Andersen (Odense, Denmark: Odense Univ. Press, 1980), pp. 38–69.

pregnancy and describing an agonized confrontation between the two; ultimately their innocence is proved in the trial of bitter waters. In the West, a more circumspect version of this text circulated in the *Gospel of the Pseudo- Matthew*. There, Joseph voices his dismay at Mary's pregnancy not directly to her but rather to her virginal companions, who respond by protesting her innocence. Also in the West, a more sanitized version of the *Pseudo-Matthew* known as the *Gospel of the Nativity of Mary* was widely diffused, cited, for example, in the *Golden Legend*, but its narrative speaks in a scrupulously reasonable voice, hewing closely to the canonical source.[135]

The chapter devoted to Joseph's doubts in the Snite *MVC* likewise conforms to the Gospel account insofar as it relates no sudden dramatic discovery of Mary's condition on Joseph's part nor does it deal with any explicit recrimination between husband and wife. As noted, the author creates an interior drama, at once heightening Joseph's torment and demonstrating his virtue by insisting that he never gave voice to his suspicions and that he only *thought* of leaving his wife secretly.[136] Likewise, the *Meditations* author describes Mary's tribulation at witnessing Joseph's distress, her anguish compounded by the fact that her virtuous reticence precludes her from offering any words of explanation or reassurance to her spouse. The author interprets these mutual unspoken agonies as a divine test rewarded by God through the reassuring visit by the angel to Joseph. Doubts banished, Joseph and Mary are able to share their hard-won peace of mind in a cozy *tête à tête*. The chapter concludes with a didactic turn, emphasizing the sacrifice endured by

---

[135] *Golden Legend*, II, pp. 151–5.

[136] Urbach, "Ikonographie des Josephszweifels," p. 221–2. Joseph's resolve to leave the Virgin secretly is stated twice in the *MVC* text; the author was likely familiar with the *Gospel of the Pseudo-Matthew*, which specifies that Joseph thought to hide himself and send the Virgin away. Matthew 1:19 only states that Joseph was resolved to put away Mary privately.

Christ in his nine-month gestation.

The visualization of Joseph's mute desire to withdraw from the Virgin Mary that dominates the Snite miniature differs markedly from the approaches taken by the illuminators of the Paris and Oxford *Meditations*. The illustrations of the Paris manuscript attend to the text: twice Joseph is shown seated in the company of Mary, then Joseph sleeps as the angel appears to him while Mary prays for a remedy to their dilemma in the adjoining room (Plate 140), and, finally, these two exemplars of humility are shown crouched upon the ground opposite one another, Joseph giving thanks to God as Mary acknowledges her husband (Plate 141).[137] Though there is no attempt to avoid the representation of Joseph as anxious and distressed, there is no depiction of him acting upon his thoughts of abandoning Mary. Similarly, the illuminator of the Oxford manuscript eschews such an image, instead illustrating the chapter first with a miniature of the angel appearing to Joseph asleep and then with an illumination of the standing reconciled spouses, conversing with one another. The choice of these two formulae are consistent with the preferred vignettes for the representation of Joseph's doubts in its nascent Western iconographic tradition. The avoidance of the representation of Joseph's inclination to divorce in favor of the more palatable subjects of either Joseph's prophetic dream or of him cogitating in the company of Mary perhaps reflects a discomfort with the affront to the Virgin implicit in the image of abandonment and the pall it casts over the character of her husband.[138] Certainly the theologians found an exegetical challenge in Matthew 1:19.

---

[137] According to Ragusa and Green, *Meditations*, p. 408, no. 24, the inscription reads, "Joseph—how he thanks God for the gift to the Lady."

[138] Foster, "Iconography of St. Joseph," p. 92.

The central figure of Joseph in the Snite miniature, striding toward the left as he turns his head to look back over his shoulder at the Virgin Mary who is seated with her companions in an open room at the right, probably constitutes an adaptation of the more comprehensive Byzantine iconographic tradition. It adhered closely to the apocryphal accounts in which Joseph, following the betrothal, leaves Mary to go out on a building project and then returns to find her pregnant. The mid-twelfth-century manuscripts of the Homilies of Jakobus Kokkinobaphos (BAV, Vat. gr. 1162; Paris, BnF, gr. 1208) offer the most extensive Byzantine illustrated programs. Though they do not show Joseph departing from the Virgin on his way to work, their initial scene (Plate 142) for the episode includes the figure of Joseph bearing his carpenter's tools, entering from the left as he returns to a seated Virgin Mary; it is she, in fact, who turns away from him to address a small male figure at the right. The early fourteenth-century Byzantine mosaic in Kariye Djami, on the other hand, while similarly dependent on the *Protoevangelium* account, first shows Joseph (who is preceded by a young male figure bearing a basket of tools) turning to depart from the Virgin, and then in the act of confronting the Virgin, presumably upon his return home (Plate 143).[139] The torsion of Joseph's body seems to have become one of his attributes in the episode of his doubts, a physical manifestation of his dilemma. It is employed, for example, in the first historiated initial (Plate 144) for this incident in the Bodleian *Vita Mariae* (Canon. misc. 476, fol. 25v), which shows him standing to the right of the seated figure of the Virgin, turning his head to look back toward her at the left as his body and hands move to the right; though his pose strongly

[139] Underwood, *Kariye Djami,* I, p. 83, no. 99. A portion of the mosaic in the right half of the lunette has been lost, including the inscription. Joseph's Dream is represented in the subsequent lunette, along with the Journey to Bethlehem.

suggests departure, the rubric specifies his return to the Virgin and discovery of her pregnancy. Unlike the Snite miniature, none of these precedents depicts Joseph actually leaving his wife when he learns of her pregnancy. Nevertheless, the Snite illuminator's inclusion of Joseph's tools and the emphatic representation of him in mid-stride turning back to gaze at his obviously pregnant wife suggest a familiarity with the basic elements of the Byzantine iconography for the initial scenes of this episode.

The singularity of the Snite miniature's emphasis on Joseph's desertion of Mary becomes especially apparent when compared to other contemporaneous Bolognese representations of his doubts. Remarkably, though the subject of Joseph's Doubts was very unusual in Western art, there are at least three other instances of its representation in the first half of the fourteenth century by Bolognese illuminators.[140] This phenomenon was no doubt due to the precocious veneration accorded to St. Joseph in the city. There was a church dedicated to him in Bologna as early as 1129, likely the first in Europe; its assignment to the Servites ca. 1300 no doubt revitalized interest in his cult.[141] The standard medieval epithet drawn from Matthew 1:19—"Joseph the just"—must have had

[140] These include (1) a miniature of Joseph asleep (Plate 145) on the verso of a folio facing an illumination of the *Annunciation* in a Books of Hours made for Francesco da Barberino when he was at the University of Padua sometime between 1304 and 1309; see Sutton, "The Lost 'Officiolum' of Francesco da Barberino,' pp. 159–60; (2) a miniature of Joseph's Dream at the beginning of the Gospel of Matthew (in the vernacular) in a miscellany (Florence, Biblioteca Riccardiana, Ms. 1538 [S.III.47], fol. 117v) whose illumination has been attributed to the Master of Gherarduccio; see, "Maestro de Gherarduccio kopiert Giotto," p. 32, n. 15 (the folio is incorrectly specified as 17r); (3) an historiated initial (Plate 146) of Joseph's Dream as the Virgin Mary watches from the doorway of their home in one of the choirbooks made for the Servite church, ca. 1325–30 (Bologna, S. Maria dei Servi, Cod. G, fol. 119v).

[141] See P.M. Branchesi, "Una chiesa bolognese dedicata a San Giuseppe dal secolo XII," *Cahiers de Joséphologie* 19 (1971): 576–90.

special resonance among the many jurists in the city.[142] Not surprisingly, an historiated initial of *Joseph's Doubts* (Plate 146) appears in one of the series of Servite choirbooks decorated c. 1325–30 that are now at S. Maria dei Servi (Cod. G, fol. 119v).[143] Given that the convent of S. Giuseppe was a site of Servite expansion in Bologna at the time and hosted meetings of the General Chapter in 1329 and 1337, this image is testimony to the Order's promotion of the cult of St. Joseph; at the 1324 Servite chapter meeting, the celebration of his feast day was made obligatory.[144]

Though the historiated initial in the Servite antiphonary omits the central striding figure of Joseph, it does include his sleeping seated figure visited by the angel at the left and the Virgin Mary standing in a doorway as though in anticipation of his return at the right. It is a different sort of hybrid, combining the reclining Joseph of the "Dream" segment with the standing Virgin seen most often in depictions of the encounter of Joseph and Mary. However, in its compositional massing it is similar to the Snite miniature and both, in this respect, in turn resemble an early fourteenth-century Byzantine fresco of Joseph's Doubts in the Panagia Kera at Kritsa in Crete (Plate 147)—one suspects a possible Venetian or Franciscan intermediary.[145] Such a conjunction of a

---

[142] e.g., Francesco da Barberino, who commissioned the "Officiolum" was a lawyer and poet, author of two long moralizing allegorical poems, and had studied civil law and the notarial arts in Bologna in the 1290s.

[143] On the series of Servite antiphonaries produced in Bologna during the 1320s, see Conti, *Miniatura bolognese*, pp. 77–79 (he notes the influence of Giotto and Florentine style upon them); and, D'Amico et al., *Francesco da Rimini,* pp. 100–103, and cat. no. 11 (where Cod. G, fol. 119v is attributed to the Master of the Crucifixion D), and cat. no. 12.

[144] Branchesi, "Una chiesa bolognese dedicata a San Giuseppe," cites archival evidence for the celebration of the feast of St. Joseph in Bologna by the early fourteenth century, significantly antedating the Franciscan promotion of his cult in the late fourteenth century.

[145] Derbes, *Picturing the Passion*, p. 26, notes that there is a frescoed portrait of St. Francis in the church.

seated, usually somnolent Joseph with a seated or standing alert Virgin Mary seems to have been the favored iconography in Bologna to portray the subject of Joseph's anxieties over Mary's pregnancy, perhaps because the sleeping figure of Joseph simultaneously conveyed his perturbation and its visionary resolution.[146]

As in the Byzantine tradition, the torsion of the central figure of Joseph in the Snite miniature was no doubt intended to express his inner conflict over Mary's pregnancy. Though Joseph is clearly moving beyond the confines of their home, his turned-back head and advancing body exiting the architectural enclosure recall the humiliated figure of Joachim in Giotto's fresco of his expulsion from the temple.[147] Joseph's pose, in conjunction with his short, belted costume[148]—a unique exception in the manuscript to his usual ankle-length robes—and the tools that he carries which serve as attributes of manual labor, are all suggestive of a less-than-admirable persona at this

---

[146] Cassee, *Missal of Cardinal Bertrand de Deux*, p. 48, has identified the subject of the historiated initial (Plate 148) for the Introit of the Vigil mass on Christmas Eve day in the Missal of Cardinal Bertrand de Deux (BAV, Cod. Cap. 63B, fol. 11v) as the angel reassuring the doubtful Joseph as he and his very pregnant wife walk toward Bethlehem. But, rather than referring to Joseph's doubts over Mary's pregnancy, I believe the nimbed figure addressing Joseph should be understood as speaking the words of the Introit to Joseph: "Hodie scietis, quia veniet Dominus, et salvabit nos: et mane videbitis gloriam eius" (Today you shall know that the Lord is coming, and that He shall save us: and in the morning you shall see His glory). (The Introit alludes to Moses' address to the Israelites [Ex. 16:6–7] about the impending descent of the manna, which may explain the identity of the older bearded figure in the historiated initial for the Collect immediately below, whom Cassee, *Missal*, p. 100, identifies as Zacharias.) Cassee correctly observes that in the Introit initial Joseph is clearly portrayed as the head of the family in a positive rather than negative light.

[147] H. Stahl, "Narrative Structure and Content in Some Gothic Ivories of the Life of Christ," in *Images in Ivory: Precious Objects of the Gothic Age*, ed. P Barnet (Princeton: Princeton Univ. Press, 1997), pp. 98–9, notes the negative implications of "reading backward" in medieval pictorial narrative.

[148] It resembles the garment worn by the craftsman that illustrates the mid-thirteenth century statutes (Plate 149) of the Bolognese woodworkers guild (Bologna, Archivio di Stato, cod. min.1).

moment,[149] one much different from the stately figure he cuts in the preceding Visitation miniature. The aura of regret that emanates from the image is underscored by its omission of the ultimate reconciliation of the spouses. The theme of Joseph reunited with Mary, sometimes including the motif of him lauding her as the Mother of God, occasionally appears in Byzantine art and more often in late medieval Northern art; the illuminators of both the Oxford and Paris *Meditations* were careful to include it. But, despite the text's description of a loving resolution of the tension between Joseph and Mary, the Snite illuminator merely *implies* Joseph's return. His eventual reorientation toward home is hinted at only by the repetition of his inclined head, tilted toward the Virgin both as he walks away and as he sleeps, and by the curve of the angel's body—subtle devices that counter the otherwise right-to-left flow of the action.

Though the mobile figure of Joseph has an unfortunate air about it, it may not have been perceived by the original reader as completely negative. Compared to the fresco of *Joseph's Doubts* (Plate 150) in the Duomo at Orvieto of about a quarter-century later, the Snite St. Joseph is completely lacking in the furtiveness displayed there by the husband as he steals away from the praying Virgin Mary. It should be kept in mind that the Snite illumination illustrates a text in which Joseph is described as a paragon of forbearance and restraint, even despite his initial inclination to abandon the Virgin. In fact, for the *MVC* author, Joseph's decision to leave quietly is remarkable precisely

[149] However, C. Hahn, "'Joseph Will Perfect, Mary Enlighten and Jesus Save Thee': The Holy Family as Marriage Model in the Mérode Triptych." *Art Bulletin* 68:1 (March 1986): 54–66, demonstrates that there was a late medieval appreciation of St. Joseph as the artisan of the soul. The Franciscans emphasized Joseph's manual trade as evidence of his poverty; the Dominicans were less interested in the social significance of his occupation. In fact, the aphorism—"Joseph will perfect, Mary enlighten and Jesus save thee"—that Hahn cites, comes from the concluding miracle about the conversion of a licentious university student in the legend of St. Dominic; see, *Golden Legend*, II, pp. 57–8.

because it was devoid of the anger and revenge that would be expected of the cuckold:[150]

> Truly, one may say this, the commendation which is said in the Gospel of him [i.e., Mt. 1:19 on Joseph]: that he was a just man, of great virtue. Given that nothing causes a husband the shame, sorrow, and wrath as the adultery of the wife, he virtuously restrained himself as he did not wish to accuse her of an affair and, patiently, as if not going through so great an injury and not seeking vengeance. But overcome by pity he wished to cede his place, and he wished to leave her secretly.[151]

This linkage of Joseph's justice and mercy echoes a theme articulated in the medieval exegesis of Matthew 1:19. Theologians understood that as a righteous Jew, Joseph would have been obliged to observe Mosaic law that would require his rejection of the Virgin for her apparent adultery (Deut. 22:21–23); were he to proceed with the marriage and accept the child not biologically his own, he would be complicit in her crime. Yet, Joseph was constrained by an even deeper reluctance to subject the Virgin to the mortal punishment that would ensue from the public exposure of her adultery. To fulfill the law in the most merciful way possible—thus reconciling the competing claims of justice and mercy—he decided to seek a private divorce. Through such a reading, the medieval Christian could comprehend the epithet "just" that scripture invoked for Joseph and empathize with his dilemma, while still recognizing that this whole episode reverberates

---

[150] From his study of legal records, T. Dean, "Domestic violence in late-medieval Bologna," *Renaissance Studies* 18:4 (2004): 527–43, observes the expectation that husbands would behave violently toward wives and the commonplace that a jealous husband would want to kill his adulterous wife. (Interestingly, the Bolognese trial records of 1357 include only two cases of uxoricide among several cases of male violence against women.)

[151] Snite *MVC*, fol. 12v: ". . . veramente di lui [i.e.. St. Joseph] si pu dire la comendacione la quale e dita nel vangelio di lui cioe che elli era homo giusto impercio ch elli era di gran virtute. Con cio sia cosa che grande vergogna sia altrui e dolorre e turbatione l adolterio della mogliere e d elli se temperava cosi virtudiosamente che no la volea l assare [l affare ?] accusare e pacientemente se ne passava di cussi grande ingiuria e non si vendicava. Ma vinto per pieta si lii volse dare luogo e volse lla occultamente lassare."

with human doubt that is stilled only by divine intervention.[152]

When Joseph appears again at the left of the miniature, separated from his ambulatory figure at the center by a slender tree trunk,[153] the illuminator reverts to a conventional vignette to represent the resolution of his doubts. The use of the motif of the angel appearing to Joseph in a dream is common in the iconography of his Doubts in both Western and Byzantine art. Typically, Joseph is shown reclining, as in the Paris and Oxford *MVC* manuscripts, a formula likely adapted from the usual representation of his second Dream that prompted the Flight into Egypt. In the Snite miniature, Joseph sits on the ground and the angel swoops down from above. The use of the sleeping pose with cheek resting upon a supporting hand is generally interpreted as a device to convey Joseph's dejection and sorrow at the unwelcome turn of events and is associated with similar configurations used to personify the vices of melancholy and sloth.[154] However,

---

[152] From the patristic period on, there were differing interpretations of Mt 1:19, mostly focusing on the implications of the description of Joseph as "just" in the context of his decision to quietly divorce the Virgin Mary. For a summary of the various interpretations, see Filas, *Joseph*, pp. 134–52; *The New Catholic Encyclopedia*, s.v. 'St. Joseph;" J. T. Lienhard, "St. Joseph in Early Christianity," in *Joseph of Nazareth through the Centuries,* ed. J. E. Chorpenning (Philadelphia, Pa.: St. Joseph University Press, 2011), pp. 15–46.

[153] In addition to its separation of the successive moments of the narrative, the tree in leaf may symbolize Joseph as the humble but righteous man, derived from Proverbs 11:28: "He that trusts in his riches shall fall but the just shall spring up as a green leaf."

[154] The interpretation of Joseph's sleep as melancholic was expressed among medievals, e.g., Sachetti's account of Giotto's reply to the question as to why Joseph always appears so gloomy: "Doesn't he have reason, seeing his wife pregnant and not knowing by whom?" (Franco Sacchetti, *Il trecentonovelle,* ed. V. Marucci [Rome: Salerno Editrice, 1996], Novella LXXV). In the fifteenth century, San Bernardino of Siena reproached artists who portrayed Joseph as melancholy; see L. Bolzoni, *The Web of Images: Vernacular Preaching from its Origins to Saint Bernardino of Siena*, trans. C. Preston and L. Chien (Burlington, Vt.: Ashgate, 2004), p. 167. With few exceptions, modern scholars have tended to focus on the figure of Joseph as a source of anxiety and target of ridicule in medieval patriarchal society, e.g., P. Sheingorn, "Joseph the Carpenter's Failure at Familial Discipline," in *Insights and Interpretations: Studies in Celebration of the Eighty-fifth Anniversary of the Index of Christian Art*, ed. C. Hourhane (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton Univ. Press, 2002), pp. 156–67.

when viewed in conjunction with the text for this chapter, the vignette could suggest that God does not abandon the righteous man beset by grave troubles.[155]

Though dejected, the figure of St. Joseph need not have been regarded in an exclusively negative light. The appearance of the banderole-bearing angel clearly signifies the special nature of his sleep. For medieval theologians like Albert the Great, St. Joseph's prophetical visions, whose certainty and clarity demonstrated his closeness to God, were proof of his sanctity and special virtue.[156] That the angel addressed him as "Joseph, son of David" (Mt 1:20) sealed his centrality to the salvific plan: under Jewish law, the child's genealogy is traced through the male line, so Joseph's Davidic lineage guarantees Jesus as messiah, a fact of no small significance to the patrilineal culture of late medieval Italy. Joseph's seeming oblivion might also have been comprehended as connoting his chastity and trust in God—"dead to the flesh and the things of this world"—one of the interpretations given to sleep in medieval exegesis, for example, Gregory the Great's *Moralia in Job*.[157] The contrast between the quietude of Joseph's somnolent figure and the ambivalence of his ambulatory one, and the way that the stasis of the former is echoed in the calm of the reading Virgin, suggest an understanding of the

---

[155] F. Garnier, *Le langage de l'image au Moyen Âge,* II (Paris: Le Léopod d'Or, 1989), pp. 118–120 identifies the pose with the hand supporting the chin or cheek as signifying grief, lamentation, or pain.

[156] E. P. Dunne, "Albert the Great's Theology of St. Joseph," *Cahiers de Joséphologie* 7 (1959): 36.

[157] Gregory the Great, *Moralia in Job*, Bk. V, xxxi, 54 in his exegesis of Job 4:13 offers this exegesis of sleep: "By sleep too is represented tranquility of life, when the carnal desires are trodden down; as where these words are uttered by the voice of the spouse in the Song of Songs, *I sleep, but my heart waketh.* [Cant. 5, 2] For, in truth, in proportion as the holy mind withholds itself from the turmoil of temporal desire, the more thoroughly it attains to know the things of the interior, and is the more quick and awake to inward concerns, the more it withdraws itself out of sight from external disquietude." See also Foster, "Iconography of St. Joseph," p. 68.

active figure as the least admirable of the three, consistent with the fact that it visualizes Joseph's initial inclination to divorce the Virgin Mary.

The not uncommon strategy of adapting the iconography of Joseph's second dream preceding the Flight into Egypt—a much more frequent subject—for the representation of the first dream may have been at work in the conception of the Snite miniature. The duo of the sleeping Joseph and descending angel and also his central ambulatory figure in the Snite illumination resemble the two figures of Joseph, sleeping and walking respectively, in a representation of the Flight into Egypt (Plate 151) in a manuscript of the *Speculum humanae salvationis* now in Munich (Bayr. SB, Clm. 146). Evelyn Silber has argued persuasively that despite its Northern provenance from the Johannite house at Sélestat, the iconography and style of the manuscript point to a likely Bolognese origin ca. 1340–50; she demonstrates its "very close. . . relationship" to the *Speculum* manuscript formerly in the Cathedral Archive of Toledo that is Bolognese in style and probably dates to 1324–35.[158] Unfortunately the Flight into Egypt illustration is missing from the photographs that record the Toledo *Speculum*, but from the pattern established in Silber's study, its resemblance to the image in the Munich-Sélestat manuscript no doubt was strong. Though the walking St. Joseph of the Snite Doubts wears a shorter garment, he is similar to the St. Joseph leading the donkey in the *Speculum* Flight into Egypt, albeit seen in reverse: both figures turn back toward Mary and lower their heads as their bodies advance. The kinship between the pair of the swooping angel and sleeping Joseph in the *Speculum* drawing and the Snite illumination is even more striking. The use of a vertical element in both images to separate successive

[158] E. Silber, "The Reconstructed Toledo *Speculum Humanae Salvationis*: The Italian Connection in the Early Fourteenth Century," *JWCI* 43 (1980): 39–41. The Toledo *SHS* manuscript is preserved only in photographs taken before its disappearance during the Spanish Civil War.

moments in the narrative—the Speculum picture is divided into two parts by a narrow band while a tall slender tree separates the successive moments in the Doubts illustration—reinforces the possibility of a relationship. Conceivably a model book recording the motifs that were used in the *Speculum* manuscript, which constitutes a pictorial encyclopedia of episodes of Christ's life, could have been available to the illuminator of the Snite *Meditations* text. Such a possibility becomes even more probable given the likelihood that the patron of the Snite manuscript, who clearly had a special regard for Albert the Great, was acquainted with members of Bologna's Dominican community; the friars at San Domenico were major clients of the illuminator to whom the Toledo *Speculum* is attributed, who has been designated the Second Master of San Domenico because of his work in a series of antiphonaries there.[159]

Dominican theological preoccupations may also lie behind the figure of the patient Virgin waiting at home in the Snite miniature of Joseph's doubts. The vignette at the right resumes the theme of her literary activities that were present in both the Presentation to the Temple and Annunciation miniatures. The text of the chapter makes no mention of the Virgin's activities during this episode, describing only her anguished silence and her prayer to God that Joseph's suspicions be allayed. Neither the Oxford nor the Paris *Meditations* includes the motif in their illustrations for this chapter. The Paris manuscript instead emphasizes the Virgin's handiwork, showing her sewing and spinning in two of its four illustrations, activities in which she is typically engaged in scenes of Joseph's Doubts and that would have been associated with her work creating the temple

[159] He has more recently been called the B18 Master from his participation in a civil law manuscript (the *Volumen*) in Padua, Biblioteca Capitolare, B.18. See L'Engle and Gibbs, *Illuminating the Law*, Cat. nos. 6 (esp. p. 141) and 7.

veil.[160] In the Snite miniature, the open book that the Virgin reads rests on her lap immediately below her swollen belly, whose rotundity is emphasized by fine white hatching: Mary's lap has become like an altar upon which the Word is enfleshed. The motif seems to have found special favor among Dominicans in the fourteenth century likely because of its clever fusion of incarnational and sapiential emphases, and it appears in images made for both friars and nuns.[161] The way in which the motif is rendered in the Snite *MVC* suggests its further appeal to the laity, being at once theologically profound and readily accessible to the lay reading public, especially women. That the literate pregnant Virgin is the exemplar of faithful and fruitful submission to the Word of God is reinforced by the two female witnesses who kneel before her, enacting the devotion that the text was to inspire in the wife and daughters of the family that commissioned it.[162] Not only would this vignette of the Virgin reading within the confines of her home provide a model for private devotional reading that was encouraged especially among women in prosperous households, it would further remind them that her faith and forbearance in the face of Joseph's doubts were rooted in her reliance on the word of God

---

[160] Urbach, "'Dominus possedit me,'" *passim*.

[161] The Virgin Mary is depicted in three aspects (pregnant and reading; nursing the infant Christ; and knitting the seamless garment) in the middle register of a panel attributed to Tomaso da Modena now in Bologna, Pinacoteca Nazionale, probably made for the Dominican nuns at S. Agnese, Bologna. A mid-fourteenth-century fresco by an Emilian artist on a column in the nave of S. Nicolò, Treviso, depicts the Virgin Mary, seated in a throne supported by two mottled columns, gesturing to her grossly swollen belly while St. Thomas Aquinas stands next to her, displaying an open book (presumably of his theology, which had a significantly sapiential cast) in close diagonal alignment with her womb (Plate 152). See Gibbs, *Tomaso da Modena*, pp. 42–43 and p. 100. Further Bolognese examples of the pregnant Virgin reading are included in Cassee, "Madonna del Parto."

[162] If a theological advisor was involved in the conception of this miniature, he may have had in mind Ecclesiasticus [Sirach] 14:22–27, which speaks of Wisdom as dwelling in a house and the one who is seeking wisdom as looking in at her windows and hearkening at her door, wishing to dwell near her, a message relevant to readers irrespective of gender.

and manifested by her patient silence. As the text emphasizes, Joseph's restraint and the Virgin Mary's reticence and prayer exemplify the ideal response to marital challenges that would be rewarded by God, a message particularly meaningful to married lay readers of the *MVC*.

Though few in number, these illuminations for the early chapters of the Snite *MVC* provide a good introduction to the range of concerns and ideas circulating in mid-fourteenth-century Bologna that nudged this relatively new devotional text in a direction that would make it relevant to an educated urban lay audience. The miniatures are characterized by immediacy and simplicity in their formal qualities, but closer examination shows them to have been informed by a sophisticated theological intelligence and influenced by the illustration of liturgical and legal manuscripts. Special appreciation for the themes of justice, wisdom, reverence, and mercy runs through these Snite illuminations. While questions of gender inform both the text and illustrations, the key figures in these scenes before the birth of Christ—i.e., the Virgin Mary and Joseph—are portrayed in ways that do not conform to the stereotypes of much late medieval religious imagery. The literate and studious Virgin Mary in the Snite miniatures was designed to elicit the admiration of both the male and female reader, though their daily uses of the written word were probably quite different.[163] Likewise, the dignified Joseph who is shown as a caring companion in the *Visitation* and endures a profound test of his

[163] Cf., S. Udry, "'Putting on the Girls': Mary's Girlhood and the Performance of Monarchical Authority in Philippe de Méziéres's Dramatic Office for the *Presentation of the Virgin in the Temple*." *European Medieval Drama* 8 (2004): 11, observes that in Philippe de Mézières's religious drama of the Presentation in the Temple, "Mary is not simply a girl, but a girl perfect in virtue . . . who should be imitated by everyone because of her moral conduct." In the third office reading of the Presentation of the Virgin, she is described as humble, dignified, prudent, studious, conscientious, modest, indifferent to riches and worldly opinion, benevolent, etc., i.e., virtues applicable to both men and women of the social elite.

faith in the *Doubts* may have presented a salutary model to the husband and a reassuring one to his wife. The illuminations for the Infancy chapters develop further this significant role for Joseph as the solicitous patriarch of the Holy Family.

CHAPTER 3

ILLUMINATIONS FOR THE INFANCY OF CHRIST

The Infancy chapters of the *MVC* provided an abundance of congenial material for the Snite artist to illustrate that would have appealed to the interests of a family of readers. Not only does the Incarnation makes possible the representation of the divinity who assumed human flesh, the birth and early life of Christ presents a subject to which families could readily relate. For the late medieval family member, dramatic forms of renunciation and martyrdom would have been unlikely prospects, but empathizing with the sorrows and joys of the holy family must have seemed easy. The *MVC* text repeatedly urges such an identification, encouraging the nun-reader to imagine herself engaged in various nurturing behaviors toward the infant Jesus, behaviors that cloistered women could only fantasize about, but that would have been part of the normal experience of parents. Nevertheless, in the Snite Infancy illuminations the artist takes care to couch innovation within a generally conventional iconographic framework. He provides new modes of access for the viewer—especially the male patron—to participate imaginatively in the events depicted, yet continues to conform to Bolognese pictorial traditions for scenes from the life of Christ rather than follow the idiosyncrasies of the text. Though the illustrations seem superficially routine, careful examination suggests a nuanced understanding of the theological significance of the Infancy events, revealed by

motifs that recur across illuminations and by the *mise en page* of certain of the miniatures and their proximate texts.

The Nativity (fol. 13v), *the* ***First Bath*** (fol. 15r), and *the* ***Annunciation to the Shepherds*** (fol. 16v)

The rubric of the chapter following the account of Joseph's Doubts states, "How Jesus Christ was born into the world."[1] It is illustrated by three miniatures that are carefully placed in relation to the text. The first, of the Nativity (Plate 7), immediately precedes the chapter; the second, of the First Bath of the infant Christ (Plate 8), occurs just before the passage that describes the Virgin Mary bathing Jesus with her abundant breast milk; and the third, which combines the Annunciation to the Shepherds and the Nativity (Plate 9), interrupts the passage that relates the angels' announcement of the birth of Christ, first to the shepherds and then to the court of heaven. After grappling with the representational challenge posed by Joseph's dilemma upon learning of Mary's pregnancy, the illuminator of the Snite manuscript does not equivocate about Joseph's response to Christ's birth. St. Joseph assumes a prominent and active role in the illuminations of the Infancy chapters. This contrasts with the interpretation of his figure in much of medieval art.

Ruth Mellinkoff and especially Pamela Sheingorn have both written about the ambivalence with which Joseph was perceived and his negative portrayal in late medieval art.[2] Though the Snite *MVC* text does occasionally describe Joseph as "old"—albeit less often than the Paris manuscript—it also portrays him as a solicitous husband and father. In the *illustrations* of the Snite Infancy chapters, Joseph's senectitude is modified while

---

[1] Fol. 14r: "Como naque Jesu Cristo in questo mondo."

[2] E.g., Mellinkoff, *Outcasts*, I, pp. 79–82; Sheingorn, "Joseph the Carpenter's Failure," passim.

his energetic devotion to the Virgin and Child are accentuated. This positive portrayal in the Snite illuminations is consistent with McNamer's observation that St. Joseph is more prominent in the ca. 40-chapter *MVC* text than in Ms. Canonici 174.[3] Sensitivity to the interests of an educated layman is apparent from the opening passage of the Nativity chapter in the Snite manuscript. It provides specific historical details, derived from Luke 2:1–5 and the *Historia Scholastica,* that motivated Joseph's decision to go to Bethlehem[4] and states his role as guardian of the Virgin Mary.

The three illustrations for the Snite Nativity chapter initially strike one as unremarkable in the repetition of the main compositional elements of Jesus, Mary, and Joseph placed in a simple shed set in a minimal rocky landscape, a setting that hearkens back to Giotto's Nativity fresco in the Arena Chapel (Plate 153). Closer examination reveals that the illuminator has taken particular care to represent Joseph as an equal partner in the life of the holy family from the moment of Christ's birth. In the first Nativity miniature (Plate 7), the reconciliation of Joseph and Mary following the Doubts episode and their unity at the birth of Jesus is made evident by the placement of their figures facing one another on either side of the infant Jesus in the manger. Although Mary kneels before the child and Joseph is seated on a tan saddle, both raise their hands in prayer and both are equally in the foreground and of similar size. The passage in the text pertaining to this episode describes the ox and ass (derived from Isaiah 1:3 and shown in the background above the manger in the Snite illumination) first adoring and warming the child, then the Virgin Mary and Joseph, likewise: "The mother knelt and

---

[3] McNamer,"The Origins of the *Meditationes vitae Christi*," p. 932, n. 52.

[4] The opening lines of the Nativity chapter in the Snite *MVC* provide slightly more "historical" detail than Canonici 174 and considerably more than Ms. ital. 115.

adored Him and rendered thanks to God [saying] 'Omnipotent Father, as you gave me your son and I adore you, eternal God, [and] you, Son, of God and me.' And then Joseph did similarly. . ." [5] In the Snite miniature Joseph is dressed in the dignified long grey cloak and fur-trimmed hat characteristic of the late medieval professional urban male. The Infant swaddled in brilliant white bands occupies the exact center of the picture, with two standing angels in adoration at the left, balanced by the rising rocky terrain at the right. His swaddling bands, the rectangular shape of the wattle manger, and the rocky terraces that rise up at the right, recur in the later miniature of the Lamentation/Entombment (Plate 31), there transformed into winding cloths, square tomb, and rocky cave. The use of such motifs, which have parallels in the sacrifice of Christ's body at the altar during the Mass, imbues the miniatures with eucharistic significance[6]

The visual parity accorded to Joseph in the Snite miniature is notable. His contemporary dress, alert demeanor, and prominence equal to that of the Virgin Mary are all exceptional. In the thirteenth through the early fourteenth century, Bolognese artists typically represented Joseph at the Nativity in generic holy-person's dress, smaller in scale than the Virgin, located toward the side of the picture field, and seated upon the ground with his hand propping up his chin. In the mid-1330s, the Pseudo-Jacopino depicted a reverent and alert Joseph in contemporary dress in the Nativity panel (Plate 154) of the *Dormition of the Virgin* polyptych (Bologna, Pinacoteca Nazionale), but

---

[5] Snite *MVC*, fol 15v: "Alora la madre s inginochio e si l adoro e fece gracie a dio padre omnipotente. Inpercio che tu m a dato l tuo fijolo a adoro cei dio eterno fijol de dio e mio. E poy ioseph fece semeijantemente. . ."

[6] Cf., Bartal, "Repetition, Opposition, and Invention in an Illuminated *Meditationes vitae Christi*," p. 164, where she observes the meaningful similarity between the pose of the infant Christ in one of the Infancy illuminations of CCC 410 and that of the dead Christ in the Lamentation miniature later in the manuscript.

placed him kneeling at the left edge of the composition whereas the Virgin Mary and Child occupy the central foreground. By mid-century, Nicolò da Bologna accorded the seated St. Joseph near-equality to the Virgin Mary in the Nativity initial of the Kremsmünster Hours (Plate 155) but placed the infant Christ on her lap and reaching for her veil, so that the mother and child are marked as the primary group. The placement of the vertical support of the foremost corner of the shed between the foster father and the mother and child duo in the Kremsmünster historiated initial is a telling contrast to the Snite Nativity in which the same slender architectural element cuts across the Virgin Mary's kneeling figure. By the second half of the fourteenth century, the representation of Joseph in contemporary "professional" dress seems to have become common among Bolognese artists. Nicolò da Bologna continued to favor that type in the Infancy scenes of the Christological series in the missal that he illuminated for Cardinal d'Estaing (Munich, Bayr. SB, Clm. 10072, fol. 170v; Plate 156) and in the manuscript of the works of the canonist Giovanni da Legnano made for presentation to the Pope (BAV, Vat. lat. 2639, fols. 2v and 3r; Plate 157), as did Simone dei Crocefissi in his Nativity panels in the Uffizi (Plate 158) and the Thyssen-Bornemisza collection (Plate 159). However, while Simone does depict Joseph in dignified dress seated upon a saddle the foreground, he is represented deep in sleep.[7]

Although it is true that in the illustrations of the chapter on the Nativity in the Paris *MVC* Joseph is also shown as an active participant, consistent with the text's characterization of him as the Virgin's helpmeet during her confinement, he does not wear contemporary dress. Further, the motivation informing his representation in the

[7] R. Gibbs, "Sorting out Simone," *Apollo* 135:364 (June 1992): 362–6, dates the panels to the third quarter of the Trecento.

Paris manuscript seems quite different. The sheer number of illustrations for this chapter—nine as compared to the three in the Snite *MVC*—and the extensive captions accompanying them strongly suggest, as Flora argues, that they serve to relate the textual narrative for the less literate reader. Interestingly, the *MVC* text for the Nativity suggests that the author was influenced by iconographic conventions: Joseph is described as downcast during the delivery on account of his inability to provide the appropriate setting,[8] although he is *not* shown in the traditional dejected pose in either the Paris or Snite illustrations. The *MVC* text also confers a new role for the saddle upon which Joseph was traditionally seated in Italian Nativity scenes, a motif in Middle Byzantine art that was picked up in the West.[9] The author describes Joseph's effort to furnish more comfort for the Virgin Mary by removing the stuffing from the saddle for her to rest upon and then placing the saddle at her side as a support for her elbow, indicative of the author's intent to explain the traditional reclining pose of the Virgin Mary at the Nativity.[10] The artist of the Paris *MVC* did include an illustration (Plate 160) that conforms to this passage in the text, but the Snite illuminator retains the traditional pictorial role of the saddle as simply a seat for St. Joseph.

The coexistence of the Snite artist's conventional disposition with a willingness to improvise is apparent in the illumination of Jesus' first bath (fol. 15r) that appears in the middle of the Nativity chapter (Plate 8). The miniature is carefully placed in relation to the text: it appears at the top of the folio just above the passage that describes how,

---

[8] Ragusa and Green, *Meditations*, p. 34.

[9] K. Weitzman, *Monastery of Saint Catherine at Mount Sinai: The Icons* (Princeton: Princeton Univ. Press, 1976), vol. I, p. 68.

[10] Ragusa and Green, *Meditations*, p. 35.

immediately following the birth of Christ, the Virgin Mary embraced the newborn and her breast milk let down in such copious volume that she bathed him in it—a moment that alludes to the effusion of divine charity occasioned by the Incarnation.[11] The Paris *MVC* includes an illustration of the Virgin Mary giving birth to Christ as she leans against a column but does not show her nursing. The Snite illuminator sidesteps the lack of decorum that a literal representation of the textual specifics would entail by turning to the Byzantine iconographic tradition of the First Bath,[12] here performed by the Virgin Mary rather than midwives of the apocryphal gospels, and adored by St. Joseph. Kitzinger, in observing the persistence of the subject of the first bath in Byzantine iconography, speculated that the imperative must have been theological rather than anecdotal, that is, "to demonstrate the humanity of Christ and the reality of the Incarnation."[13]

The motif of the first bath is the centerpiece of the ca. 1345 detached Nativity fresco for the counterfacade of S. Maria di Mezzaratta (now in the Pinacoteca Nazionale, Bologna) attributed to Vitale da Bologna (Plate 97). There, too, St. Joseph has a prominent role, pouring a pitcher of water into the tub with an acrobatic sweep of his arm as the Virgin Mary reaches to test its temperature, underscoring her concern for the

---

[11] In late medieval Italy, Caritas was personified by a nursing mother. See R. Freyhan, The Evolution of the Caritas Figure in the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries, " *JWCI* 11 (1948): 68–86.

[12] The Byzantinizing first bath motif with nursemaids pouring water upon the Child's head appears in a leaf now in the National Gallery, Washington, D.C., from a Gradual attributed to the Master of Forli, ca. 1275 (Plate 161). Below the central Nativity scene, six Dominicans are represented in prayer. The leaf was acquired in Bologna in the late nineteenth century. See G. Vikan (ed.), *Medieval and Renaissance Miniatures from the National Gallery of Art* (Washington, D.C.: National Gallery of Art, 1975), cat. no. 3.

[13] E. Kitzinger, "The Hellenistic Heritage in Byzantine Art," *DO Papers* 17 (1963): 104; and see further R. Deshman, "Servants of the Mother of God in Byzantine and Medieval Art," *Word and Image* 5 (1989): 33–70.

vulnerability of her newborn son.[14] Gibbs has observed that, "Joseph's wielding of the jug may prefigure the sacrament of baptism."[15] The dynamism and expressiveness of Vitale's figures contrast markedly with the reverent calm of the Snite miniature. Joseph, who genuflects with his hands in prayer as he watches the seated Virgin Mary reach for the baby standing in the wooden tub, is cast as the foremost human witness to God's assumption of human nature manifested by Jesus' submission to the care required of the normal human infant even though, as Son of God, his perfect purity obviated any need for ablution. At either side of the picture, angels stand and press their palms together in adoration. The figure of the baby boy, whose barely visible left thigh is raised as though he is about to step out of the tub, must have been informed by the figure of the infant St. Nicholas standing up in the bath in a cutting now in the Morgan Library (M. 360, fol. 24) from the Hungarian Legendary illuminated by Bolognese artists ca. 1340 (Plate 163). Excised from the deluxe picture-book version of the *Legenda Aurea* made for Angevin

[14] Joseph's active role in the Mezzaratta fresco and his alert reverence in the Snite miniature contrast with his air of dejection in Riminese representations of the Nativity that include the First Bath, e.g., Pietro da Rimini's fresco of the mid-1320s in the Cappellone of S. Nicola at Tolentino (Plate 162), which shows a very active infant Jesus reaching for his mother as a nursemaid pours water over his feet in the tub.

[15] Gibbs, *Tomaso da Modena*, p. 144.

patrons in Hungary,[16] the illumination illustrates how St. Nicholas stood straight up in the bath on the first day of his life.[17]

In the third illustration for the Nativity chapter of the Annunciation to the Shepherds, St. Joseph occupies a central position (Plate 9). The seated Virgin Mary embraces the Christ Child at the left under the roof of the shed—a rustic throne of wisdom—while Joseph sits next to them in the middle, and two shepherds stand in the right half of the picture, looking up to the angel above who addresses them from the upper right corner. Although the holy family and the two shepherds are adjacent, the two groups do not interact; only the arm gestures of the rightmost shepherd that swing toward the left indicate their ultimate destination in Bethlehem. The cheek-to-cheek embrace of the Virgin and Child, the brilliant white of his swaddling bands, and the shed-niche they occupy designate them as the primary group. This duo, whose lips almost touch, ultimately derives from the Byzantine icon of the Eleousa type and is seen earlier in a frontispiece miniature (Plate 164) for the late thirteenth-century statutes of the Bolognese

---

[16] The profusely illustrated Hungarian Legendary manuscript is largely divided among the Biblioteca Apstolica Vaticana (Lat. 8541), the Pierpont Morgan Library in New York (M 360), the State Hermitage Museum in St. Petersburg, with single leaves in a few other collections. On the collaboration between Bolognese and Hungarian illuminators in the first half of the fourteenth century, see R. Gibbs, "Towards a History of Earlier 14th-century Bolognese Illumination: Little-known Manuscripts by Nerio Bolognese and the Hungarian Master," *Wiener Jahrbuch für Kunstgeschichte* 46–47 (1993–1994): 211–21.

[17] Jacobus de Voragine, *Golden Legend*, I, p. 21. The Dominicans had a special veneration for St. Nicholas: a few years after St. Dominic arrived in Bologna, they moved into the church of S. Nicolò delle Vigne, which was rebuilt following Dominic's death there and reconsecrated as San Domenico in 1251. Interestingly, a miniature of the grape harvest attributed to the Illustratore in a cutting (now at the Getty Museum) from a *Digestum vetus* of ca. 1340–43 includes a standing youthful vintager whose left thigh is raised as he treads on grapes in a basket in the right foreground (Plate 86). See Jacky de Veer-Langezaal, "A Cutting Illuminated by the Illustratore (Ms. 13) and Bolognese Miniature Painting of the Middle of the Fourteenth Century," *J. Paul Getty Museum Journal* 20 (1992): 121–38.

flagellant confraternity of S. Maria dei Battuti,[18] and in an historiated initial (Plate 165) that begins the chapter on the Nativity in an early fourteenth-century Bolognese manuscript of the *Legenda Aurea* (Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, C 240 inf, fol. 20r).[19]

Both Joseph's position, quietly seated beside his wife and son, and his gray garments, which contrast with the deep blue of the Virgin's robes and the red of the shepherd's short dress next to him, serve to anchor him as a major figure in this scene. By his watchful gaze directed to the Virgin and Child, he seems to serve as a model for the reader. After narrating the Annunciation to the Shepherds, the text in fact encourages the reader to participate in the nativity event by reverencing and embracing the infant Christ:

> Kneel you, too, who lingered so long and adore your Lord God, and then His mother, and reverently greet the saintly old Joseph. Kiss the feet of the infant Jesus who lies in the manger and beg His mother to offer to let you hold Him a while and hold Him in your arms. Gaze on His face lovingly and reverently kiss Him and delight and rejoice with Him with great diffidence. You may truly do this because he came to sinners for their salvation and humbly conversed with us and finally left Himself as food. His benignity will patiently let you touch as you wish and will not attribute it to presumption but to love and devotion. Nonetheless with veneration and fear touch [Him]. Then return Him to the mother and watch now attentively, assiduously, and wisely as she cares for Him and nurses Him and renders all those services that she knows and can do. Remain to help her if she lets you. Delight and rejoice with her and remember to think often of these events and have familiarity with the Lady and the sweet boy Jesus. Look at His face, on which the angels wished to gaze, often, as I said with reverence and fear and love, that you may not be driven away, since you must consider yourself unworthy of the conversation of such things.[20]

---

[18] Belting, *Image and its Public*, pp. 138–40. See also Medica, *Duecento,* pp. 343–4, cat. no. 109.

[19] The tender embrace of the Virgin and Child has multiple meanings: it refers back to the nuptial imagery of Song of Songs 1:1, "let him kiss me with the kiss of his mouth," which was assimilated to reception of the Eucharist, and anticipates the Virgin's grief in the Lamentation. The motif also resonated as an emblem of ordinary maternal love and appears in mid-Trecento Bolognese illuminations of infant baptism in manuscripts of the Decretum Gratiani, e.g., BAV, Ms. Urb. Lat. 161, f. 277v.

[20] Snite *MVC*, fols. 17r–17v: " . . . inginochianti tu lo qual se tanto indugiato. E adora l tuo signore. Dio e poy la soa madre. E reverentemente salute quell santo vechio ioseph e bascia li piedi di questo bambino iexu amosello che giace nella mangiatoia et prega l madre che te l porga e ke te llassi tore e tenlo in fra le brace e guarda la facia soa dilligentemente e reverentamente l

The chapter ends with a series of declamatory sentences that summarize the incarnational significance of the Nativity, e.g., "Today God is adored in the likeness of human flesh." As is evident in the mention of Christ's gift of himself as food in the passage quoted above, the emphasis upon gazing at and touching the body of the infant Christ refers not just to devotion to the Incarnation effected at the Nativity but is explicitly linked with Christ's salvific work and continuing presence in the Eucharist.[21] This theme will recur in other Infancy and Passion miniatures in the Snite *MVC*.

The Circumcision of Christ (fol. 18r), *the* ***Adoration of the Magi*** (fol. 20r), and *the* ***Presentation in the Temple*** (fol. 23v)

The next three illuminations each illustrate a single chapter devoted to the three notable events in the life of the infant Christ that were celebrated with feast days on January 1, January 6, and February 2. The miniature of the Circumcision (fol. 18r) that immediately precedes the chapter, whose rubric reads, "Como foe circumciso," shows Joseph holding the baby Jesus for the *mohel* to perform the *bris* before an hexagonal structure suggestive simultaneously of temple and baptistry[22] (Plate 10). While this

---

bascia e dilectati e rallegrati con lui con gran difianza diffidanza. E veramente poi cosi fare. Inpercio che vene ali peccatori per la lor salute et humilmente e conversato con noi e finalmente si lasscio si medesimo in cibo. Unde la soa benignita pacientemente ti llassera toccare al to volere. Ed elli no llo imputa a presuntione anci ad amore et devotione. Tutavia sia con reverencia e tremore lo tuo tocare. E poi lo rendi ala madre. E guarda come diligentemente e saviamente e studiosamente ella lo coverna et lacta. Et falli tuti quili servigij ch ella sa et puote. Sta tu con lei e aiutalla se lla ti lassa. Dilectati et realegrati con lei e ricordati di pensare spesse volte in queste cose e abbi la familiarita della donna e del bambino dolce iexu quanto puoti. E guarda la soa faccia nella quale li angelli desiderano di guardare. E sempre come io ti disse con reverencia et paura e d amore. E non sostenere che tu ne si caciata anci ti repute indegna della conversacione di cotai cose.

[21] Flora, *Devout Belief of the Imagination*, pp. 100–101; 110; 243, discusses the association of devotion to the Christ Child with Eucharistic devotion.

[22] The text of the Paris *MVC* for this chapter (Ragusa and Green, *Meditations*, p. 44) observes that with the advent of the Church, circumcision has been abolished and replaced by baptism.

setting is consistent with the meager iconographic tradition for the Circumcision, the *MVC text* for the chapter describes the circumcision as being performed by the Virgin Mary, whose anguish at the wounding of her son in fulfillment of the law results in a duet of grief and consolation shared between mother and son.[23] Both the Paris and Oxford *Meditations* manuscripts illustrate women circumcising Christ[24] (Plate 166). Holly Flora has proposed that the figure of Mary as *mohel* in the Paris *MVC* was motivated by the theological interpretation of Moses as a type for Christ and has its roots in Exodus 4:24–25 when Moses' wife Zipporah circumcises their son, touches his feet and says, "a bloody spouse thou art to me"—an enigmatic passage but one readily amenable to medieval bridal mysticism and eucharistic interpretation.[25]

Because the iconography of the Presentation of the Christ Child in the Temple served as a model for the representation of the circumcision, often the Virgin Mary is shown holding her son for the *mohel*, but four Trecento Bolognese representations of the

---

[23] Luke 2:21 implies that the circumcision took place (privately) in Bethlehem, whereas Luke 2:22 states that the holy family travelled to Jerusalem for the presentation in the temple.

[24] On the eucharistic significance and bridal mysticism of the Circumcision miniature in CCC 410, see Bartal, "Repetition, Opposition, and Invention in an Illuminated *Meditationes vitae Christi,*" pp. 165–8.

[25] Flora, *Devout Belief of the Imagination*, pp. 101–115. Flora develops her argument in "Women Wielding Knives: The Circumcision of Christ by His Mother in an Illustrated Manuscript of the *Meditationes vitae Christi* (Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France ital. 115)," in *The Christ Child in Medieval Culture*, ed. M. Dzon and T. M. Kenney (Toronto: Univ. of Toronto Press, 2012), pp. 145–166. The Paris *MVC* text specifies that Mary used a stone knife and Exodus 4:25 says that Zipporah used a sharp stone but the Snite *MVC* text only mentions a knife, although none is visible in the illumination. Later in the *MVC* text, in the chapter on Christ's life between ages twelve and thirty, the author expounds on the "knife of humility" with which Christ is girded, i.e., his humble deeds; see Ragusa and Green, *Meditations*, pp. 97–8.

circumcision known to me depict Joseph in the primary parental role.[26] This is consistent with the medieval assumption that Joseph conferred the name of Jesus upon the newborn at this time, fulfilling the angel's instruction to him at the time of his doubts as specified in Matthew 1:21, and considered most likely since the forty days of the Virgin Mary's confinement had not yet lapsed.[27] Although Joseph is not even mentioned in the Snite Circumcision chapter, his presence is implicit in its opening lines, which note the naming of Jesus as the other exalted event celebrated on January 1: "On the eighth day the boy was circumcised and his name and that of our salvation, that is, 'Jesus,' was revealed, which is as much to say, the Savior. And this name is superior to all the names in heaven and on earth, and to this name all the celestial and terrestrial, and infernal creatures kneel. And according to Saint Peter, there is no other name under heaven by which we can be saved other than this one."[28]

The "saving name of Jesus," derived from Acts 4:10–12, was much commented upon by medieval theologians, and Joseph's role in conferring his name was thus greatly

---

[26] These are: an historiated initial (Ecce agnus dei) of the Circumcision attributed to Nerio Bolognese in a cutting now in Munich, Staatliche Graphische Sammlung, inv. 40094; historiated initial (Ecce agnus dei) of the Circumcision in a leaf from an antiphonary (now in La Spezia, Museo Civico Amedeo Lia) that Medica attributes to Lando di Antonio, who emphasises its Eucharistic significance as the first shedding of Christ's blood by showing blood dripping from his groin into a shallow chalice and onto the cloth/corporal below (Plate 167); fresco of the Circumcision by Simone dei Crocefissi and Jacobus from Mezzaratta (Plate 168); scene of the Circumcision in the two-page Christological series signed by Nicolò da Bologna in the Munich Missal (Plate 156; Munich, Bayr. Staatsbibliothek, Clm. 10072, fol. 170v).

[27] However, while the *MVC* text in Canonici 174 does not specify that the Virgin Mary performed the circumcision, it does imply that she was responsible for naming Jesus, citing the angel Gabriel's instruction to her during the annunciation as reported in Luke 1:31.

[28] Snite *MVC*, fol. 18v: "Conpiuto l otavo di lo fanciulo fo circumciso. Et manifestose lo nome suo e dela nostra salute cioe iexu. Lo qual tanto viene a dire quanto salvatore. E questo nome e sopra tuti i nomi in cielo e in terra e conviene che a questo nome tute le creature celestiali e terrene e d infernali s inginochino. E secondo che dice san piero no e altro nome soto l cielo nel quale possamo essere salvati se no in questo."

esteemed.[29] John Chrysostom and his medieval heirs cite Joseph's role in naming Jesus as evidence that he was regarded as the father of Jesus by the world.[30] Joseph's prerogative in thus asserting his paternal rights was mirrored in the medieval Italian custom that granted to the father the primary responsibility in the naming of his children.[31] Tellingly, the representation of Joseph holding the baby Jesus at the center of the Circumcision is closely related to mid-fourteenth-century Bolognese illuminations of baptism in canon law manuscripts.[32] In an illumination attributed to the 1346 Master in a Decretum Gratiani manuscript (Geneva, Bibliothèque Publique et Universitaire, Ms. lat. 60, fol. 260) a father stands holding his baby above the hexagonal font at the center as the infant reaches out and chucks him under the chin (Plate 169), a gesture appropriated from Madonna and Child imagery and indicative of the loving relationship assumed between father and child.

While the *MVC* text quickly turns from the naming of Jesus to focus on the significance of the Circumcision as the first shedding of Christ's blood and vividly describes the pain and sorrow experienced by him and the Virgin Mary who performs the ritual, the Snite miniature shows a dignified and restrained ceremony at which the Virgin Mary stands toward the side next to Joseph and watches her son's circumcision with her

---

[29] E.g., the account of the Circumcision in the *Legenda aurea* that notes, "this day is solemnized because of the imposition of a new and saving name. On this day indeed a new a name was conferred upon the Child, the name that came from the mouth of God the Father; and there is no other by which we can be saved . . . The name of Jesus was imposed upon him [the Child] by God the eternal, by the angel, and by his putative father, Joseph." Jacobus de Voragine, *Golden Legend*, I, pp. 72–3.

[30] Dunne, "Albert the Great's Theology of St. Joseph," p. 23.

[31] C. Klapisch-Zuber, "The Name 'Remade': The Transmission of Given Names in Florence in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries," In her *Women, Family, and Ritual in Renaissance Italy*, Trans. L. G. Cochrane (Chicago: Univ. of Chicago Press, 1985), pp. 288–9.

[32] See also Melnikas, *Corpus Decretum Gratiani*, III, fig. 45, and p. 942.

hands drawn together in prayer; her sideways gaze betrays just a hint of trepidation. The pictorial emphasis is on the central group of Joseph holding the naked child as the *mohel* kneels before them. The blessing gesture that the infant Christ directs toward the *mohel* performing the *bris* and the contrast between the group of male figures at the left on whom he gazes intently—the headgear and beards of two of these figures designate them as a Jew and an exotic figure—and the reverent veiled and nimbed matron at the far right who resembles St. Elizabeth from the *Visitation*, suggest that the intent was to portray the paradox of Christ's triumph in his submission to the Mosaic law and to evoke Philippians 2:10, "That at the name of Jesus every knee should bend, of those who are in heaven, on earth, and under the earth."

The conjunction of salvific suffering[33] and the "saving name of Jesus" conveyed in the Snite Circumcision likely underlies the use of an almost identical composition, painted in reverse, in the fresco of the Circumcision signed by "Simone" [dei Crocefissi] and "Jacobus" for S. Maria di Mezzaratta around mid-century (Plate 168). As the church housed a confraternity that consoled condemned criminals on their way to execution at the top of the hill and operated a hospital in the city, the ambitious decorative program of Old and New Testament scenes emphasized themes of justice, mercy, obedience to the Law, redemption through Christ, and miraculous healing.[34] In the Mezzaratta fresco, a

[33] There are faint drops of blood visible at the Child's genitals between the priest's hands, though not the copious splashes of blood as depicted in the historiated initial in LaSpezia, Museo Civico Amedeo Lia (Plate 167).

[34] Cf.,Volpe, *Mezzaratta*, pp. 23–8, presents evidence that contradicts the traditional identification of S. Maria di Mezzaratta as a site where the confraternity ministered to the condemned. The extensive pictorial program of frescoes, now detached and housed in the Pinacoteca Nazionale in Bologna, included scenes from the lives of the Old Testament patriarchs Moses and Joseph, and scenes from the life of Christ, including episodes of his adult ministry. The frescoes in this

male figure dressed in fourteenth-century knightly costume akin to that worn by the patron in the opening miniature of the Snite *MVC* kneels in prayer in the right foreground. He gazes upon the Circumcision performed by the *mohel,* who kneels before St. Joseph, reverently proffering the naked infant Jesus upon a cloth, so that the Eucharistic meaning is unmistakable. For the lay male patrons of both the Mezzaratta *Circumcision* and the Snite *MVC*, the portrayal of St. Joseph in contemporary dress as protector of the body of Christ and bestower of the name of Jesus would have provided a religious model relevant to and supportive of their own experience and worldview.

In the Snite illumination of the Adoration of the Magi (fol. 20r) that appears at the beginning of the chapter on the events of Epiphany, Joseph continues to occupy a position of prominence (Plate 11). The Virgin Mary sits in a three-quarters pose at the left edge of the composition with the half-naked Christ Child on her lap. Jesus blesses the elderly kneeling magus, who both gazes intently between the child's legs and leans forward as though to kiss his upturned left foot whose toes are barely visible. The magus's gesture may refer proleptically to the Crucifixion, inspired by medieval exegesis of Psalm 67:24, "that thy foot may be dipped in blood," and Psalm 21:17, "they have pierced my hands and my feet."[35] Joseph sits beside Mary and Jesus and raises his hand

---

ambitious decorative program involved artists from various Bolognese workshops and were executed between 1338 and 1380.

[35] The veneration of Christ's feet in representations of Epiphany may also refer to Isaiah 52:7, "How beautiful upon the mountains are the feet of him that brings good news, the good news of peace and salvation;" a verse repeated in Nahum 1:15. Isaiah 52:7 is the antiphon for the feast day of St. Luke and thus associated with the Nativity narrative. For the assimilation of Psalm 67:24 into late medieval Passion iconography, see J. H. Marrow, *Passion Iconography in Northern European Art of the Late Middle Ages and Early Renaissance* (Kortrijk, Belgium: Van Ghemmert, 1979), p. 140. For divergent readings of the Magus's gaze, see L. Steinberg, *Sexuality of Christ Christ in Renaissance Art and Modern Oblivion*, 2d ed. (Chicago and London: Univ. of Chicago Press, 1996), pp. 64–70, and M. Milliner, "Sexuality of Christ in Byzantine Art and in

to acknowledge their visitors; in effect, it is the holy family framed by a pink cloth of honor that receives the veneration of the magi. An almost identical composition, albeit in reverse, was employed by Simone and Jacobus for the Epiphany fresco in the Mezzaratta Christological cycle, once again with the inclusion of a knightly patron kneeling in the left foreground and holding a sword whose hilt is grasped by one of the magi (Plate 170).

Giotto's fresco in the Arena Chapel seems to have been influential for this compositional type (Plate 171). He also represents Joseph seated beside the Virgin Mary and Child, but shows the foster father placed deeper into the middle ground with his head bowed so low that at least one art historian has suggested that Joseph seems to have fallen asleep, overwhelmed by the events of the Nativity.[36] When the Bolognese or Paduan illuminator of one of the historiated initials in the choirbooks commissioned for Padua Cathedral ca. 1305 borrowed from Giotto's composition, he retained its core elements but eliminated the figure of Joseph. Bolognese illuminators active in the 1320s and 1330s continued to employ this compositional format, *sans* St. Joseph: for example, the Master of the Crucifixion D in the historiated Epiphany initial in a Gradual for S. Maria Maddalena (Bologna, Museo Civico Medievale, Ms, 544, fol. 44v), a composition that the Snite illuminator must have known (Plate 92).[37] Although Vitale da Bologna likewise omits St. Joseph from his Adoration of the Magi panel in the National Gallery of

---

Hypermodern Oblivion," Paper posted to the Religion and Culture web forum, January 2014, The Martin Marty Center for the Advanced Study of Religion," pp. 18–20.

[36] Ladis, "Legend of Giotto's Wit," p. 591.

[37] For the gradual made for S. Maria Maddalena whose illumination is attributed to the Master of the Crucifixion D, see D'Amico et al., *Francesco da Rimini,* pp. 122–3, cat. no. 18. The 1328 Master is also attributed with a number of illuminations of the Adoration of the Magi including that in Book of Hours in Munich, Bayrische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 6116, fol 26v; an historiated initial in a leaf in the Martello collection; and a large illumination in a Decretum Gratiani manuscript now in Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional, Ms. Vitr. 21.2, fol. 6.

Scotland, Nicolò da Bologna does include him in the background an Epiphany scene in a Decretals manuscript in Salzburg dated 1354 and in an historiated initial in a choirbook now in Modena (Plate 172).

The opening lines of the text of this chapter are emphatic about the ecclesiological significance of the Epiphany:

> At the age of thirteen days, the little Jesus wished to manifest himself to the people, that is, to the magi who were Gentiles. Many things were done by the little Jesus on this day regarding the Church. First, He received [the Church] in the person of the magi, who were Gentiles. Because the Church is made by and assembled from Gentiles. Also on this day the Church is wedded and united to Christ through baptism. Whence in baptism, we are wedded to Christ.[38]

While the *MVC* text mentions also the celebration of Christ's first miracle at the Wedding at Cana on January 6, it then proceeds with a brief description of the visit of the magi but devotes much attention to the implications for poverty of their gifts to the holy family, a facet of the chapter that the Snite miniature ignores.[39]

Because the feast of Epiphany primarily commemorated Christ's manifestation to the world, in late medieval Italy it was an important occasion in urban life for the celebration of the conjunction of the civic and religious.[40] The prominence of Psalm 71(72) in the Epiphany liturgy—especially its description of the political power of the messianic king and his reign of justice and peace that foreign kings and peoples will bow

---

[38] Snite *MVC*, fol. 20r: "Essendo gia iexu picolino di tredici di volsi se manifestare ala gente cioe alli magi li quali erano gentili. E molte cose opero iexu picolino in cotal di verso la chiexia. In prima si la ricevete in persona dei magi li quali erano gentili. In percio che lla chiexia e fata e raunata dei gentili. Anco in cotal di e disponsata e congiunta a cristo per lo baptismo. Onde in del baptismo noi siamo sposati a cristo."

[39] The Paris *MVC* illustrates the Virgin Mary promptly giving away the magi's gifts to the poor, whose significance Flora, *Devout Belief of the Imagination*, pp. 198–9, discusses.

[40] R. C. Trexler, *The Journey of the Magi: Meanings in History of a Christian Story* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1997), pp. 90–92, discusses the political dimensions of fifteenth-century Florentine magi spectacles.

before—prompted its application to the civic realm. In Bologna on January 6 civic dignitaries processed to the chapel of the Three Magi in Sto. Stefano, a church complex where the holy sites of Jerusalem were recreated, and there paid homage to a life-size painted wooden sculpture group created ca. 1370 (Plate 173), which resembles the figures of the Snite Adoration of the Magi writ large.[41] It could not have been difficult for the city magistrates to identify with the scriptural passages in the epiphany liturgy that tell of wise and worldly men who come to adore divine authority and justice embodied in the person of the newborn child. The inclusion of Joseph, the just man, as central to the redemptive plan and integral to the union of Christ and his Church that Epiphany celebrates, would have provided deep satisfaction in this particular urban setting.[42]

The theological-political significance of the Epiphany figures starkly in an elaborate miniature in a mid-fourteenth-century illuminated manuscript of Roman law, Justinian's *Institutiones* (BAV, Urb. Lat. 164, fol. 77r; Plate 77)[43] attributed to Stefano Azzi. In the upper register, the adoration of the magi provides a template for the lower scene, where the temporal ruler, in the person of the emperor, offers the law text to the Pope and his ministers: the deliberate alignment of the figures makes it clear that the

---

[41] M. Ferretti, *Rappresentazione dei Magi: Il gruppo ligneo di S. Stefano e Simone dei Crocefissi* (Bologna: Alfa, 1981).

[42] Ferretti, *Rappresentazione dei Magi,* p. 22, remarks on the smaller scale of the figure of St. Joseph, suggesting that it is characteristically Bolognese and relating it to works by Simone dei Crocefissi and Andrea de' Bartoli. But, the comparatively short stature of the standing St. Joseph in the sculpture group was more likely motivated by a desire to create a visual unity for the holy family: since the Virgin and Child are seated, a taller St. Joseph would run the risk of diminishing their significance.

[43] L'Engle, "Illumination of Legal Manuscripts," dates Urb. lat. 164 to 1350–60 at p. 172 and to 1340–50 at p. 302.

Pope's acceptance of the book is paralleled to Christ's acknowledgment of the magi.[44] As head of the Church, he and the ecclesiastical hierarchy embody the authority that originates with Christ, and he blesses the open book presented by Justinian, who is supported by his entourage of scholars and soldiers, the interpreters and enforcers of the law. For the patron of Urb. lat. 164, this miniature depicts an ideal regime where secular rule is in service to the Church. Though tensions between Bologna and the papacy were acute at various points throughout the Trecento, such idealized complementarity is articulated in the motto associated with the University of Bologna: *Petrus ubique pater legum Bononia mater* (Peter is the universal father, Bologna is the mother of the law).

After having been revealed to shepherds and magi, whom scriptural and exegetical tradition understood as symbolic of Jew and Gentile and poor and rich, the infant Christ's presentation in the Temple extends the unification of opposites in its portrayal of the encounter of young and old (Plate 12). This Infancy episode also summarizes the universal implications of the Incarnation, perhaps the reason underlying the allocation of a full page to the Presentation illumination in the Snite manuscript. The rubric for this chapter reads, "How Our Lady after forty days carried her son to the temple to offer," and its text elaborates upon the account in Luke 2:22–38. In accord with Jewish purification requirements, forty days after the birth of the child the holy family travels from Bethlehem to the Temple in Jerusalem and buys two pigeons—the offering of the poor—for the sacrifice. Inspired by the Holy Spirit, an old man named

[44] The deliberate synchrony between the prelates and the holy family in this miniature calls to mind that not only was the Virgin Mary a model for the priesthood in giving birth to the Word incarnate, but also Joseph—here holding a chalice-like vessel received from the magus—for his protection of the body of Christ. On Eucharistic symbolism in the representation of the Adoration of the Magi see, U. Nilgen, "The Epiphany and the Eucharist: On the Interpretation of Eucharistic Motifs in Mediaeval Epiphany Scenes," *Art Bulletin* 49:4 (December 1967): 311–16.

Simeon hurries in and recognizes Jesus as the Christ; once Mary hands the child to him, he voices the canticle, *Nunc dimittis*; Anna, the prophetess, also recognizes the child. There follows a procession around the altar with a variety of people, which culminates in the Virgin Mary presenting her child on the altar for redemption with five shekels and, together with her son, offering the two pigeons.[45] The Paris *MVC* includes eleven illustrations for this chapter to represent the various moments of the event, but the Snite illuminator provides a single large image that strikes the viewer almost like a fourteenth-century family photo that distills and commemorates the event as a whole rather than captures a specific moment.

The Snite Presentation illumination lacks any hint of dynamic movement or emotional intensity designed to convey the significance of the encounter between Simeon and the Christ Child that are characteristic of representations of this subject. The Byzantine iconography typically shows Simeon tenderly embracing the child, who often twists back to return to his mother—both motifs that were appropriated in late medieval Italian art.[46] Instead, the Snite miniature shows a static array of figures, stolidly posed before an ecclesiastical structure. The core group in the foreground consists of Simeon, represented as the High Priest, standing at the left with the Virgin Mary in blue standing at the right, both adults supporting the figure of the Christ Child, who is depicted in a seated pose between them. All eyes are fixed upon the solemn infant as he gazes at

---

[45] The *MVC* chapter, like the Lucan account, combines the redemption of the male child that is to occur thirty days after his birth (cf. Num. 18:15–16) with the purification of the mother that is to occur forty days after her parturition (cf. Lev. 12:2–28).

[46] H. Maguire, "The Iconography of Symeon with the Christ Child in Byzantine Art," *DO Papers* 34/35 (1980/81): 261–9. D. C. Shorr, "The Iconographic Development of the Presentation in the Temple," *Art Bulletin* 28 (1946): 17–32, surveys the iconographic tradition in both East and West.

Simeon and makes a blessing gesture with his right hand while gesturing in the direction of his mother and the basket of birds held by his foster father.[47]

In addition to the trio of Simeon, the Virgin, and the Child, the foreground row of figures also includes two clerics entering at the left; to the right, Joseph stands by Mary's side ready to present the family's offering,[48] and at the far right edge is a nimbed female figure, likely intended as Anna. A nimbed male figure, perhaps intended as Zacharias, stands immediately behind Joseph and Mary, his face largely obscured by their haloes. In the Pseudo-Jacopino's Presentation polyptych for S. Maria Nuova of ca. 1330–35, a similar haloed head is barely visible between Anna and Joseph at the left foreground (Plate 174). Regardless, it seems that the group of four figures directly to the right of the Christ Child in the Snite miniature is derived from the group of four on the left of the polyptych panel. It is interesting, though, that the nimb-less female figure behind Joseph at the left edge of the polyptych panel, which the figure of Anna at the right edge in the Snite miniature resembles, wears an ermine-lined cloak and carries a lamb. The contrast between this wealthy new mother presenting the sacrificial offering of the rich and the poor Virgin Mary doubtless was meaningful to the Dominican nuns at S. Maria Nuova, but held no interest for the Snite artist and his client.

---

[47] The way that Jesus' left hand almost touches the edge of the Virgin's mantle may be a remnant of the Byzantine motif of the Christ Child grasping the Virgin's maphorion, a gesture that had nuptial connotations and also a proleptic reference to the Virgin's destined grief that is prophesied by Simeon.

[48] Joseph's visibility and centrality in the group at the right contrasts, for example, with his position in the Presentation fresco in the transept of the Lower Church at Assisi where his figure is obscured by one of the Temple piers. In the central panel of the Presentation polyptych attributed to the Pseudo-Jacopino, Joseph appears is a position similar to one he occupies in the Snite miniature, but the birds in his basket are barely visible and the Child there reaches only for his mother.

The illuminator of the Snite miniature departed from iconographic tradition in placing Simeon at the left. Because of left-to-right reading practice, the Virgin Mary is commonly represented there to convey that her entry into the temple with the Christ Child prompted Simeon's response. The Snite illuminator instead turned to the earlier miniature in the manuscript of the Presentation of the three-year-old Virgin in the Temple as his model (Plate 3).[49] Careful comparison of the two illuminations suggests this was not merely an expedient choice. Where the child Mary stood at the entrance of the temple with her arms crossed in submission, she now stands as the mother of God; where the high priest reached out with open arms to receive the three-year-old Virgin, Simeon now helps to hold her son; where the open book earlier rested upon the altar, now appears the blessing Christ Child.

The placement of the Christ Child, who is held jointly by Simeon and the Virgin Mary as though seated just in front of an implicit but invisible altar, may allude to the entrance antiphon for the Feast of the Presentation mass: "We take up (receive) your mercy, O God, in the midst of your temple."[50] This configuration of the Christ Child enthroned in an hieratic pose upon an altar-like podium in the middle of the Temple is common to Trecento Bolognese illuminations of Christ among the Doctors, a subject that appears in legal manuscripts as an image of divine authority and justice (Plate 175). A very similar figure appears in the illuminated manuscript of Ovid's *Metamorphoses* in the

---

[49] Though Giovanni da Rimini also depicted Simeon at the left and the Virgin at the right in his Presentation in the Virgin fresco in S. Agostino, Rimini, it is more likely that it was the Illustratore's illumination of the novice advancing to full vows (Plate 114) in Vat. Lat. 1366, fol. 189r, that inspired the Snite illuminator's Presentation compositions.

[50] Ps. 47(48):10: "Suscepimus, Deus, misericordiam tuam in medio temple tui." In antiquity the father's act of lifting up a newborn signified his acceptance of the child as his own, cf. Hosea 11:3.

Biblioteca Marciana: for the illustration of the courtship of Jason and Medea, the illuminator represents the couple seated beside an altar upon which sits a stocky deity, the goddess Hecate (Plate 176).

Taking its cue from the scriptural account and the *MVC* text, the Snite Presentation miniature is represented as both the fulfillment of the Old Law and the commencement of the New, which the illuminator captures not only by the ecclesiastical dress worn by Simeon (who otherwise has a long forked beard associated with the Jewish priesthood)[51] and the tonsured clerics behind him, but also by the transformation of the Temple into a church structure whose exterior suggests a longitudinal nave with a gabled roof that is surmounted by a tower, its vertical axis aligned with the Virgin and Child.[52] The architectural setting, in conjunction with the cluster of onlookers crowding in at the right, illustrates the implications of the opening verses of Simeon's canticle—that the child represents salvation for "all peoples" (Lk 2:30–31). Alluding to the medieval celebration of Candlemas—which included participation of the laity—the *MVC* text describes a procession leading up to the presentation of the child upon the altar, headed by the Virgin Mary and child accompanied by Anna, who are followed by a small but representative group of humanity, "men and women, old and young, virgins and widows

[51] Mellinkoff, *Outcasts*, I, p. 86, discusses the association of Simeon with Jewish high priests.

[52] The identification of Jesus with the Temple is made clear in the opening lines of the *MVC* chapter on the Presentation: "They [Mary and Joseph] bring the Lord of the temple to the temple of the Lord." (Snite *MVC*, fol. 24r: "Menani dunqua l signore del tempio al tempio del signore.") The shallow square interior space in which the altar implicitly stands in the Snite miniature, which is not consistent with the view of the lateral exterior wall, likely is a remnant of the medieval notion of the Temple as a centrally-planned building.

and married."[53] By representing the Presentation in contemporaneous pictorial terms, the Snite Presentation miniature, like the Candlemas procession, vivifies the scriptural event and urges the reader/viewer to comprehend his/her own life and the life of the city as focused upon Christ and the church.[54]

The Flight into Egypt (fol. 26r) and *the* ***Return from Egypt*** (fol. 33r)

Joseph's role as protector and leader of the holy family is made clear in the illustration of the two chapters devoted to the journey to and from Egypt (Plates 13–14). Unlike the preceding Presentation miniature, the illuminator depicts two travel scenes to introduce these chapters even though the text does not dwell upon the actual journey. The text for the Flight chapter begins by relating the angel's appearance to Joseph in a dream to warn him of Herod's murderous intent:[55] Ms. ital. 115 and CCC 410 both include Joseph's Dream as their opening illustrations for this chapter. The author then briefly describes the trip to Egypt, primarily as an occasion to consider its moral meanings. The holy family's adversities are presented as lessons for the reader in how to bear tribulations with humility and perseverance. The appearances of the angel to Joseph

---

[53] Snite *MVC*, fol. 25r: " . . . [the participants in the procession] representano quasi ogna generatione di gente. In percio ke intra loro ae maschi e femene vechi e gioveni vergine e vedoe e maridate."

[54] As Thompson, *Cities of God*, pp. 160–61, writes of the celebration of Candlemas in the Italian commune, "the city became a collective representation of Mary rejoicing in Christ, born in their midst through preaching and the sacraments." The presentation of candles on February 2 that would provide illumination in the medieval church alluded to Simeon's declaration that the Christ Child would be "a light to the revelation of the Gentiles" (Lk 2:32). Candles are not typically included in Italian representations of the Presentation, though they are not uncommon in Northern art; see, Shorr, "Iconographic Development of the Presentation," p. 27. Thompson, *Cities of God*, p. 165, notes that during the fourteenth century, candle offerings on the Feast of the Presentation were replaced by monetary donations.

[55] In comparison to the Paris *MVC* and the Snite *MVC,* the Canonici *MVC* provides more details about Herod's motives and actions, drawing on Mt. 2:16.

rather than to the superior Virgin Mary[56] are interpreted as examples of how God bestows consolations gratuitously, not conforming to human measures of merit, so that the one who receives them should remain humble. More than half of the chapter is devoted to conjecture on how the holy family supported itself while in Egypt, emphasizing the efforts of the mother and son: the author sketches a scenario in which the young Jesus serves as his mother's agent, taking her textile work to neighbors and enduring their slights, and includes a diatribe against fancywork and curiosities as incompatible with poverty—clearly admonitions directed to cloistered women. Only toward the close of the chapter does the author mention Joseph's work as a carpenter, though the Snite text notes that through his manual labor he tried to support the family as much as he was able.[57]

The text for this chapter does not focus upon the journey itself and does not mention the mode of transportation—it even implies that the holy family went by foot, as the illustrations in the Paris *MVC* show (Plate 177).[58] Nevertheless, the Snite miniature conforms to iconographic tradition for the Flight into Egypt by representing the Virgin and Child at the center seated upon a donkey, which Joseph leads by a rope bridle while walking toward the right and simultaneously turning back to check on their progress. A barefoot male figure, dressed in a short tunic and carrying a bundle on a stick over his left shoulder, follows behind at the far left and wields a stick in his right hand to prod the

---

[56] Whereas the Snite *MVC* asserts that the angel appeared to Joseph rather than to the Virgin Mary although she was much superior to him, the Paris *MVC* states ". . .although he was much inferior to her" (Ragusa and Green, *Meditations*, p. 67).

[57] Where the Paris *MVC* observes that "the old Saint Joseph practiced the art of the carpenter" (Ragusa and Green, *Meditations*, p. 76), the Snite *MVC* states that "Joseph with his art [i.e., carpentry] and with his arms helped as much as he was able in every way" (fol. 32v: "E anche ioseph con l arte sua et con le brace sua s aitava da ogne lato melio ke potea.")

[58] Ragusa and Green, *Meditations*, ills. 57, 58, 59. The representation of the holy family walking to Egypt was likely intended to convey their poverty.

donkey forward.[59] Although the ca. 40- and 100-chapter versions of the *MVC* demonstrate little interest in the Infancy miracles and mention only the toppling of the idols as foretold in Isaiah,[60] a palm tree bends toward the mother and child at the right edge of the Snite miniature, probably a reference to the apocryphal miracle of the date palm. The composition closely resembles the figural group in the historiated initial for the Flight into Egypt in the Bodleian *Vita Mariae* (Plate 178) and also the illustration in the Munich *Speculum Humanae Salvationis* (Plate 151), which very likely depended on the Flight into Egypt illustration in the now lost Toledo *Speculum Humanae Salvationis* that was produced in Bologna in the early Trecento.

For the illustration of the chapter on the holy family's return from Egypt, the illuminator had no pictorial tradition to follow. The text states that Jesus, now no longer an infant, rode back on a donkey, but the Snite illuminator depicts the family travelling on foot (Plate 14). The figures walk from right to left, a device to convey that this is a *return* journey; a tree in the background that leans to the left and extends beyond the picture frame underscores the reversal. Once again, Joseph leads the group as he approaches a closed door at the left edge, which presumably is the entry to their home in Nazareth. Mary follows, holding Jesus firmly by the wrist. To the right of the central group of mother and son, the male companion in short garments and a pilgrim's hat takes

---

[59] The young male figure accompanying the holy family in the Snite miniature derived from Byzantine iconography, there regarded as Joseph's son by a previous marriage.

[60] As translated by Ragusa and Green, *Meditations*, p. 68, the Paris *MVC* states: "I shall not trouble to relate what happened to them [i.e., the holy family] in the desert and on the road, since few authentic things are known. When they entered Egypt all the idols of that province fell and broke, as was prophesied by Isaiah." The Snite *MVC* text on fols. 28v–29r is similar: "Ma di quelle cose ke intervenero nel deserto et per la via Inpercio ke poche cose se n trovano non curo de dire. Quando dunqua intraro in egipto tuti l idoli di quella provintia cadero e disfecersi secondo k era profetato per ysaya profeta." In contrast, Canonici 174 also mentions the miracle of the date palm and of the spring.

up the rear. For this composition, the artist may have adapted a representation of the holy family returning from Jerusalem to Nazareth after the twelve-year-old Jesus disputed among the doctors in the temple. In the fresco cycle dating to the mid-1320s in the Cappellone of San Nicola at Tolentino, Pietro da Rimini painted a scene of Christ among the Doctors at the left with the holy family departing at the right (Plate 179).[61] Although the Virgin Mary takes the lead and is followed by St. Joseph, she holds Jesus's hand as in the Snite miniature. In the fresco, Joseph wears generic holy person's dress and carries a cloth on a stick propped upon his shoulder. Though the Snite St. Joseph wears his usual dignified gray contemporary garments, he also carries a cloth draped over a stick resting on his shoulder.[62] In the Bodleian *Vita Mariae*, there is an historiated initial of Joseph, Mary, and Jesus walking toward the right, Mary holding tightly to her son by the wrist, to illustrate the holy family going up to Jerusalem for the Passover (Plate 180). The duo of the mother leading her son by the hand was also employed in the late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries to represent the Virgin taking her son to school.[63] The motif appears in an historiated initial in the Bodleian *Vita Mariae* (Plate 181) and in a Franciscan breviary ca. 1295 now in Brescia (Biblioteca Civica Queriniana, Ms. A-V-24, fol. 119)

---

[61] On the attribution and dating of the Cappellone frescoes see the essays by M. Boskovits and D. Benati in *Il Cappellone di San Nicola a Tolentino,* ed. P. Bellini et al. (Cinisello Balsamo, Milan: Silvana, 1992).

[62] In the Kremsmünster Hours, the historated initial of Christ among the Doctors includes at the left edge a vignette of a doorway under which the Virgin Mary energetically embraces Jesus while Joseph stands behind them.

[63] H. Wentzel, "Maria mit dem Jesusknaben an der Hand: Ein seltenes deutsches Bildmotiv," *Zeitschrift des deutschen Vereins für Kunst wissesnschaft* 9 (1942): 203–250, surveys the hand-holding motif in German art. E. Frojmovic, "Taking Little Jesus to School in Two Thirteenth-century Latin Psalters from South Germany" in *Beyond the Yellow Badge: Anti-Judaism and Antisemitism in Medieval and Early Modern Visual Culture*, ed. M. B. Merback (Leiden: Brill, 2008), pp. 87–117, discusses its appearance in thirteenth-century South German psalters, focusing on its anti-Jewish referents as deployed in the high medieval conflict between monastic and scholastic ideals of learning.

whose illuminator was likely trained in Bologna.[64] As the composition of the Snite miniature was designed to depict the uncommon scene of the holy family's return from Egypt, it seems reasonable that the illuminator may have consulted a model book for the "return" theme, one that would have been suitable for the other rare instances of similar episodes in the life of the holy family.

The missing miniature of Christ among the Doctors

The chapter on Christ's sojourn among the doctors in the temple, which is introduced by the rubric toward the bottom of fol. 36v, "How the boy remained three days in the temple," lacks an illumination because the opening folio of that chapter is missing. The text for the chapter refers to Jesus' activities in the Temple in just a few sentences and does not describe the kind of intense debate that is characteristic of the iconographic tradition. Rather, it focuses on the Virgin Mary's desperation as she and Joseph frantically searched for Jesus, presenting her as a model for the soul that feels bereft of God. The lacuna in the Snite manuscript is unfortunate because the pictorial subject of Christ among the Doctors was a favorite in Trecento Bologna, very likely because of its relevance to the university and legal community there.[65] It appears in lavish illuminated canon law manuscripts such as Urb lat. 161 as an image of Christ as the

---

[64] On the breviary in Brescia, see R. Semizzi, "Un Brevario francescano miniato tardodugentesco alla Biblioteca Queriniana di Brescia: Presentazione iconografica del MS. A-V-24," in *Il codice miniato: rapporti tra codice, testo e figurazione*, ed. M. Ceccanti, M.C. Castelli and K. Weitzmann (Florence: L.S. Olschki, 1992), pp. 129–45. Semizzi interprets the motif as an example of the taste for naturalistic and accessible imagery typically associated with Franciscan spirituality.

[65] Susan L'Engle records some of the notable examples of the subject in Trecento Bolognese legal manuscripts in her entry for the illuminated folio in the Morgan Library (M.821) attributed to the Master of 1328 in G. Baldissin Molli and G. Canova Mariani (eds.), *La miniatura a Padova: dal Medioevo al Settecento* (Modena: Franco Cosimo Panini, 1999), cat. no. 39, p. 125.

authoritative teacher and interpreter of the law; the reunion of parents and son is typically included at the edge of the main scene (Plate 175). The subject also appears as a side panel in the Dormition of the Virgin altarpiece for the Dominican nuns at S. Maria Nuova, with the reunion of mother and son prominent in the right foreground (Plate 182).

In these representations, Jesus is depicted as a boy on a raised cathedra flanked by learned older men—often wearing contemporary academic, eccelesiatical, monastic, or exotic (i.e., Jewish, Muslim, pagan) dress—who are surrounded by piles of books that are sometimes strewn about to symbolize the triumph of Christ's new interpretation of tradition over the old understanding of the law. The pictorial parallels to late medieval court and classroom scenes implicitly link contemporaneous legal and educational regimes to this scriptural precedent. Melnikas suggests that this image in Decretum Gratiani manuscripts is a visual metaphor that relates Christ's confrontation with the scholars in the Temple to Gratian's efforts to interpret traditional Church teachings in the light of new societal demands.[66] At the same time, in its paradoxical instantiation of divine wisdom in the person of a youth, the subject could provide an admonition about the limits of human learning and the dangers of intellectual pride, which might explain its inclusion in the S. Maria Nuova altarpiece whose female Dominican audience was excluded from the exercise of power in the secular arena.[67]

---

[66] Melnikas, *Miniatures of the Decretum Gratiani*, I, pp. 26, 139–40.

[67] Though the late medieval image of Christ among the Doctors usually included anti-Jewish elements, the *MVC* text for the chapter briefly reports Jesus' stay in the Temple in anodyne terms reminiscent of the passage in Luke 2: 46–47. The *MVC* text states, "Thus was the Lord of the law observing the law and conversing humbly with others like any other poor man." See, Ragusa and Green, *Meditations*, p. 86, and Sarri, "*Meditazioni*," p. 63. Clearly Jesus' humility is being linked to St. Francis's disavowal of book learning as a prerequisite for the apostolic life.

Throughout the Infancy miniatures, the Snite illuminator approaches the *MVC* text and the scriptural accounts upon which it draws with an eye to cultivating those features that would provide access for the patron and his wife to participate in Christ's early life. The miniatures generally adhere to conventional iconographies rather than attend to the peculiarities of the text that emphasize emotional states and moral meanings relevant to a cloistered female Franciscan audience. The Snite infancy illuminations typically favor decorum and restraint: while the infant Christ is represented as a trusting baby, he is also depicted as preternaturally alert and dignified, simultaneously vulnerable and in control. Without detracting from the Virgin Mary's exalted role as the mother of the infant Christ, the illuminator portrays St. Joseph as an equally important figure in the life of the holy family. Together, Mary and Joseph of the Snite *MVC* provide models of loving and responsible parenthood that would be meaningful to a prosperous urban Italian family. For an active professional husband and father, the enhancement of Joseph's social and pictorial position in the Snite Infancy miniatures tempers the text's focus upon the role of the Virgin Mary and the poverty of the holy family. By representing Jesus, Mary and Joseph much like parents and children that were depicted in the illustration of contemporaneous Bolognese legal manuscripts, the Snite illuminator represents the holy family as an imitable ideal. Beneath their veneer of banality, the Snite illuminations anchor the text's affective appeal to spiritual and moral conversion in pictorial language that relates to the reader's own worldly experience, attesting that the events in the life of Christ were real and that they continued to be relevant to late medieval Christians. This impulse to connect the Christological events to the lives of worldly laity, especially that

of the male patron who likely was engaged in legal or juridical activities, will continue to be apparent in the illuminations for the *MVC* chapters devoted to the Passion.

CHAPTER 4

ILLUMINATIONS FOR CHRIST'S ADULTHOOD AND PASSION

The contrapuntal relationship between text and image in the Infancy chapters of the Snite *MVC* deepens in the chapters on the Passion. Not surprisingly, the emotional intensity of the text mounts. The exhortations to the reader grow in urgency to imagine the pain and humiliation inflicted upon Christ and the agony experienced by the Virgin Mary as she witnesses his suffering. The author casts the Virgin Mary in the major role as exemplar of compassion for the reader to emulate: she literally becomes a co-sufferer with her son. As a foil to her anguish and helplessness, the author heightens the zeal and relentlessness of the Jewish authorities intent upon Christ's death, a rhetorical strategy employed earlier in Byzantine homiletics and much developed in late medieval devotional literature.[1] For the most part, the illustrations to the Passion chapters in the Snite manuscript eschew the emotional intensity of the text and counterbalance its Marian accentuation and affective thrust. As in the Infancy chapters, the intent seems to have been to provide images compatible with the sensibilities of a mature layman for whom emotional extravagance would have had limited appeal. Given the affective tenor of the text and the fact that the Gospel accounts of Christ's Passion provide few positive role models with which a powerful layman could identify, the illuminator strove to create

[1] See, for example, M. Rubin, *Emotion and Devotion: The Meaning of Mary in Medieval Religious Cultures* (Budapest and New York: Central European University Press, 2009).

illustrations that would resonate with the members of a prosperous educated urban family. In a number of cases, the miniatures are quite conventional but in others the illuminator's innovations are striking, indicating his thoughtful effort to produce pictures that negotiate between the emphases of the text and the patron's priorities.

Before embarking on an examination of the Passion miniatures, the two extant illuminations pertaining to Christ's adult life before the Passion will be analyzed. As an example of the ca. 40-chapter *MVC*, the Snite manuscript lacks the chapters on Christ's adult ministry and miracles that were included in the ca. 100-chapter text.[2] In the Snite *MVC*, the chapters devoted to Christ's infancy and childhood and those that treat the Passion are bridged by three chapters. The first, which must have been illuminated,[3] describes his life between ages thirteen and thirty in a hypothetical way; the second recounts the baptism at the Jordan, which marks the beginning of Jesus' ministry; and the third describes his temptations in the desert, which conclude Christ's forty days in the wilderness that are the model for Lent and thus an appropriate prelude to the events of Holy Week.

---

[2] Oddly enough, by the 1370s an extensive pictorial cycle for the episodes of Christ's ministry and miracles had been developed by Nicolò da Bologna, as evident in the Christological scenes in both the Munich Missal (Bayr. SB, Clm. 10072) and in the Vatican manuscript of Giovanni da Legnano's treatises (Vat. lat. 2639), which makes one wonder whether the ca. 100-chapter version of the *MVC* was by then circulating in Bologna.

[3] The sixth gathering is missing a folio between the current fol. 40v and 41r. Generally the single side of a Snite folio contains the equivalent of 17–18 lines of the printed text in Sarri (ed.), *Meditazioni.* The Snite manuscript lacks the text that runs from the middle of p. 68 to the middle of p. 69 in Sarri's edition, i.e., 23 lines of printed text plus the chapter title on p. 68: "Ora veggiamo che fece Jesu da dodici anni insino al principio di trenta." Therefore, it is reasonable to conclude that there was a large illustration for the chapter whose title in the Snite *MVC* can be determined from the "table of contents" (i.e., the list of chapter titles/rubrics at the end of the *MVC* text) on fol. 119r: "Che fece jesu dalli tredice anni de fine ali trenta anni."

The Baptism of Christ (fol. 45v) and *the Temptation of Christ (fol, 49r)*

In the text of the Baptism chapter, the author expounds on the humiliation Christ willingly experienced by submitting to purification in public before crowds, even though he was without sin: he is held up for the reader as a model of growth in humility. [4] But, in the representation of Christ's baptism (Plate 15), the Snite artist created a composition with two adult males in which it is apparent that the one submitting to the action is superior to the one performing it. In this, the miniature attends to the Baptist's statement of his relationship to Christ recorded in John 3:30—"He must increase but I must decrease"—that the author of the *text* inverted in order to emphasize Christ's humility. Rather than adhere to the traditional iconography of John the Baptist standing on the riverbank and Jesus standing in the Jordan, the Snite illuminator employed a format that was used by a Bolognese artist, possibly the Pseudo-Jacopino, in a fresco in the Cavalli chapel of Sant' Anastasia, Verona (Plate 183).[5] In both the fresco and the Snite miniature, the Baptist kneels at the foreground on the left bank of the Jordan and reaches toward the water in which Christ stands at the center, making a blessing gesture while looking toward the crowd of figures on the right bank, who stand and are winged in the fresco but kneel and are only nimbed in the illumination.

The Snite illuminator modified the Baptist's pose slightly, showing him about to dip a bowl into the river with his right hand while propping his left hand on his bent left

---

[4] i.e., Ragusa and Green, *Meditations*, p. 107: "See how his humility has grown since the previous chapter. Here [in the Baptism] He submitted Himself to His servant. He vilipends Himself and justifies and magnifies His servant." Cf. Snite, *MVC*, fol. 47r: "Vedi qui dunqua come ae cressciuta la sua humilita dal tractato de prima de nanzi. Impercio ke ssi sottopone qui al suo servo e villifficca si e medesemo e iustifica e aggrandisse el suo servo."

[5] A similar composition was employed for the Baptism of Christ that is depicted in a pinnacle panel of a polyptych signed and dated by Andrea da Bologna in 1367 that is now in the Pinacoteca Civica, Fermo.

leg and tilting his head sharply upward to look to the sky. Presumably, he is startled by God's proclamation, "this is my beloved son. . . ," a direct quote from scripture that concludes the text of the Snite chapter.[6] The sharp tilt of John's head in the Snite miniature may have been inspired by the Mezzaratta Baptism fresco (Plate 184), now in a fragmentary state, attributed to Vitale da Bologna that shows Christ's head tilted back at a sharp angle to look upward to the invisible Father; only John's left hand reaching toward the river remains of his figure.[7] The crouching pose of the Snite John the Baptist is also related to the figure of Christ writing on the ground in the Mezzaratta fresco of Christ and the woman accused of adultery (Plate 185) attributed to the eponymous Master of the Adulteress and in a miniature of the same subject (Plate 65) usually attributed to Stefano Azzi in the Ambrosiana *Novella* manuscript.[8]

For the Temptation of Christ (Plate 16), the Snite illuminator represented the devil's effort to tempt Christ to gluttony rather than to vainglory or avarice.[9] He created a simple composition of two adult male figures facing each other in a barren rocky setting. Christ's placement at the left, his erect stance, and his speaking gestures convey his resistance to the temptation to gluttony brandished by the demonic figure opposite. Christ's slight figure is shown in a three-quarter view whereas the devil's stocky figure is

---

[6] That the chapter begins with Christ taking leave of his mother as he sets out for the Jordan, demonstrates the author's intention to bracket this episode that inaugurates Christ's public ministry with the mother's loving release of her son and the Father's public recognition of him.

[7] See Volpe, *Mezzaratta*, pp. 52–3.

[8] The miniature of Christ and the adulterous woman illustrates the treatise on unjust accusations.

[9] This choice might have been regarded as applicable to both male and female lay readers, cf. Franco Sacchetti's emphasis on fasting to purify oneself during Lent in his exposition of Mt. 6:16–19. See S. Corbellini, "Vernacular Bible Manuscripts in Late Medieval Italy: Cultural Appropriation and Textual Transformation," in *Form and Function in the Late Medieval Bible*, ed. E. Poleg and L. Light (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2013), pp. 261–2.

in profile. Satan is disguised as a bearded hermit, his true identity betrayed by his claw-like feet. He is dressed in a gray hooded habit that contrasts to Christ's white and blue shift and red and green mantle, garments that had been held ready by the figures in the right foreground of the preceding Baptism miniature.[10] The demonic hermit holds a bundle of stones at waist-height, offering them to Christ to be transformed into bread. The choice of this motif, rather than the more typical representation of Satan pointing to a pile of stones on the ground, may have resulted from the Snite artist's familiarity with the historiated initial of Christ's temptation to gluttony in the Bodleian *Vita Mariae* (Plate 186). It shows the traditional devil-figure similarly holding a bundle of stones before Christ, which in turn may have been appropriated from the twelfth-century mosaic of the Temptation in San Marco, Venice. The form of the figure of the hermit in the Snite Temptation miniature likely depends on a model book drawing that recorded the very similar figure of a hermit monk offering a bundle of clothes to Mary Magdalen in her cave that is one of the frescoes in the cycle attributed to Giotto's workshop in the Magdalen Chapel of the Lower Church at Assisi (Plate 187).

Although the illustration of Christ's temptation to gluttony (Plate 188) in the Paris *MVC* shows Satan gesturing to the ground as if to indicate stones there (though none are depicted), it also represents him in the guise of a hermit, which Ragusa and Green note is unusual.[11] The explanation may lie in the popularity of Domenico Cavalca's *Vitae*

---

[10] The Snite illuminator uses Christ's garments to register his vigor after the forty days in the desert. In the Baptism illumination, the clothing for Christ hangs inertly over the foreground figures' arms but in the Temptation miniature, the mantle billows in looping folds behind Christ as he resists Satan's temptation.

[11] Ragusa and Green (trans.), *Meditations*, ill. 99 (p. 120), and note re: ill. 99 on pp. 435–6. There is an historiated initial of Christ's temptations in which the devil wears hermit's or pilgrim's dress in a leaf from an antiphonary in the Breslauer collection. The leaf is identified as Tuscan from the

patrum among clerics and laypeople in the mid-fourteenth century.[12] A Pisan Dominican active in the first half of the fourteenth-century, around 1320 Cavalca compiled and translated into the vernacular the lives of the desert fathers to edify his confreres and their lay audiences; its underlying message concerns the retreat to the 'interior desert' as a model for both religious and laity. The figure of a demonic hermit tempting Christ to gluttony likely was inspired by a passage in the life of St. Anthony where the devil appears to the fasting Anthony in the form of a monk bearing several loaves and tempts him to eat, but Anthony resists by turning to prayer.[13] In addition to the manuscript of the life of St. Anthony Abbot whose illumination has been attributed to the Master of the Hungarian Legendary, ca. 1330, Vitale da Bologna's panels from Santo Stefano with episodes of the legend of St. Anthony Abbot (Bologna, Pinacoteca Nazionale) likely were known by the Snite artist, and hermit figures were not uncommon in legal manuscript illuminations.[14]

Cavalca also wrote a popular moralizing treatise on sinful speech known as the *Pungilingua* in which he inveighs against false preachers whom he refers to as "certain friars and Sarabaites," the latter a term for ancient Egyptian monks who were unattached to a superior and thus vilified as undisciplined. As a Dominican, his invective against

---

first quarter of the fourteenth-century in W. M. Voelkle and R. S. Wieck, *The Bernard H. Breslauer Collection of Manuscript Illumination* (New York: Pierpont Morgan Library, 1992), cat. no. 61, p. 166.

[12] On Cavalca see the entry by C. Delcorno in *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani* (1979), v. 22, sv. "Cavalca, Domenico," accessed online 25 July 2014: http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/domenico-cavalca_(Dizionario-Biografico)/

[13] Domenico Cavalca, *Vite dei santi padri* (ed. Carlo Delcorno), I, p. 556–7 (Di santo Antonio, cap. 14. 8. Dei diversi modi in dei quali lo nimico apparve a santo Antonio).

[14] E.g., the Illustratore's desert scenes in BAV, Vat. lat. 1389, fol. 4, and also the representation of desert fathers as exemplars of the penitence in Vat. lat. 1366, fol. 277 and Geneva, Bibl. Publique et Universitaire, Ms. lat. 60, fol. 278.

heretical preaching conducted by "freelancers" is unsurprising, but his general concern with false and hypocritical speech would be widely shared among urban dwellers, especially men engaged in the law.[15] For the secular lay readers of the Snite *MVC*, the representation of Satan in the guise of a renegade hermit monk could reinforce the stature of the approved mendicant orders and at the same time constitute a reminder that the temptation to sin is no respecter of religious status. Such a message is implicit in an anecdote told in the *Legenda aurea* in which St. Anthony confronts a huge demon who avers that *he* does not harass monks but rather *they* harass each other.[16] Consistent with his conventional disposition and restriction to a single illustration for the chapter, the Snite artist thus employs innovation in the service of the plainly didactic. The Paris *MVC*, which has many more pictures for this chapter, includes four that illustrate how Christ wished to break his fast after the forty days in the desert with food prepared by his mother. The angels are shown flying to Nazareth to retrieve the Virgin's home cooking and then flying back to set out a picnic on the ground for the famished Christ—a fanciful sequence but one that still serves to emphasize the humanity and humility assumed through the Incarnation and the Virgin Mary's centrality to it.

The Entry into Jerusalem (fol. 54v) and the ***Meal at the House of the Magdalen*** (fol. 57v)

For the illustration of the chapter devoted to Christ's entry into Jerusalem (Plate 17), which marks the beginning of Holy Week, the Snite illuminator adhered to the essentials of the iconographic tradition. The rubric for the chapter written immediately

---

[15] The capacious hood bore connotations of deception or trickery and was associated with hypocrisy or adultery in the late Middle Ages. See S. Stanbury Smith, "'Game in myn hood': The Traditions of a Comic Proverb," *Studies in Iconography* 9 (1983): 1–12.

[16] *Golden Legend*, I, p. 94.

above the miniature states, "Como Cristo entro dominica dolia in gierusalem"(fol. 54v), referring to Palm Sunday as the "Sunday of Olives" whose branches were typically carried in the processions that commemorated the day in Italian cities.[17] The composition simplifies and condenses Giotto's Arena Chapel fresco (Plate 189): the Snite artist shows Jesus in the center riding toward the crowd that emerges from the city gate of Jerusalem on the right and followed by a crowd of nimbed apostles at the left. As in the Arena fresco, youths in the right foreground pay homage to Christ by spreading their garments on the ground before him, and two young boys watch the scene from a tree in the background—an amalgamation of the two trees each bearing a youth in Giotto's work.

Though its general composition is derived from Giotto, the Snite illuminaton includes specific details that link this event to the depiction of earlier episodes in Christ's life in the manuscript. The figure of Christ in the Snite miniature rides sidesaddle as was customary in Byzantine iconography.[18] The frontal figure and blessing gesture of the adult Christ in the Snite Entry recall the pose of the infant Christ especially in the Adoration of the Magi illumination but also in the miniatures for the Circumcision and Presentation in the Temple.[19] The ass upon which Christ rides is the same animal with rope bridle and lowered head that earlier bore the Virgin and infant Jesus to Egypt, a

---

[17] Thompson, *Cities of God*, pp. 317–20, describes the civic dimensions of the celebration of Palm Sunday in the medieval commune.

[18] Schiller, *Iconography*, II, p. 20. At p. 22, Schiller asserts that Giotto's Jesus also rides side-saddle, but his exact posture in the Arena fresco is ambiguous: what seems to have been Christ's lower left leg, slung over the ass's back as though in the sidesaddle mount, has been painted over so that it blends with the gray-brown coat of the donkey.

[19] Similarly, Bartal, "Repetition, Opposition, and Invention in an Illuminated *Meditationes vitae Christi*," p.169, explains that the illuminations of the holy family's Return from Egypt and Christ's Entry into Jerusalem in CCC 410 include motifs and compositions that are meant to convey the theological relationship between them.

pictorial prompt for reflection upon the theological relationship between Christ's flight into Egypt and his triumphant return to Jerusalem,[20] and the poverty and humility that connects them.[21] Especially significant is the closed book that Jesus props up on his lap: the book, Christ's blessing hand, and his upper torso and head constitute the center of the composition. In addition, the illumination has been placed on the page so that the two lines of text that introduce the chapter appear immediately below, charging it with particular meaning: "And now the mysteries and prophecies that were prophesied about Christ begin to be fulfilled."[22]

The motif of Christ holding a book is not a feature of the best-known Trecento representations of the Entry into Jerusalem, e.g., Giotto's Arena Chapel fresco, the panel on the back of Duccio's *Maestà*, or Pietro Lorenzetti's fresco in the left transept of the Lower Church at Assisi. It likely reflects the key role that books as authoritative texts played among the Bolognese intelligentsia, whose fondness for the books as symbols is also apparent in the codex clutched by the apostle Peter who walks directly behind Christ. Peter's role as founder of the church on earth that was conferred by Christ and the concomitant authority vested with him probably informs the meaning of the book that he

---

[20] Schiller, *Iconography*, I, p. 119.

[21] The *MVC* text for the Entry into Jerusalem cites the cord bridle as a mark of Christ's humility, see Ragusa and Green (trans.), *Meditations*, p. 306. Cf. Snite *MVC*, fol. 55v: "E vedi come in questo so honore vitupero l onorabile propra del mondo. Im percio ke forno vilissime bestie non ornati di freni ne di sselle adorate ne di coverte delicate segondo la captiva [cattiva] usanza del mondo. Ma forno adornati de vili panicelli e due funicelle. essendo elli Re e signor di tuti li re e signori sopra l quale ne in cielo ne in terra nce [non c'è] magiore."

[22] Snite *MVC*, fol. 54v: "E la s incominciano adimpiere li misteri e le profecie k erano profetate di Cristo." Cf., Tóth and Falvay, "New Light on the Date and Authorship of the *Meditationes vitae Christi*," p. 49.

carries in the Snite miniature.[23] It is possible, too, that Peter's book alludes to his veracity as an eyewitness to the events of Christ's adult life, which he summarizes in his testimony before the centurion Cornelius in Acts 10:34–43. In particular, Peter's assertion in Acts 10:39, ". . . we are witnesses of all things that he [Christ] did in the land of the Jews and in Jerusalem, whom they killed, hanging him upon a tree," may have informed the placement of the crowd of disciples opposite the figures emerging from the gate of Jerusalem, three of whom are characterized as Jews; the *MVC* text for this chapter emphasizes Christ's followers' anxiety about Jewish antipathy to his ministry and describes their pleas that he not proceed. The two books that appear in the Snite Entry miniature at this pivotal point where the narrative of the events of Holy Week begins also serve to insinuate that the *MVC*—a new text that not only relates those events but includes non-canonical episodes—has testimonial value and conforms to authoritative norms.

The opening line of the following chapter that relates what happened at a meal for Christ and his disciples that took place at the home of Mary Magdalen and Martha (Plate 18) on the Wednesday before the celebration of the Last Supper on Holy Thursday, explicitly states that it is a "very beautiful and devout meditation not in scripture."[24] In confecting this episode, the author likely had in mind the Anointing at Bethany recounted in Matthew 26:6–13, Mark 14:3–10, and John 12:1–8, as the occasion that incites Judas's avarice and anger and triggers his betrayal. For the medieval reader and viewer, Mary

---

[23] In Cristoforo da Bologna's later Trecento panel of the Entry into Jerusalem (Pesaro, Museo Civico), not only do Christ and Peter hold books as they approach the city gate but John also holds up a book as though to display it to Christ.

[24] Snite *MVC*, fol. 57v: "Qui si po trovare e pensare una meditacione molto bella e devote della quale non per la scritura."

Magdalen's extravagance and her prostration at Christ's feet at the Anointing[25] were comprehended as the penitent soul's ardent desire for God. The Snite illuminator likewise turned to the iconography of the Anointing at Bethany, whose core elements are exemplified in an historiated initial attributed to the 1328 Master in a choirbook made for S. Domenico, Bologna (Plate 190). In particular, the composition of the Anointing at Bethany panel now in Raleigh, N.C. (Plate 191) attributed to the Pseudo-Jacopino di Francesco must have been known to the Snite artist, informing not only the illustration of this chapter but also a later episode from Christ's post-Passion appearances.[26]

The text for the chapter describes the Magdalen as serving at table and imploring Christ to spend the Pasch in Bethany. When he asserts that he will go to Jerusalem to celebrate, she leaves crying and goes to the Virgin Mary to ask her to insist that Jesus stay. When Jesus and the Virgin Mary are sitting together after dinner, Mary Magdalen joins them and, sitting at Christ's feet, she again asks his mother to intercede. The Virgin Mary begs Jesus to remain in Bethany because "the Jews have ordered your arrest and lie in wait [howl?] to capture you."[27] In his reply to her, Jesus adverts to his Father's will that he go to Jerusalem and refers to the fulfillment of the prophecies now that the time of redemption is at hand. Stricken, the Virgin Mary declines to contradict the will of God but also observes that another means of redemption might be possible if He were to

---

[25] Gregory the Great conflated the identities of Mary of Magdala, Mary (of Bethany) the sister of Martha and Lazarus, and the unnamed sinful woman in Luke 7: 36–50, creating in the Western church the composite figure of Mary Magdalen. See K. L. Jansen, *Making of the Magdalen Preaching and Popular Devotion in the Later Middle Ages* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton Univ. Press, 2000), pp. 32–5.

[26] On the iconography of the Anointing at Bethany and of Mary Magdalen in Trecento art, see R. W. Sullivan, "The Anointing at Bethany and Other Affirmations of Christ's Divinity on Duccio's Back Predella," *Art Bulletin* 67:1 (March 1985): 32–50.

[27] Snite *MVC*, fol. 58r: ". . .lli giudei anno ordinato e postol guaito deprjarti."

ordain it. In order to console his weeping mother and the sobbing Magdalen, Jesus again articulates his duty to obey the Father and reassures them that he will return to them and rise on the third day. Embedded in this impassioned dialogue are scholastic reflections on the contingency of the Passion.[28]

Little of that drama is apparent in the Snite miniature. The Magdalen is prostrate at Christ's feet in her typical penitential pose, and the Virgin Mary, John and Peter—Christ's closest followers—are seated on the far side of the dining table, gazing at him with their hands joined in reverent gestures. As is typical of the representation of Christ in the house of Simon the Pharisee/Leper, Jesus is on the left short side of the table, here seated before a cloth of honor, addressing his disciples and propping what appears to be a book on his lap, again a symbol of the Old Testament prophecies to be fulfilled by him.[29] The striking figure in the scene is the nimbed woman standing at the right edge before the hearth.[30] Although mentioned only in passing at the opening of the text, she must be Martha, the sister of Mary and Lazarus of Bethany.[31] Both in scripture and medieval

---

[28] Cf., P. Tóth, "Pseudo-Apocryphal Dialogue as a Tool for the Memorization of Scholastic Wisdom: The Farewell of Christ to Mary and the *Liber de vita Christi* by Jacobus," in *The Making of Memory in the Middle Ages*, ed. L. Dolezalová (Leiden: Brill, 2010), pp. 176–82; and, Tóth and Falvay, "New Light on the Date and Authorship of the *Meditations vitae Christi*," pp. 19–42.

[29] The book may also allude to the practice of listening to the reading of religious works in the vernacular during meals that was encouraged among educated laity. See W. A. Pantin, "Instructions for a Devout and Literate Layman," in *Medieval Learning and Literature*, ed. J. J. G. Alexander and M. T. Gibson (Oxford and New York: Clarendon Press, 1976), pp. 398–422, esp. p. 339, 407–9.

[30] This figure at the hearth had an afterlife in the representation of St. Eligius at the forge in the matricola and statutes for the blacksmiths' guild (Plates 73, 192) illuminated by Nicolò da Bologna and Stefano degli Azzi. See Medica, "*Haec sunt statuta,*" p. 132, cat. no. 17.

[31] In the account of the Anointing at Bethany, in John 12:1–8, Martha is reported as serving at table while her sister, Mary, anoints Christ's feet and her brother Lazarus joins the diners at the table.

exegesis, Martha's commitment to her duties as hostess to Jesus were cast as the "lesser part" in comparison to her sister's rapt attentiveness toward him. This figure of Martha by the hearth is related to the stock figure of a servant who either emerges from the kitchen or waits at table at the side of many representations of the Anointing, e.g., Giovanni da Milano's fresco in the Rinuccini Chapel at S. Croce, Florence (Plate 193). In the Snite miniature, Martha turns her back to the stove and looks directly at Christ: her attentiveness to his address equals that of the diners and she does not appear to be disgruntled about her sister's adoration. Veiled and dressed in the clothes of a pious matron, her gray garments recall the sober dress of St. Joseph. Although Martha is most often remembered as one preoccupied with mundane responsibilities, she was also accorded a significant role in the gospels for her confession of faith in Christ soon after he arrived when her brother had died.[32] Responding to Jesus' famous speech, "I am the resurrection and the life. . . ," Martha asserts, "I have come to believe that you are the Christ, the Son of God, the one who is coming into the world" (Jn. 11:27), a proclamation second only to Peter's "You are Christ, the son of the living God" (Mt. 16:17). Martha's position standing next to Peter in this miniature underscores this connection.

The inclusion of Martha and her positive portrayal in the illustration of this chapter whose text emphasizes the anguish of the Virgin Mary and Mary Magdalen at Christ's imminent departure for Jerusalem would have been heartening to the married woman posited as the other significant reader of the Snite manuscript. The *große* text of the *MVC* uses the episode of Jesus' earlier visit to the home of Mary and Martha based on Luke 10: 38–42, which is not included in the ca. 40-chapter version, as the occasion for a

[32] In John 11:47–53, the miracle of the raising of Lazarus as reported to Caiaphas becomes the motivation for his decision to eliminate the threat posed by Jesus' success because it would precipitate Roman retaliation against the Jewish authorities.

treatise on the active and contemplative lives. Drawing heavily on Bernard of Clairvaux and alert to his female religious reader, the *MVC* author describes a three-part process: in the active mode one purges vice and cultivates virtue; then one rests in contemplation focusing on God alone; once illuminated by true wisdom one turns to those things that benefit the salvation of others. While acknowledging that Bernard regards the contemplative higher than the active, the treatise nevertheless asserts that each person should pursue the vocation to which she/he has been called and that even the contemplative should not slide into indolence. In the *Legenda aurea,* Jacobus de Voragine expresses appreciation for St. Martha's exemplary hospitality and repeatedly uses the terms of "hostess" and "guest" in her legend: at the end of her life, Christ appears to her and says, "Come, beloved hostess, and where I am, there you will be with me," and Martha in turn prays, "My dear Guest, take care of your poor little servant, and, as you deigned to accept my hospitality, receive me now in your heavenly dwelling."[33] Venturino da Bergamo, the charismatic Dominican who preached in Bologna in the early 1330s, promoted devotion to St. Martha as hostess to Christ and patron of pilgrims and sought to found a convent there dedicated to her. He seems to have attracted some well-to-do women as followers whom he encouraged to adopt simple dress and extend charity to poor women, raising the hackles of the local bishop.[34] The attention given to Martha in the Snite miniature, like that accorded to Joseph in the Infancy illuminations, provides further evidence of how certain illustrations of this *MVC* manuscript have been designed

[33] Jacobus de Voragine, *Golden Legend*, II, p. 25.

[34] P. A. Grion, "La 'Legenda' del B. Venturino da Bergamo secondo il testo inedito del codice di Cividale," *Bergomum* 50:4 (1956): 84.

to supplement the text in order to enhance its appeal to married laity and furnish access for imaginative participation in Christ's life.[35]

The Footwashing (fol. 59r), the ***Last Supper*** (fol. 59v), and ***Christ's Sermon to the Disciples*** (fol. 65r)

Given its narrative, sacramental, and liturgical importance, it is not surprising that the chapter headed by the rubric, "Of the Supper on Holy Thursday," is illustrated with three miniatures (Plates 19–21). In contrast to the previous miniature, which depicted a mixed group of followers and for which there was no iconographic tradition, the illuminations in the Holy Thursday chapter are conventional and their placement within the chapter does not demonstrate any particular attention to the text. The narrative of the chapter carefully synthesizes and develops the gospel accounts to make clear their spiritual, theological, and moral significance upon which the reader is to meditate. The text first describes the preparations for the meal and the specific details pertaining to the dining table, then recounts Christ's designation of the betrayer over dinner, then the washing of the disciples' feet in a lower space, then the return to the table for the institution of the Eucharist and its identity with the Eucharist offered in the Mass at which Christ is made present,[36] and finally the sermon that Christ preached to the

---

[35] St. Martha's appeal may have extended to educated men, especially those desirous of living a righteous life. Toward the conclusion of the *Legenda Aurea* account, Christ appears to St. Fronto in a vision of the burial of St. Martha. St. Fronto relates that, "'As we were leaving the church after the burial, a brother from that place, who was learned in letters, followed us and asked the Lord what his name was. The Lord said nothing but showed the man an open book he was carrying in his hand, on which nothing was written except this verse, "In perpetual memory: my hostess will be just, she will not be afraid of hearing evil on the last day;" and when the book was closed, he found that the same verse was written on each page.'" See Jacobus de Voragine, *Golden Legend*, II, pp. 25–6.

[36] After recounting Christ's words at the Last Supper that constitute the institution of the Eucharist and are central to the Canon of the Mass, the *MVC* author proceeds with a brief

disciples, quoting phrases from John 14, 15, 16, and 17. In the Snite manuscript, two miniatures open the chapter directly following the rubric: the Washing of the Disciples' Feet appears on folio 59r (Plate 19) and the Last Supper on folio 59v (Plate 20), but the text describing the two activities does not occur until a few folios later. The Snite illuminator likely was influenced by the coupling of both activities that is seen in the diptych now in Munich with scenes of the Passion attributed to a Riminese painter of the first half of the Trecento, the Master of the Choir of Sant' Agostino (Plate 194), and the historiated initial for Matins in the Office of the Passion in the Kremsmünster Hours (Plate 195).

For the Footwashing and Last Supper, the illuminator employed formats similar to those seen in the Kremsmünster initial. In the Footwashing, the Snite artist preserved the lower position for Christ to indicate his role as servant, but depicted Christ seated rather than kneeling though the text specifies the latter pose, and Peter and the apostles standing rather than seated. Peter lifts his lower right leg—a repetition of the stock vintager pose[37]—from the wooden tub similar to that in the First Bath miniature and raises his right hand up to his head. In the center background is a view into a simple rectangular stone structure before which the disciples press in from behind and either side. The Snite Last Supper miniature depicts the diners encircling a round table although the *MVC*

---

summary of the relationship between the consecrated host, the incarnation, the resurrection, and the God who creates and saves the world. Snite *MVC*, fols. 63r–63v: "Unde eli e quel pane lo quale noi mangiamo nel sacramento del altare. E quel medesimo lo quale meraviliosamente incarnato dela vergene maria e nato sostene morte per noi. Eli e queli loqual gloriosamente resuscitando es saliendo in cielo. Siede ora dala diritta parte de dio. Eli e quel ke creo cielo e la tera e tute le cose e che ce po dare vita e morte e paradixo e inferno."

[37] In the Kremsmünster Hours Footwashing vignette, Niccolò shows Peter crossing his left leg over his right thigh, a pose used often in legal manuscript illumination for the representation of scribes.

author explicitly states that the table was square and even specifies its dimensions based upon his firsthand knowledge of the table that he had seen in St. John Lateran in Rome.[38] The use of the round table is consistent both with Riminese[39] and Bolognese[40] Last Supper iconographies and with the space constraints imposed by the miniature format. The Snite artist represents Jesus extending the sop to Judas, but he employs a stock youthful male figure for Judas and indicates his perfidy only by means of a black halo.[41] This comparative restraint in the characterization of Judas is paralleled by the text's focus upon the reactions of the disciples to Christ's announcement of his impending betrayal and St. John's special closeness to Christ rather than on Judas's treachery.

The routine quality of the illustrations for this chapter continues in the miniature of Christ's sermon to the disciples that is placed at the end of the text (Plate 21). It shows Christ standing at the center in a frontal pose, holding a closed book in his left hand and making a speaking gesture with his right. He is flanked on either side by his nimbed disciples who join their hands in prayerful gestures, but otherwise there is no hint of the sorrow and lamentations that the author ascribes to the disciples as they listen to Christ's

---

[38] Ragusa and Green (trans.), *Meditations*, p. 311; Snite *MVC*, fol. 60v.

[39] E.g., the Last Supper fresco of the first quarter of the fourteenth-century in the refectory of the Benedictine abbey of Pomposa near Ferrara; the Last Supper scene in the mid-fourteenth-century polyptych attributed to Giovanni Baronzio now in Urbino, Galleria Nazionale delle Marche.

[40] Examples of Bolognese Last Supper illuminations with a round table at which Christ sits at the center on the far side of the table include: a late thirteenth-century Psalter that has been attributed to the Master of Bible Lat. 18, possibly Jacopino da Reggio (Paris, BnF, ms. Smith-Lesouëf 21, fol. 17v; see Medica [ed.], *Duecento*, pp. 346–8, cat. no. 111); the mid-fourteenth-century Last Supper historiated initial attributed to Nicolò da Bologna in the Kremsmünster Hours, fol. 129r; and the historiated initial of the Institution of the Eucharist in the Missal of Cardinal Bertrand de Deux (BAV, Cod. Cap. 63B, fol. 227v), whose illumination has been attributed to the 1346 Master.

[41] From the faint outline of burnished gold leaf that is visible around Judas's head it seems that his halo was originally gold but was painted over with black.

sermon.[42] This isocephalic and symmetrical compositional format recurs in subsequent miniatures for chapters devoted to Christ's post-Passion appearances.

The Agony in the Garden (fol. 67v) and the ***First Mocking of Christ*** (fol. 72v)

The miniature of the Agony in the Garden (Plate 22) introduces the chapter that opens with an extended description of Christ's prayer to the Father in the garden of Gethsemane. Employing the form of a narrative that includes imagined dialogue, the text considers at some length the theological complexities posed by the conjunction of Christ's divinity and humanity as he faced imminent arrest and crucifixion.[43] The illustration of the Agony in the Garden not only is appropriate for the text but also provides a pictorial model of one of the principal aims of prayer for the reader to consider as he/she embarks on meditation on the Passion: submission to God's will no matter how challenging. Drawing upon Mark 22:43, the illuminator painted fine droplets of blood on Christ's face and neck to convey his anguished anticipation of suffering and make clear that his perfect obedience to the will of God was no easy feat, exemplifying the Christian response to the ultimate test of faith.

The rubric for the chapter—"It follows now to see and think on his Passion at the hour of Matins"—explicitly links this new devotional text to the recitation of the Office, which the Snite illumination underscores. When the Hours of the Virgin were illustrated with scenes from the Passion rather than from the Infancy of Christ, Matins was

---

[42] Ragusa and Green (trans.), *Meditations*, p. 316; Snite *MVC*, fol. 64v.

[43] For an analysis of the exegetical and rhetorical traditions that inform the retelling of Christ's prayer to God the Father and the dialogue between Christ and St. Michael the Archangel who comes to console him in the *MVC* account of Gethsemane, see P. Tóth, "'Give me another death! The Apocryphal Vision of Christ in the Garden of Gethsemane," in *Retelling the Bible: Literary, Historical, and Social Contexts*, ed. L. Dolezalova and T. Visy (Bern: Peter Lang, 2011), pp. 85–115.

illustrated by the Agony in the Garden. The illuminator starkly contrasts Christ's knowing acceptance of the chalice that is held by the angel in the left half of the miniature to the crowd of sleeping disciples at the right. The figural group of Christ and the angel likely depended upon the Trecento iconography of Mary Magdalen. Giuliano da Rimini represented the Magdalen kneeling in a rocky setting and being comforted by a descending angel in the altarpiece dated 1307 of the Virgin and Child Enthroned with Saints now in the Isabella Stewart Gardner Museum in Boston (Plate 196), and Vitale da Bologna frescoed scenes (now in a fragmentary state) from the legend of Mary Magdalen, including her last communion, in S. Maria dei Servi in Bologna, ca. 1350.[44] However, the Snite miniature bears the most striking resemblance to the representation of the Magdalen kneeling in prayer before a rocky hill dotted by a few trees and looking up to an angel bearing a towel-like cloth (a sudarium) and a vase (of unguent) in the upper border of the 1346 Statutes of the Bolognese Drapers Guild (Plate 197) that is attributed to the eponymous Master of 1346.[45]

The connection between the two compositions may stem from a passage at the beginning of the legend of Mary Magdalen in the *Legenda aurea* in which Jacobus de

---

[44] The image of Mary Magdalen as the ideal exemplar of penitence and the sexual nature of the sins imputed to her, which theologians exploited to underscore the transformation of her ardor from lust to love of God, accounts for her appeal to clerics and laymen alike in the late middle ages. Her depiction in Trecento Bolognese illumination is diverse: she is represented preaching in one of the choirbooks commissioned by the Dominicans in the 1320s; she is depicted in prayer and borne aloft by angels in a choirbook made for the Cathedral of S. Pietro ca. 1330.

[45] The office hymn for the Feast of Mary Magdalen dwells upon the image of the vase as a symbol of her sexual sinfulness transformed into a "vessel of glory" that bears the perfume with which she will anoint Christ's body. On the illumination of the Drapers Guild statutes with images of the Magdalen in 1339 and 1346, see Medica, "'*Haec sunt statuta*'," cat. nos. 13 and 14, and A. Gardin, "Presenza di immagini religiose in codici laici," in *Il codice miniato*, ed. M. Ceccanti and M. C. Castelli (Florence, 1992), pp. 380–82.

Voragine provides one of his inventive etymologies for her name. He writes that it means "bitter sea" or "illuminator or illuminated" and continues,

> Therefore, since Mary chose the best part, namely penance, she is called bitter sea because in her penances she endured much bitterness. We see this from the fact that she shed enough tears to bathe the Lord's feet with them. Since she chose the best part of inward contemplation, she is called enlightener, because in contemplation she drew draughts of light so deep that in turn she poured out light in abundance.[46]

The conjunction of "bitterness" and "draughts of light" suggests a relationship with Christ's prayer to the Father in the garden of Gethsemane that he "lift this chalice, that is, this Passion, from me"—the *MVC* author's paraphrase of the prayer that Matthew 26 says Christ spoke three times.[47] The large golden chalice that the angel proffers to Christ in the Snite Agony in the Garden, signifying its function as a cup of suffering and source of glory whose eucharistic meaning is obvious, is akin to an historiated initial of the Agony in the Garden (Plate 199) in the Bodleian *Vita Mariae* (Canonici 476, fol. 76r) that shows Christ kneeling in supplication upon a rocky incline at the top of which is placed a exaggeratedly large chalice.[48] Both Christ's pose and the draping of his mantle in the

---

[46] Jacobus de Voragine, *Golden Legend*, I, p. 375.

[47] It is intriguing that the illuminated Oxford *MVC* (CCC 410) includes four illustrations for the Agony in the Garden: the illumination on fol. 125v shows Christ wiping his face with a towel that has been handed to him by the hovering angel (Plate 198)—a motif that strikes one as derived from the representation of the angel appearing to Mary Magdalen with a vase and sudarium. The site of a garden both for Christ's vigil and for the Magdalen's encounter with the resurrected Christ was a further common element underlying the connection between these iconographies. On garden imagery and its connection with the penitential Magdalen's chastity, see Jansen, *The Making of the Magdalen*, pp. 240–244.

[48] The "draughts of light" that Jacobus de Voragine associates with Mary Magdalen, may have some relationship with the gold chalice before which Christ prays in the fourteenth-century Bolognese images. Also relevant here may be the notion of the cup as a symbol of divine illumination/wisdom, an interpretation expressed in late thirteenth-century Franciscan exegesis of the story of Joseph in the Old Testament; see A. Neff, "Lesser Brothers: Franciscan Mission and Identity at Assisi," *Art Bulletin* 88:4 (December 2008): 696.

Canonici 476 initial anticipate the figure of Mary Magdalen enveloped by her long hair in the 1346 Drapers' Guild statutes. Such transferral of motifs between the Agony in the Garden and the representation of Mary Magdalen in the wilderness persists in a later fourteenth-century historiated initial "M" attributed to Stefano Azzi (Plate 71). For the depiction of Mary Magdalen's encounter with the angel on the left, he fuses the poses employed for Christ and the angel from the Snite *Agony in the Garden* with the composition and attributes used in the illumination of the 1346 Drapers' Guild statutes. On the right he depicts the Last Communion of Mary Magdalen in the foreground and her burial and transport to heaven above. The thematic connection between penitence and Passion and chalice of bitterness/suffering and Eucharist informs the confluence of these iconographies.

The second illustration for the chapter on the meditation of the Passion at Matins depicts the First Mocking of Christ following his arrest and trial before the Sanhedrin (Plate 23). It is noteworthy that the Snite *MVC* does not include an illumination of Judas's Kiss of Betrayal, an omission that is consistent with the minimal interest in Judas's treachery that was noted in the Last Supper miniature.[49] The *MVC* text for this chapter only briefly mentions the trial before the chief priests and elders. Rather it dwells on the verbal abuse inflicted upon Christ during the night after his capture. The text describes Christ being bound to a column and reviled with taunts from the guards about his purported wisdom, an episode in which the author grafted the column of the flagellation onto the accounts in Matthew 26:67–68 and Mark 14:65 of how Christ was buffeted and derisively questioned following his trial before the Sanhedrin. The column-

[49] This is a striking omission as Giotto's famous fresco of Christ's arrest in the Arena Chapel was early copied by Bolognese illuminators and also was employed in the Tenschert *MVC*.

wisdom-folly connection is apparent in the guards' mockery, in which the *Meditations'* author exploits the antithesis between the impotence of Christ's wisdom manifested by his humiliation and the wisdom of the high priests: the guards sneer, "Now do you believe yourself to be better and wiser than our chief priests [leaders] and sages? How presumptuous and foolish! You should not dare to open your mouth against them as you have dared. Now your wisdom appears. You stand as is only suitable to you, ignoramus that you are. You deserve death, for certain, and you shall have it."[50] Once morning comes, St. John goes to Mary Magdalen's house and tells the Virgin Mary and her companions what has happened to Christ and his disciples, news that prompts the Virgin to pray again to God to spare his son and return Jesus to her. These passages near the end of the chapter clearly seem to be an attempt to narrativize theological and doctrinal concepts.

The Snite First Mocking is quite conventional and appears rather static and undramatic. When compared to the intensity and fury that suffuse the Second Mocking of Christ scene that appears in a Riminese panel of the first half of the Trecento[51] (Plate 200), whose composition it closely resembles, the Snite miniature strikes one as sedate. However, the reader would have been primed to view the miniature in an emotionally-charged state because it is placed immediately below a sentence that describes the high priests and elders rejoicing like lions with their prey, seeking false witnesses and spitting

---

[50] Snite *MVC*, fol. 73r: "Or credivi tu essere piu savio e migliore de li nostri principi e de nostri savij? Or quanta presumptione e mathcia erano la tua. Tu non dovinj essere ardito d aprire la bocca tua contra loro come fosti cosi ardito. Ora si vedra e lo tuo senno. Tu stai ora si come conviene al tuo pari bestia che tu se. Per certo tu se bene degno morte e tu cosi serai."

[51] P.G. Pasini, *Pitture riminese*, p. 123, suggests that the panel may be the work of Francesco da Rimini and notes its resemblance to figures in the frescoes in the refectory of San Francesco, Bologna, attributed to him.

in Christ's face: "E quando fue presentato denanci alli principi e i docturi e savij secondo l populo si si ralegravano come leone capresa la preda e qui nel disaminoro e cercavano di falssi testimonij per condennarlo e sputava nella sua faccia."[52] That sentence has also been paraphrased in the instruction to the illuminator written in Latin in a cursive hand in the lower margin below the miniature itself: "comodo dominus fuit apresentatum ad principibus et doctori populo et ligaverunt faciam eius et sputaba[n]t in facia eius et amodo debebant denovo faciebant alijs vituperijs in facia eius."

In the illumination Christ is seated as the central figure before a cloth of honor, similar to the opening miniature of the Snite manuscript and the penultimate illumination of the Ascendant Christ praised by the Saints. The repetition is a deliberate device to underscore that Christ-as-the-wisdom-of-God who is humiliated and mocked in the Passion is identical with the Christ who reigns in heaven adored by the angels and saints and by the manuscript's patrons. He is flanked on either side by male figures variously garbed in late medieval clerical, academic, socially elite, and exotic dress.[53] None wears a prayer shawl wound around the head in the fashion of the late medieval Italian stereotype of the Jewish priests and Pharisees that was seen earlier in the miniatures of the Visitation and Circumcision.[54] The illuminator has rendered the instructions in the margin to show

---

[52] Snite *MVC*, fol. 72v.

[53] The tall conical hat of the seated figure at the right edge is similar to that worn by one of Joseph's brothers in the detached fresco of Joseph Sold by his Brothers from the Joseph cycle that decorated the oratory at Mezzaratta, reproduced in Volpe, *Mezzaratta*, fig. 73. The hats worn by the brothers in the fresco appeared to be typical fourteenth-century headgear associated with travellers, not uniquely characteristic of late medieval European Jews, e.g., one of the brother's hats is identical to that worn by Christ in the Road to Emmaus miniature in the Snite *MVC*.

[54] The forehead of the kneeling patrician figure at Christ's proper right shows minute losses of pigment that might suggest horns, thus vilifying him according to the medieval stereotype of the Jewish unbeliever. It is not clear that these paint losses are part of the illuminator's original

Christ presented to the "princes/leaders and scholars" in terms of contemporaneous Bologna. A few of these figures resemble the richly-dressed men flanking the central enthroned figure in the allegorical illumination of justice that illustrates Book I of the *Digestum Vetus* manuscript now in Munich (Bayr. SB, Ms. Clm. 3503, fol. 3r) in whose illumination the Azzi workshop participated (Plate 78). Susan L'Engle argues that the theme of the *Digestum vetus* illumination is Justice's imperviousness to graft; she interprets the kneeling figures on the left as offering bribes to the personification of Justice, which could account for their visual kinship to Christ's tormenters in the Snite Mocking.[55]

In contrast to the saturated colors of his tormentors' clothing, Christ wears a white mantle with a faint gold pattern over his red garment; this is a variation of the white tunic with blue pattern under a red mantle that Christ has been depicted wearing since the Temptation miniature. The white garment is consistent with the text's characterization of Christ's submissiveness being like that of a lamb,[56] but the replacement of the blue motif with a faint gold one scattered over the white cloth may have been intended as a sign of Christ's divinity present throughout the progressive humiliation of the Passion. Christ sits calmly holding a staff, his arms close to his body and his hands in his lap whereas his tormentors raise their hands in emphatic gestures to connote their abuse. While blindfolded, the cloth covering Christ's eyes is translucent so that one can see him gazing downward toward the gesticulating figures on his proper left as if responding with a silent

---

conception or intentionally made by him or the patron or a later reader. The manuscript bears other indications of deliberate defacing, which will be discussed below.

[55] See L'Engle, "Illumination of Legal Manuscripts," pp. 285–92, on the iconography of graft in Bolognese legal manuscripts of the first half of the Trecento.

[56] Ragusa and Green (trans.), *Meditations*, p. 325; Snite *MVC*, fol. 72r.

reproach.[57] Many of the motifs in this illumination recur in the miniature of the Second Mocking but with greater intensity as the Passion progresses.

Christ before Pilate (fol. 74v), the ***Flagellation of Christ*** (fol. 76r), and the ***Second Mocking of Christ*** (fol. 77v)

Although the preceding chapter did not include a representation of Christ's interrogation by Annas or Caiaphas, this chapter opens with a large miniature of Christ before Pilate (Plate 24). The rubric for the chapter is written at the bottom of fol. 74r and reads, "When he was led to Pilate by the princes/leaders of the priests in the hour of Prime."[58] Once again, a few words of instruction to the illuminator written in a cursive hand remain visible in the upper margin of fol. 74v that refer to "taunts" and "sneers."[59] The chapter opens with a description of the sorrow experienced by the Virgin Mary and Christ's followers when they see Christ being led to Pilate. The text dwells upon the insults and punishments inflicted upon him and his meek acceptance of the humiliation. In a manner akin to the gospel accounts themselves, the author integrates scriptural passages and images to demonstrate the event as fulfillment of the Old Testament prophecies. The trial before Pilate itself is not dealt with at any length in the text:[60] the author vilifies the Jews for pressing their accusations and records that Pilate, discerning

---

[57] On fol. 73v, the text describes Christ silently bearing the mockery with his head and eyes lowered in shame.

[58] Snite *MVC*, fol. 74r: "Quando fue menato a pillato dali principi dei sacerdoti in dell ora della prima"

[59] The instructions at the top of fol. 74v are very difficult to decipher. The final words appear to be: "e facendoli loro beffe e scernimenti di llui." Cf. a line in the text on fol. 77v: "E senpre schirniendolo e facendose beffe de lui."

[60] Derbes, *Picturing the Passion*, p. 91, notes that the *MVC* text on the trial of Christ before Pilate is spare in its details compared to the attention given to the trial before the Jewish priests.

no cause for the death penalty, decided to have Jesus scourged and then released. That decision prompts the author to excoriate Pilate, "O Pilate! O Pilate! Do you chastise your Lord? You do not know what you are doing, for Christ deserves neither death nor scourges. You would do better if you chastised yourself at his bidding."[61] When the final verdict is reported at the beginning of the following chapter, he is described as "wretched Pilate."[62]

The subject was a natural for a Bolognese illuminator who would have known well the wide-ranging pictorial repertoire of court scenes in legal manuscripts. The Snite miniature generally conforms to the traditional iconography of Christ before Pilate that typically shows Pilate in a three-quarter or profile view seated to one side and Christ standing at the center of the composition. However, rather than placing Pilate at the right, as did Giotto in the Arena Chapel fresco and Duccio on the back of the *Maestà*, the Snite illuminator placed him at the left of the composition, so that he is endowed with a greater degree of agency in this image.[63] Although his figure has been vigorously defaced, from the vivid red smears of pigment and traces of white fur at the head and hem, it is clear that Pilate was dressed in the red vair-trimmed robes of the fourteenth-century Doctor of

---

[61] Snite *MVC*, fol. 75v: "O Pilato, O Pilato! Castichi tu l singnor tuo? Non sai quel che tu fai inpercio che Cristo no a merito del morte ne casticato. Ma tu faresti meglio se castigassi tei alla sua volunta."

[62] Snite *MVC*, fol. 78r.

[63] Cf. the active figure of the judge at the left of a large illumination attributed to the Illustratore in a *Digestum vetus* manuscript that represents the trial and punishment of fugitive slaves, Vat. lat. 1430, fol. 179r.

Civil Law[64] similar to those worn by the judge in an historiated initial in the 1376 Statutes of the Bolognese Comune (Plate 201) attributed to Nicolò da Bologna.[65]

In contrast to the hot saturated red of Pilate's robe, Christ stands before him as a slender figure dressed in a luminous white *colobium* patterned with the scattered gold motif.[66] The text relates that Pilate initially sent Jesus to Herod, who wanted to see Jesus perform a miracle, but when Christ did and said nothing, Herod decided he was a fool and had him dressed in white and sent back to Pilate.[67] A figure in a short blue garment—some kind of ruffian, likely—stands between Christ and Pilate, and an older bearded male figure shown in profile stands behind Christ holding the ends of the rope that binds Christ's wrists. Though the older man does not wear the Jewish prayer shawl about his head, he strongly resembles the figure of the demonic hermit in the Temptation of Christ, and he and the two figures standing behind him who wear academic/elite dress must be intended as Jewish leaders. In the background helmeted soldiers support the high priests. Though the scene is ordered and lacking vigorous gestures, Christ's white garment, bound wrists, and the droplets of blood on his face and arms are clearly meant to refer to

---

[64] In the *Decameron*, 8th day, 9th story, Boccaccio wrote sarcastically of men—a judge, doctor, and notary—who were educated in Bologna, returning to Florence dressed in long scarlet gowns trimmed with fur.

[65] C. Hourihane, *Pontius Pilate, Anti-Semitism, and the Passion in Medieval Art* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton Univ. Press, 2009), explores at length the increasing pictorial efforts to characterize Pilate as a Jew in late medieval art, but his evidence is overwhelmingly drawn from northern Europe. The one Trecento Bolognese manuscript illumination that he includes is from the Hungarian Legendary and represents two scenes of Christ before Caiaphas paired with two scenes of Peter's denial: the intent seems to be as much to show Christ denied by the Jewish priesthood *and* by one of his first disciples.

[66] Christ's garment for which the soldiers cast lots at the foot of the cross in the Thyssen-Bornemisza Crucifixion by Vitale da Bologna is similarly white with a faint gold brocade-like pattern (Plate 212).

[67] Snite *MVC*, fol. 75r. Cf. Ragusa and Green (trans.), *Meditations*, p. 328.

his role as "the most innocent lamb" that appears in the final line of text on the folio bearing this miniature.[68]

The composition of the Snite miniature closely resembles the panel (Raleigh, North Carolina Museum of Art), ca. 1330, attributed to the Pseudo-Jacopino of St. John the Evangelist restoring two men to life (Plate 202).[69] Although the pagan proconsul sits at the right and St. John is the agent of the miraculous resuscitation of two dead criminals, his mild, feminized face and figure anticipates that of the Snite Christ before Pilate. A very similar composition is employed in the Munich *Digestum vetus* (Bayr. SB, Clm. 3503, fol. 219r) for Book 16 (Plate 81).[70] In the illustration of the issues regarding a woman's legal capacity to stand surety for a third party and the mechanism for exempting her from restitution to the creditor should the debtor be unable to repay, the figure of the young woman resembles the Snite Christ.[71] One wonders whether it was merely the

---

[68] Snite *MVC*, fol. 74v–75r. Derbes, *Picturing the Passion*, p. 92 and passim, attributes the interest in the ropes binding Christ in Duecento Passion imagery to Franciscan concerns. She quotes an apt passage from Bonaventure's *Vitis mystica*, chapter four, in which he contrasts Christ's freedom to bind and release [from sin] to his submission to being bound like a lamb.

[69] The miracle is recounted in Jacobus de Vorgine, *Golden Legend*, I, p. 53.

[70] F. Ebel et al., *Römisches Rechtsleben im Mittelalter: Miniaturen aus den Handschriften des "Corpus iuris civilis"* (Heidelberg: C.F. Müller Juristischer Verlag, 1988), pp. 46–7.

[71] According to J. A. Crook, "Feminine Inadequacy and the *Senatusconsultum Velleianum*," in *The Family in Ancient Rome*, ed. B. Rawson (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell Univ. Press, 1986), pp. 86–88, the Senatusconsultum of Book 16 prevents a woman, on the grounds of feminine weakness, from interceding between a debtor and creditor (e.g., standing surety for her husband) and prohibits suits against her should she do so. In subsequent legal practice, an exception was granted that exempted a woman who had assumed suretyship from being sued by a creditor if it was determined that she had done so naively, but not if she had assumed the obligation in full knowledge. Crook remarks, p. 88, n. 17 (p. 92), that "under Justinian's development of the *senatusconsultum* a woman could sign away her right to the *exceptio*." See also T. Kuehn, *Law, Family and Women: Toward a Legal Anthropology of Renaissance Italy* (Chicago and London: Univ. of Chicago Press, 1991), pp. 216–18. From the full purse held between the young woman and young man in the Digestum vetus miniature, it appears as though this may be the meaning intended by the illuminator.

notion of vulnerability that was the motive behind the transfer of the composition or, more significantly, the idea of assuming the debts of others—monetary in the case of the young woman in the legal miniature, human sin in the case of Christ in the Snite illumination. In any case, the composition continued to be employed in later fourteenth-century Bolognese illumination, for example, in an historiated initial from a choirbook of the charity of St. Nicholas attributed to Nicolò da Bologna, ca. 1376 (Plate 203).[72] As St. Nicholas drops the dowry money through a window at the left, on the right the poor nobleman dressed as a doctor of law sits on an elevated throne while his vulnerable daughters stand before him. In this image, the girl in the center foreground with her hands crossed over her chest in a gesture of submission resembles the passive figure of Christ in the Snite miniature.

Christ's sacrificial victimhood is made graphic in the illumination of the Flagellation that appears in the middle of this chapter (Plate 25). The miniature has been carefully placed in relation to the text, which provides a florid description of the flagellation pitched to cultivate an intense emotional response. The lines immediately above the miniature read, "Jesus stands naked before them all, he who was the most beautiful creature that ever was and whose flesh, most innocent, most tender, most pure and most beautiful receives the cruel and grievous beatings of those most impious Jews. And the flower of all flesh and all human nature was covered with beatings and bruises and the royal blood flows from all parts of the body,"[73] and below the illumination, "He

---

[72] L'Engle and Gibbs, *Illuminating the Law*, cat. no. 22, pp. 236–7.

[73] Snite *MVC*, fol. 75v–76r: "Sta dunqua Jesu ignudo denanci a colloro lo quale e la piu bella creature che mai fosse e quella sua carne innocentissima e tenerissima mondissima e bellissima recive le batiture crudeli e dolorosa da quilli inpiessimi giudei. El fiore d ogna carne e di tuta l

is beaten and rebeaten, and the torturers renew [their efforts] adding bruises upon bruises and one gash above another."[74] From the smeared pigment over Christ's body, it seems that the description and image of his brutalization at some point became too much for the reader to bear, inciting an effort to wipe the spatters of blood from Christ's nearly-naked body.

Christ stands erect, his slender body partly concealing the terracotta-colored column before which he is bound. The column resembles that in the Snite Annunciation and provides the center foremost support for the stone building in which the Flagellation takes place; the view into the interior indicates a hexagonal structure but the lateral exterior wall suggests a rectangular structure. These characteristics of the setting were likely imbued with sapiential and ecclesiological meaning.[75] The two figures flanking Christ wield whips and are dressed in short garments characteristic of low status but their activity lacks the energy and dynamism of the torturers in Dalmasio's panel of ca. 1360 in the Seattle Art Museum, which is a stripped-down stylized representation of the Flagellation (Plate 204). To the right and just outside the chamber of the flagellation in the Snite miniature, a helmeted soldier supervises the torture and a bearded male head is visible behind him, probably to be understood as a Jew.

---

umana natura si si rinpiete e foe cuperta di bateture e de lividuri e se tuto quell sangue inperiale di tute le parte del corpo."

[74] Snite *MVC*, fol. 76r (the text is almost illegibile): "E batuto e ribatuto e ricomincansi e renovansi li flagellaturi e açunguno luvaduri sopra luvaduri e l una scrafiatura sopra l altra."

[75] Cf. the text on fol. 73r (quoted in n. 50 above) on the First Mocking that describes Christ bound to a column as he suffers taunts about his superior 'wisdom' that is folly compared to the chief priests'. The link between the column and divine power is implicit also in the second part of the Good Friday *Improperia*, which included a couplet in which God remonstrates that his leadership of the Israelites out of Egypt by means of the pillar of cloud was reciprocated by his being led into Pilate's palace.

In the Snite illumination, Christ lowers his head but raises his eyes to toward the left, where the Virgin Mary and a nimbed female companion—likely Mary Magdalen—press against the closed door of the torture chamber. These female figures serve as opposites to the soldier and Jewish witness on the right: the soldier's view of the flagellation is unobstructed, and the Jewish figure projects his head forward as though looking round the corner of the wall. The intent seems to be to create an antithesis between the holy women's "eyes of faith" that comprehend the true identity of Jesus—as the wisdom of God bound and beaten at the column—despite being unable to see him, and the soldier's and Jew's failure to recognize despite their direct view.[76] The Virgin wears not only the deep blue garments she wore in the Meal at the House of the Magdalen but also a white wimple suggestive of nun's dress, conveying her role as bride and widow of her son in his Passion. The text does not describe the particular vignette of the Virgin at the closed door of the flagellation, but it does relate the efforts of the Virgin to stay close to her son during his trial and imprisonment. The representation of the Virgin Mary desperate at the door, her agony amplified by the fact that she can hear but not see her son's torment, likely has it roots in Byzantine homiletic literature. It elaborated the Passion scenarios to emphasize teaching on the Incarnation, suffusing them with the intense emotional experiences endured by the Mother as she witnesses the suffering of her Son, and larding them with anti-Jewish invective that contrasts the Virgin's fervent love to the wickedness of the Jews. George of Nikomedeia, for example, describes the Virgin Mary waiting in despair outside the courtroom during Christ's trial

[76] Bartal, "Repetition, Opposition, and Invention in an Illuminated *Meditationes vitae Christ*," p. 162, asserts that "*Oppositio*, or antithesis, had a particular place in Franciscan thought and aesthetics."

before the Sanhedrin.[77] In a similar vein, Jacopone da Todi, the thirteenth-century Franciscan famous for his *laude*, opens his "Lament of the Virgin" with the entreaty, "Lady, Queen of Heaven, they have taken your son,/Hurry, come and see—they're beating Him,/Whipping Him brutally; they will kill him."[78]

The appearance of this rare iconography of the Virgin at the Flagellation occurs in early Trecento art. An early fourteenth-century panel (Robert Lehman Collection, Metropolitan Museum of Art), like the Snite Flagellation, shows the Virgin Mary and holy women pressing against the closed door as the scourging takes place in the adjoining pavilion (Plate 205). The panel has been attributed to the Master of Forlì, a painter whom Boskovits believes was formed under both Emilian and Venetian influences.[79] In the Passion cycle frescoes likely dating to the second or third decades of the Trecento in the Clarissan church of Santa Maria Donna Regina in Naples, the artist combines under the roof of a single chamber the Flagellation at the left, the Denial of Peter in the center, and the Trial before Annas and Caiaphas toward the right, with the Virgin and her companions listening outside the door on the far right.[80] The Virgin Mary at the door of

---

[77] M. Vassilaki and N. Tsironis, "Representations of the Virgin and Their Association with the Passion of Christ," in *Mother of God: Representations of the Virgin in Byzantine Art*, ed. M. Vassilaki (Milan: Skira, 2000), p. 458. See also Maximus the Confessor, *The Life of the Virgin*, Ch. 6, 76; and S. J. Shoemaker, "A Mother's Passion: Mary at the Crucifixion and Resurrection in the earliest *Life* of the Virgin and its Influence on George of Nikomedia's Passion Homilites," in *The Cult of the Mother of God in Byzantium*, ed. L. Brubaker and M. B. Cunningham (Farnham, Surrey, England: Ashgate, 2011), pp. 53–67.

[78] Jacopone da Todi, *The Lauds*, trans. S. and E. Hughes (New York: Paulist Press, 1982), pp. 278–280.

[79] Boskovits et al., *Thyssen-Bornemisza Collection,* cat. no. 22. Pope-Hennessy, *Robert Lehman Collection*, I: *Italian Paintings*, cat. no. 37, thinks the painter Romagnole.

[80] A. S. Hoch, "The 'Passion' cycle: Images to contemplate and imitate amid Clarissan *clausura*," in *The Church of Santa Maria Donna Regina*, ed. J. Elliott and C. Warr (Burlington, Vt.:

the Flagellation exemplifies for the viewer/reader the ardent desire to participate in the suffering of her son, a desire that is intensely painful because she cannot actually see her son and so can only imagine the worst. Complementing the text of the chapter that emphasizes the unjust humiliation and pain Christ endured in the trials before Pilate and Herod and in his subsequent scourging and mocking, the insertion of this rare iconographic motif in the Snite Flagellation miniature shows the Virgin both as model and object of compassion for the viewer/reader to emulate and contemplate. The representation of the Virgin Mary in the Snite Flagellation is an exception to the generally restrained manner in which she is depicted in the *MVC* Passion illustrations.

The chapter concludes with a miniature of the Second Mocking of Christ (Plate 26), which closely resembles the composition of the First Mocking, although Christ now stands in the center foreground and more figures have been added to the crowd on either side. The instructions to the illuminator, written in a cursive hand in the lower margin, allude to the Ecce homo, the crown of thorns, and the beating of Christ,[81] but the image he produced is restrained when compared, for example, to Giotto's Arena Chapel fresco (Plate 206) or to the Mocking scene in the Riminese panel in the Cini Collection (Plate 200). The text immediately preceding the miniature describes the Jews suggesting to Pilate that Christ be clothed and crowned with kingly honor, but, rather than the "old dirty red silk mantle" [82] with which the text asserts that Christ was robed, he appears here

---

Ashgate, 2004), pp. 130–34. Hoch acknowledges that she does not know the textual source for their inclusion.

[81] Snite *MVC*, fol. 77v: "Fa[c] q[u]i come llo e menando fuora tra l puovolo cum la corona in chapo e cum . . . in dosso e chomo lo puovolo li fac grandi assalti adosso"

[82] Snite *MVC*, fols. 76v–77r: "uno mantello di seta rossa vecchio e sozzo"

in the gold-patterned white *colobium* and the crown of thorns is barely visible. The emphasis on the beauty and purity of Christ, conveyed by his erect posture[83] and the smooth vertical folds of his white shift, stands in stark contrast to the colorful and elaborate dress of the surrounding crowd. It includes gesticulating figures wearing professional and noble dress who kneel and are seated on either side of Christ in the foreground row,[84] and soldiers and Jews in the middle and back rows. A figure dressed in green with a fanciful hat standing at Christ's proper left grabs his forearm and raises a club; behind him is visible the head of a Jewish spectator who looks at a figure dressed in red garb and holding a baton like that of a civic official—likely Pilate—who gestures as though directing the event. The pictorial linkage of Pilate and the Jews is relatively understated in these Snite miniatures, especially when compared to the Kremsmünster Hours whose historiated initials of the Flagellation, the Ecce homo, and the Way to Calvary represent Jewish priests and spectators in prominent roles and Pilate as a willing collaborator. The lines of text just above the Snite miniature emphasize the humiliation as much as the pain of the mocking, but the illumination tempers the narrative with Christ's pristine dress and serene pose. Although no blindfold is mentioned in the text, the illuminator depicts Christ's eyes open beneath a translucent blindfold, looking toward the

[83] The pose of Christ in the Snite composition resembles the Byzantine iconography that Derbes, *Picturing the Passion*, pp. 97–9, describes.

[84] Cf. the figures flanking Justinian in the opening illumination (Plate 207) of the *Institutiones* manuscript (BAV, Urb. lat. 164, fol. 1r) that has been attributed to Stefano Azzi.

assailant at his proper left and beyond to Pilate at the far right edge, a gaze that would remind the viewer/reader of God's constant awareness of human sin.[85]

The Way to Calvary (fol. 78r) and the ***Holy Women and St. John, lamenting*** (fol. 80r)

As the momentum of the Passion narrative in the *Meditations* text progresses, the opening illumination for the chapter titled, "The meditation on the Passion at Terce," complements the growing intensity. The miniature of the Way to Calvary (Plate 27) comes immediately after that of the Second Mocking. There Christ stood frontally and motionless, now he is shown in profile, marching steadily forward to the right and resolutely shouldering the large cross whose horizontal arm extends beyond the frame.[86] He is dressed in the white *colobium* and his arms and face are spattered with blood but no rope is tied around his waist or neck and he is not dragged by his captors,[87] though the two thieves walking ahead of him have their hands bound behind their backs.[88] This stoic, resolute Christ is not completely consistent with the emphasis of the text, which at one point describes him patiently taking the large heavy cross, and later as gasping and

---

[85] Derbes, *Picturing the Passion*, p. 111, interprets the introduction of the blindfold to the representation of the Mocking in the thirteenth century as evidence of growing antisemitism concomitant with the Franciscan emphasis on Christ's suffering.

[86] Derbes, *Picturing the Passion*, p. 135, notes the emphasis on the size of the cross in the *MVC* text. The impetus for this likely originated in the medieval exegesis of Ephesians 3:18 whose phrase—"breadth and length and height and depth"—came to be associated with the cross.

[87] Ibid., p. 133, attributes the appearance of the cord around Christ's neck in images of the Way to Calvary to Franciscan influence.

[88] Similar figures of criminals with arms bound behind their backs appear in mid-fourteenth-century Bolognese legal manuscripts, e.g., the Munich *Digestum Vetus*, Bayr. SB, Clm. 3503, fol. 3r (Plate 78); and a *Digestum vetus* in the Vatican, BAV, Vat. lat. 1411, fol. 3r: historiated initial below main illumination (Plate 208).

bent under the cross, and finally so exhausted that he cannot carry it further.[89] It also notes the humiliation endured by Christ in being accompanied by two criminals, but the contrast between his elegant garment and the short tunics of the thieves—the good one in white, the bad in black—preserves his dignity and enhances his role as sacrificial lamb;[90] the white cloth with gold motifs recalls liturgical textiles used in the celebration of the Mass.[91]

On the other hand, the Snite Via crucis miniature does accord with the text's emphasis at the beginning of this chapter on the indifference of the Jews to Christ's suffering and their relentlessly mounting scorn. The illuminator represents a cluster of Jewish priests with shawls wound about their heads immediately behind Christ, with the foreground figure at the far left gesticulating as though in indignation. The Snite composition closely resembles an earlier Trecento panel by a Riminese artist known as the Master of the Choir of Sant Agostino (now in Munich, Alte Pinakothek) that included a Jewish priest at the far left who similarly points at Christ (Plate 209).[92] An historiated initial of the Way to Calvary in the Bodleian *Vita Mariae* (Canonici 476, fol. 82r) depicts a similar group of two Jewish priests behind soldiers who follow Christ (Plate 210). In the Snite miniature, the indignant priest at the far left is balanced by the

[89] Derbes, *Picturing the Passion*, p. 126, observes that the representation of Christ's bent body in thirteenth-century Italian paintings of the Via Crucis was derived from Byzantine art where it was understood as an expression of Christ's fatigue. That may have inspired the *MVC* text, but the Snite illuminator appears to associate Christ's inclined body more with the virtue of perseverance.

[90] Cf. Snite *MVC*, fol 79r, where Christ is described as bearing the heavy cross like a meek lamb, i.e., "como agnelo mansuetissimo."

[91] The Snite text on fol. 79r mentions Christ being pelted with mud and filth but his shift is pristine.

[92] Derbes, *Picturing the Passion*, p. 136, connects this imagery to the tale of the Wandering Jew that emerged in Bologna in the early thirteenth century.

foremost figure at the far right who leads the large band of helmeted soldiers accompanying Christ to Calvary and holds aloft a red banner emblazoned with a black scorpion, a medieval symbol of Jewish infamy.[93] The fluttering banner and the forward slant of Christ's body are also consistent with the text's description of the Jews, intent on his death, avidly hastening the journey.

Notably absent from the Snite miniature are the Virgin Mary and her female companions whose encounter with Christ on the road to Calvary is mentioned in the middle of the text for this chapter. That motif was frequently included in Trecento paintings, for example the scene of the *Via crucis* in the lower half of the Riminese panel now in the Cini Collection in Venice (Plate 200).[94] Though only briefly described in the text of the Snite *MVC*, the pathos of the encounter seems to have impressed the person who wrote the lengthy instructions to the illuminator written in a cursive hand in the upper margin: it specifies both "a multitude of Jews following Christ and deriding him" and "the mother and St. John following and weeping."[95] But, rather than shift the figure of Christ to the right and reduce the number of soldier escorts and eliminate the two criminals in order to accommodate the figure of the Virgin, the Snite illuminator retained Christ as the central figure and paid particular attention to the Jewish priests.

---

[93] The large Te igitur illumination of the Crucifixion (Plate 215) attributed to the 1346 Master in the Missal of Cardinal Bertrand de Deux (BAV, Cod. Cap. 63B, fol. 189r) includes a banner emblazoned with a scorpion in the left background and one with the SPQR acronym at the right.

[94] Derbes, *Picturing the Passion*, p. 127, notes the absence of the holy women from the Byzantine iconography of the Via Crucis, which raises the possibility that the Snite illuminator was drawing from an older pictorial model derived from that tradition.

[95] Snite *MVC*, fol. 78r: "fac chomo i gui [lghi?] ane me [metudo?]. . . la croxe in sula spalla a Cristo e como la multitudi[ne] deli giudei li tenno dreto e fanno se derisione de lui e dela madre e sam goane li teni dret[o] piangen[do]"

Having omitted the encounter of the Virgin Mary with Christ in the Way to Calvary miniature, the Snite artist instead concludes the chapter with a separate illustration of Christ's closest followers gripped in sorrow and fearful anticipation of what is to come (Plate 28). The instructions to the illuminator in the margin below the illumination mention the Virgin Mary dressed in black supported by the three Maries in the road [to Calvary] and St. John going ahead of them, weeping and watching.[96] In comparison to the urgent momentum of the Way to Calvary, this miniature presents a static composition of standing figures: the Virgin Mary in the center supported by two female companions, a group of three women at the left reverently watching the center trio, and St. John at the far right who has turned to look up to the upper right. As has been seen in the previous Passion miniatures, the Snite illuminator frequently places Christ at the center of the composition flanked on either side by groups of figures; now the Virgin Mary occupies that central place as the consummate figure of compassion.

This group of the Virgin supported by two women was probably derived from the figural group of holy women and St. John at the foot of the cross in Crucifixion scenes of the second quarter of the fourteenth century, e.g., the Crucifixion panel attributed to the Pseudo-Dalmasio in the Pinacoteca Nazionale, Bologna (Plate 211), and the one attributed to Vitale da Bologna in the Thyssen-Bornemisza Collection (Plate 212). While the Snite artist does not show the Virgin Mary swooning, he does represent her two companions holding their hands at her waist/womb, a gesture that may be related to Amy Neff's interpretation of Mary's *spasimo* at the foot of the cross as a symbol of the birth of

---

[96] Snite *MVC*, fol. 80r: "come la vergene maria e vestita de negro e che le tre marie l avano sostignando per la via e che san goane vae innançi piangendo guardano[?] in . . . [the remainder of the line has been trimmed].

the Church in the Crucifixion.[97] Although she is dressed in deep blue and not in black as the instructions indicate,[98] the Virgin's face and that of Mary Magdalen at her proper right are notably dark, especially when compared to the women at the left of the miniature. It is possible that the illuminator misunderstood the instructions, but he may have decided to interpret them in an unusual way, having in mind Song of Songs 1:4, "I am black but beautiful, O ye daughters of Jerusalem." In Luke 23:28, Christ addresses the women on his way to Calvary as "ye daughters of Jerusalem," which may have triggered the artist's depiction of dark complexions for the central group of women, transferring an attribute of the bride in the Songs of Songs to the Virgin Mary and Mary Magdalen, both of whom were ascribed spousal roles in relation to Christ.[99] James Marrow discusses the deployment of this scriptural verse in Passion imagery and quotes a passage from Bernard of Clairvaux's Sermons on the Song of Songs in which Bernard asserts, "'Blackness is but the form and similitude of the Lord'," [100] a clue that the darkened faces of the holy women were intended to manifest their *compassio* as conforming to Christ's

---

[97] Neff, "The Pain of Compassio," passim. Neff discusses a Trecento Bolognese illumination in a Decretum Gratiani manuscript attributed to the 1328 Master (her figure 23) as a vivid example of this iconography.

[98] The instruction to show the Virgin Mary dressed in black ("vestita de negro") may have been inspired by her black garments in the Crucifixion panel attributed to the Pseudo-Dalmasio now in the Pinacoteca Nazionale, Bologna.

[99] It is significant that the central group of three in the Snite illumination is very similar to the central group of bride, bridegroom, and officiant in Bolognese legal manuscript illumination, e.g., in the miniature (Plate 91) on a folio from a manuscript of Giovanni d'Andrea's *Novella* illuminated in the 1350s by Nicolò da Bologna, now in the National Gallery, Washington, D.C. See G. Vikan (ed.), *Medieval and Renaissance Miniatures from the National Gallery of Art* (Washington, D.C.: National Gallery of Art, 1975), pp. 50–52, cat. no. 15.

[100] Marrow, *Passion Iconography*, p. 61.

perfect model of sacrificial love, which is acknowledged by the prayerful pose of the female figure watching at the left.[101]

That female figure, dressed as a pious matron, may have functioned as a model for the reader/viewer. Her pose echoes that of the slightly larger figure of St. John at the right edge of the miniature. John stands alone and slightly apart from the others, having turned as though following the progress of Christ—visible only to the mind's eye—as he reaches Calvary. The final sentence of the text immediately above the miniature tells the reader, "let us now see those things that are said of the pain of the cross and of [Christ's] death,"[102] and the vigilant St. John whose mantle flutters out in the wake of his turning figures the reader's anticipation. His sharply tilted head compels the reader/viewer to turn the corner of the page, an action that will reveal the climatic episode of the Nailing of Christ to the Cross, represented on the upper half of the verso of this folio. Such a clever fusion of the pictorial matter of the manuscript with the somatic and intellectual experience of reading a book belies the seeming simplicity of the Snite illustrations, but is consistent with Bolognese illuminators' delight in dynamic marginal figures who interact between text and miniature.[103] The turning figure of St. John, who prompts the reader/viewer to recognition and comprehension of the subsequent miniature that

---

[101] Cf., Ragusa and Green (trans.), *Meditations*, pp. 353–4, in the chapter on the meditation on Saturday before Easter Sunday where the author of the long version of the *MVC* quotes from Bernard ("The Bride is not ashamed of her blackness, which she knows the Bridegroom previously bore") to exhort the reader to appreciate and emulate the ignominy endured by Christ in the Passion.

[102] Snite MVC, fol. 80r: "Vediamo ora di quelle cose che sono da dire nella pena della croce en della morte."

[103] In the complex historiated initials with scenes from the life of Christ in the Kremsmünster Hours, Niccolò da Bologna exploited the conceit of the figure which, by means of its twisting pose or intense gaze, effectively links the successive narrative moments that are separated by the contours of the letter, albeit within the single page.

represents the consummate moment of sacrificial love in the life of Jesus, is analogous to the figure on the back of Duccio's *Maestà* of the newly-sighted man at the right edge of the panel of the *Healing of the Blind Man,* who turns to gaze at the transfigured Christ in the succeeding panel.[104]

The Nailing of Christ to the Cross (fol. 80v) and the ***Crucifixion*** (fol. 85r)

The rubric for the chapter that begins with the unusual and dramatic image of the Nailing of Christ to the Cross is anodyne: "The meditation on the Passion in the hour of mid-day."[105] The opening line of the Snite text, however, is inflammatory: "When they reached the mount of Calvary see those cursed Jews exerting themselves and addressing themselves and readying themselves to crucify him immediately."[106] The author continues with an exhortation to the reader "to be present with your whole mind to what was said and done against your Lord and also to those things that Christ said and did."[107] He proceeds to describe vividly the continuing physical abuse of Christ as the cross was being installed and the shock and grief of his mother and followers when they saw him stripped. The Virgin is described as tearing the veil from her head to cover his nakedness, unable to speak but doing all that she could, and her son being torn from her hands for crucifixion. After this impassioned opening, the author switches gears to describe two

---

[104] J. White, *Duccio: Tuscan Art and the Medieval Workshop* (New York: Thames and Hudson, 1979), p. 122.

[105] Snite *MVC*, fol. 80r: "La meditatione della passione in del ora del meço die." The rubric appears at the bottom of fol. 80r, with the instructions to the rubricator at the top of fol. 80r. The instructions to the illuminator for the Nailing of Christ to the Cross are at the top of fol. 80v and the illumination is in the upper half of fol. 80v.

[106] Snite *MVC*, fol. 80v: "Quando funno gunti al monte calvario vedi quili maledicti gudei esercitarse e rivolgerse e aparechiarse di crocifigerlo tostamente."

[107] Snite *MVC*, fol. 80v: "Fa che tu si presente con tuta la mente toa a quelle cose sono facte e dite contra el tuo signore e anco a quele cosse che Cristo dice e fa."

ways in which the reader can imagine the scene of Christ being affixed to the cross. Invoking regal language, he first describes Christ mounting a ladder without resistance, extending his arms, looking up to God and proclaiming his willingness to offer himself for the salvation of humankind. The text lingers on the stretching of Christ's limbs for attachment and the use of large nails.

The second mode that the author briefly describes is the one that the Snite illuminator illustrates: Christ being nailed to a cross lying upon the ground (Plate 29). Though the text does not elaborate on the attachment process at great length, it does describe how those "cursed ones" grab and throw Christ to the ground and how his body was so stretched that all his bones could be numbered, in accordance with Ps. 21:17. The lengthy instructions to the illuminator in the upper margin do not really jibe with the picture the artist produced. The first line has been trimmed so that the words are only partly visible: it mentions "how he was crucified and how John[?]. . .one hand. . . ." The second and third lines, though, are clear: "the hammer and the other nails his feet, the other on the *ladder* [italics mine]. Make it the most piteous/pious way you know according as God gives you the grace."[108] It appears, then, that the advisor had in mind the first mode with Christ nailed to an upright cross by a figure on a ladder, but left it up to the illuminator's discretion to employ the iconography that seemed most pathetic. McNamer notes that the nailing of Christ to the prone cross conveyed defeat and

[108] Snite *MVC*, fol. 80v: "como foe crucefisso e como giane[?]. . .una mano. . .lo martello e i altro li inchiodano li pei l altre in sula schala fac a l piue pietoxo modo che say e come dio tene datay la gratia." The latitude given to the artist to exercise his own judgment in representing the scene accords with the observation in Tóth and Falvay, "New Light on the Date and Authorship of the *Meditationes vitae Christi*," pp. 78–9, that the many variations among the *MVC* texts should be regarded as "free rewritings or adaptations of the source text to suit the expectations of various groups of readers."

submission, whereas his eager ascent of the ladder to the upright cross suggested his kingship.[109] She argues that the description only of the prone Crucifixion in the text of the Canonici *MVC* is evidence for its female religious authorship, unconcerned about the doctrinal need to preserve Christ's divinity—telegraphed by his willing ascent to the instrument of death—in concert with his humanity.[110]

Though the primary patron of the Snite manuscript must have been an elite layman, its illuminator also preferred the recumbent Crucifixion. He represents Christ stretched out upon a wide cross that lies at an angle against the rocky ground of Calvary, its lateral arm extending beyond the frame of the picture at the left into the reader's space. Christ's rib cage is distended so that his bones may be counted, his body is spattered with blood, and blood streams from the nail wounds. Two figures nail Christ's proper left hand and his feet, and a third grasps his head as if to hold it down. The bluish-gray cast of Christ's skin and his translucent loincloth contrasts with the hot red garment of the foremost executioner and the red hat of the one who grips Christ's head. Although the executioners are depicted simply in low-status short dress, to either side behind the curve of the hill of Calvary are represented several soldiers in blue helmets and bearing weapons, with two bearded Jewish figures prominently at the front; the Jewish figure on the right holds a long black nail. Though lacerated, stretched, and pinned, Christ continues to gaze steadily at the executioner who hammers the nail into his hand and beyond him toward the soldier and Jew directly behind. As in the preceding Passion

---

[109] McNamer, "The Origins of the *Meditationes vitae Christi*," pp. 938–45.

[110] Tóth and Falvay, "New Light on the Date and Authorship of the *Meditationes vitae Christi*," p. 78, assert that McNamer is mistaken in her claim that the prone Crucifixion was considered objectionable, and cite various texts that include it.

scenes, the illuminator takes care to present Christ as stoically submitting to his tormentors, suffering but not wretched.

The representation of the prone Crucifixion was uncommon. In the thirteenth-century, the subject of Christ's ascent of the upright cross emerged in Franciscan contexts because it suggested Christ's willing acceptance of his sacrifice and became the favored iconography—such a painted image may have informed the *MVC* text.[111] A panel of the second decade of the fourteenth-century attributed to the Master of Forlì, whose Flagellation panel seems to have influenced the Snite artist, shows Christ about to climb the ladder.[112] While the illuminated *MVC* manuscript in Oxford, CCC 410, includes a representation of Christ climbing the ladder to the cross (Plate 51), the Snite miniature instead employs the recumbent crucifixion that originated in Byzantine psalter illumination,[113] which may have been the source for its appropriation by Bolognese illuminators in the late thirteenth-century.[114] In the Toledo *Speculum Humanae*

---

[111] Derbes, *Picturing the Passion*, pp. 154–7.

[112] The current location of the panel is unknown. On the iconography of Christ's ascent to the cross and the nailing of Christ to the recumbent cross, see Boskovits, "Un dipinto poco noto e l'icongrafia della preparazione alla Crocefissione," in his *Immagini da meditare: Ricerche su dipinti di tema religioso nei secoli XII–XV* (Milan: Vita e Pensiero, 1994), pp. 189–231.

[113] E.g., the Barberini Psalter, BAV, Cod. Barberini gr. 372, fol. 33r to illustrate Ps. 21:17; repr. in Schiller, *Iconography of Christian Art*, II, ill. 299.

[114] A late-thirteenth-century psalter in Paris (BnF, ms. Smith-Lesouëf 21) that has been attributed to the Bolognese Master of the Bible Lat. 18, possibly Jacopino da Reggio, has a series of twelve prefatory miniatures of scenes from the life of Christ including one on fol. 20r of the raising of the cross. Though I have not yet seen it, it is probable that the cross is shown on the diagonal and Christ attached to it (there is a separate illumination on fol. 21v of the Crucifixion with the swooning Virgin Mary). The calendar in the Psalter indicates the patron was likely from the diocese of Tournai and the representation of a male figure in scholarly dress in prayer before Christ Enthroned on fol. 164v suggests that he might have been a layman. See Medica (ed.), *Duecento*, pp. 346–8, cat. no. 111, and K. G. Pfändtner, "Zwischen Frankreich und Byzanz: Zwei Bologneser Psalter des 13. Jahrhunderts und ihr Illustrationssystem (Bologna, Bibl. Univ. ms 346 und Paris, BNF, ms Smith- Lesouëf 21)," in *The Illuminated Psalter: Studies in the Content,*

Salvationis of the first quarter of the fourteenth-century, whose illuminator worked mostly for the Bolognese Dominicans, the Nailing of Christ to the Cross was depicted with the cross hovering at an oblique angle (Plate 213); two executioners nail Christ's hand and feet as two pull ropes to raise the cross. The Bodleian *Vita Mariae* (Canonici 476) has three historiated initials representing the Nailing of Christ to the Cross in which the cross also hovers at an oblique angle from a series of fourteen initials devoted to the whole process of the Crucifixion (Plate 214). These Bolognese examples strike one as transitional images between the type in Byzantine psalters and the prone Crucifixion in the Snite *MVC* where the cross no longer hovers in mid-air but rests—unconvincingly—on the ground at an oblique angle, in an attempt to eliminate the spatial ambiguities of the earlier examples.[115]

The miniature of the Crucifixion itself, which appears five folios after the Nailing, shifts to a lower key (Plate 30). The text in the second half of the chapter on the meditation at mid-day (Sext) describes the tumult of the Crucifixion, the anguish of the Virgin Mary and Christ's followers, the meaning of the words he spoke while dying on the cross, and concludes by summarizing the scene after Christ has breathed his last:

> Here the Lord hangs dead on the cross; the whole multitude gone; the most exalted mother remains with those four that are said to stay seated beside the cross. And the mother contemplates her son on the cross and awaits help from the Lord as to how she can take him down and bury him. But if you contemplate well your Lord you will consider and see that from the sole of his foot to the crown of

---

Purpose and Placement of its Images, ed. F. O. Büttner (Turnhout, Belgium: Brepols, 2004), pp. 190–91.

[115] The Snite illuminator may have known the iconography from a Northern source as it was represented, albeit infrequently, in early fourteenth-century manuscripts that could have been transported in the luggage of scholars travelling between Paris and Bologna. However, the examples adduced by Bolognese illuminators indicate a greater likelihood that the format was appropriated from Byzantine manuscripts.

> his head there is no health in any of his members; there is not one sense of his body that has not had infirmity or affliction or passion.[116]

The miniature is placed at the end of the chapter in the lower half of fol. 85r and just before the rubric for the following chapter at the top of fol. 85v that reads, "How Christ had the lance in his side."

While the scene depicted is not as stark as the description above, compared to most mid-fourteenth-century Bolognese representations of the Crucifixion, such as Vitale da Bologna's panel in the Thyssen-Bornemisza collection (Plate 212) or the full-page illumination in the Missal of Cardinal Bertrand de Deux attributed to the 1346 Master (Plate 215), the Snite miniature is very restrained. Christ hangs on a sturdy wooden cross in the center of the composition, his body and loincloth very similar to the Missal illumination. But, rather than representing Christ's mother and followers in active poses at the foot of the cross—e.g., the Virgin Mary collapsing, Mary Magdalen clutching the foot of the cross, St. John standing and gazing up at Christ—the Snite artist heeds the text above, showing them seated in two groups, one flanking either side of the cross but not touching it. Only Mary Magdalen at the far left gazes directly up at Christ, St. John glances sideways as though watching the centurion with the lance, and the other women in the foreground assist the Virgin Mary or display reverent apprehension. Though seated rather than standing, these nimbed followers of Christ do not crouch upon the ground in the sort of pose that was employed to connote humility. The Virgin Mary, wearing a wimple and veil, closes her eyes and leans against her female companion, in a more

---

[116] Snite *MVC*, fol. 85r: "Ecco che l signore pende morto in croxe partisse tuta la gente e rimaxe l altissima madre con quelle quatro persone che sono dette pongnassi allato alla croxe a sedere. E contempla la madre l suo filgluolo in sula croxe e aspecta aiuto da dio com ella possa riavere e setterare. Ma se tue contenpli bene l tuo signore potrai considerare e vedere che della pianta del piede in fine al capo non fue santa in nullo membro. Nullo seno [senso?] del suo corpo fue in lui lo quale no avesse infirmita affrictione e passione."

decorous version of her swooning pose seated at the foot of the cross in the Crucifixion panel attributed to the Pseudo-Jacopino in the Musée du Petit Palais in Avignon (Plate 216). The square rather than vertical format of the Snite picture may have prompted the decision to show Christ's faithful followers in this seated isocephalic arrangement, but their detachment from active involvement in the Crucifixion scene also casts them as models for the viewer/reader, who can witness Calvary from afar, only in her/his mind.

In the middle ground, two figures on horseback flank the cross and two witnesses stand behind them. None are clearly identifiable as Jews, although most Bolognese Trecento Crucifixion scenes included at least one Jewish high priest at the right (Christ's proper left). The centurion, Longinus, dressed as a Trecento knight on a white horse at Christ's proper right holds a lance, its tip touched with blood. Christ bleeds—noticeably but not copiously—from the side wound and from the wounds in his hands and feet. The text for the following chapter on the lance wound does not really correspond to the picture for it dwells at length on the Virgin Mary's distress, her soliloquy to her dead son about the continuing threat of harm from his tormentors, her pleas to the armed men that they not break his legs, and their proud and cruel demeanor, qualities that are not readily apparent in the male figures in late medieval dress in the middle ground of the Snite Crucifixion. Perhaps the male patron of the Snite manuscript instead appreciated the figure of Longinus as a pictorial model of conversion.

The Lamentation/Entombment of Christ (fol. 87r)

The Snite manuscript is missing the center bifolium of the twelfth gathering that would have borne the end of the chapter on "How Christ had the lance in his side." As a result, it lacks an illumination of the Deposition of Christ from the Cross, which is

unfortunate, as it is probable that Joseph of Arimathea and Nicodemus were depicted in it to appeal especially to the male patron. The *MVC* text portrays the two men as coming to the rescue of the Virgin Mary, who is beside herself in the face of the seemingly insurmountable challenge of removing Jesus from the cross and burying him. The text describes in detail how the two mature, competent men reverently perform this loving service—redolent with Eucharistic significance—to the body of Christ, much to the relief of his grateful mother.[117]

The beginning of the chapter on "The meditation on the Passion at Compline"[118] is illustrated with a miniature of the lamentation over the dead body of Christ just prior to his entombment (Plate 31). The text opens with Joseph of Arimathea pleading with the Virgin Mary to let them bury Jesus, describes Christ's wounds as fulfillment of Old Testament prophecies, and dwells on the Virgin Mary's and Mary Magdalen's sorrowful ministrations to his body. Following the burial, Joseph invites the Virgin and Christ's closest followers to come to his home, and Nicodemus does likewise, but John intervenes and insists that she accompany him to the house on Mount Sion where the Last Supper took place. The journey back is punctuated with her adoration of the cross at Calvary and a lengthy soliloquy by the Virgin once they arrive at their destination summarizing the depths of her loss and recapping the pain and death Christ endured.

---

[117] See Ragusa and Green (trans.), *Meditations*, pp. 340–342. As the text of Ms. ital. 115 stops just after the arrest of Christ in the Garden of Gethsemane, Ragusa and Green continued their translation using the *MVC* text in the nineteenth-century printed Latin edition of the works of Bonaventure; see Ragusa and Green, p. 401, n. 207.

[118] The rubric would have been placed at the bottom of the verso of the missing bifolium but can be determined by the 'table of contents' at the end of the Snite *MVC* text on fol. 119r, "La meditatione della passione i della compieta" is listed after "Como Cristo ebbe della lança nel fiancho" and before "Lo die del sabado."

For the depiction of the Lamentation, the Snite artist turned to the famous fresco by Giotto in the Arena Chapel in Padua (Plate 217), whose emotive power strikes one as a distillation of the intense grief described in the *MVC* text. But, consistent with Bolognese miniaturist practice, the Snite artist condensed Giotto's composition and simplified his figures in such a way that his Lamentation illumination is devoid of drama, Giotto's pathos replaced by reverence. The compositions of the Arena frescoes—including that of the Lamentation—had been adapted by Bolognese illuminators for historiated initials soon after their completion, and likely were known to the Snite artist in model books.[119] He inserted a square tomb reminiscent of the Nativity manger in the rocky hillside, added leaves to the barren tree on the hillside, and shifted the placement of the figures and modified their poses. In the Snite miniature, Christ's head rests in the Virgin Mary's lap as she joins her hands in reverent adoration, and his body is stiffly horizontal almost as having issued from her womb and formed an altar table. A figure in pale pink who must be Mary Magdalen kneels before Christ's body in the center foreground, assuming the place of Giotto's memorable figure seen from behind, her hands pressed together rather than caressing Christ's feet, and her hair completely covered by her mantle;[120] she models loving reverence more than anguish born from repentance. St. John no longer stands, flinging back his arms in despair as Giotto depicts

---

[119] The earliest known instance of appropriation of Giotto's Lamentation fresco is an historiated initial attributed to the Master of Gherarduccio in an antiphonary: Padua, Bibl. Cap., Antiphonary A. 15, fol. 159r; see Stolte "Der Maestro di Gherarduccio kopiert Giotto," pp. 7–11. The Esau Master (Lando di Antonio?) created an historiated initial borrowing from Giotto's composition even more closely in a choirbook from a series made for S. Maria dei Servi in Bologna in the late 1320s (Plate 218); see Conti, *La miniatura bolognese*, p. 78.

[120] The Snite illuminator is not rigorously consistent in the colors of the figures' dress. In the Crucifixion miniature, Mary Magdalen's hair streams down and she is dressed in red; in the Meal at the House of the Magdalen, her hair streams down but she is wears a pink mantle.

him, but kneels placidly behind Christ's body and next to the Virgin, like her joining his hands in prayer. The Snite tableau is static and decorous, suffused with an air more akin to liturgical ritual than passionate grief. The effect starkly contrasts with other mid-Trecento representations of the Lamentation that, while no less stylized, show the Virgin Mary swooning beneath Christ's corpse as though dying with him, e.g., the Lamentation panel (Plate 219) attributed to the Master of the Codex of St. George (New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, Cloisters Collection).

A striking feature of the Snite Lamentation is the translucent shroud wound around Christ's body and his head so that his face is visible only through the bands of cloth. The total veiling of his face in this way is unique, and may have been intended to function as an allusion to the way in which the faithful reader would encounter Christ "veiled" by the appearance of the consecrated Host. Trecento artists often took great care in representing the shroud, although it typically is shown simply as a long piece of fabric draping under the body or wrapping Christ's lower torso, as in the Cloisters *Lamentation.*[121] As noted earlier, the winding of the Snite shroud is related to the swaddling bands that enveloped Jesus's body in the Infancy miniatures. The artistic *tour de force* that such a representation of translucent fabric entailed was clearly appreciated, particularly as a way to draw attention to the body of Christ or Mary's role as his virginal bride: the transparent tunic of the Christ child and the translucent wimple of the Virgin in Vitale da Bologna's Madonna dei Denti panel of the 1340s are excellent examples (Plate 98). The mummy-like manner of wrapping the shroud may have been appropriated from

[121] The representation of the Entombment of Christ from the Hungarian Legendary (New York, Morgan Library, M. 360, fol. 10r) shows Christ's body wound in a translucent shroud very similar to the Snite Lamentation, except that his head is bare.

representations of the burial or translation of saints' bodies or the depiction of the death on Mount Nebo of Moses, a type for Christ, in Bolognese bible illumination.[122]

As in so many of the other Snite illuminations, two male figures in the Lamentation miniature are dressed in clothing typical of late medieval learned or elite urban men. They kneel in the position at Christ's feet that is typically reserved for Mary Magdalen; the text, in fact, describes at length how *she* prepared Christ's feet for burial.[123] One of the male figures wears a coif with upturned earflaps and a hooded cloak similar to that worn by academic figures in Bolognese legal illuminations (Plate 221) and the figure next to him wears the simple beret also characteristic of professional men. Two male figures in similar headgear are depicted at Christ's head and feet, holding either end of the shroud in Taddeo Gaddi's fresco ca. 1340 of the Entombment of Christ in Santa Croce, Florence (Plate 222). In the Snite illumination, the figure cradling Christ's feet is likely intended as Nicodemus,[124] the Pharisee and member of the Sanhedrin who is reported in the Gospel of John as visiting Jesus in the night to discuss his teaching (Jn 3:1–21); Jesus' instruction includes some of the most frequently quoted passages of the

---

[122] In an historiated initial of the Death of Moses in the late thirteenth-century Bassetti Bible (Trento, Biblioteca Comunale, ms. 2868, p. 207), the shroud wraps Moses' body and head in a similar way, although Moses' eyes are visible, possibly because the account of his death in Deuteronomy 34 emphasizes that he saw the Promised Land from the heights of Mount Nebo but did not reach it (Plate 220). The localization of the Bassetti Bible has been much debated; it is related to the Conradin Bible in the Walters Art Gallery that was probably produced in southern Italy but many scholars observe that the Bassetti Bible has elements typical of Bolognese bible illumination. See R.W. Corrie, "After the Hohenstaufen Fall: Painters of the Conradin Bible between Naples and Rome," *Rivista di storia della miniatura* 15 (2011): 75.

[123] Snite *MVC*, fols. 87v–88r. See Ragusa and Green (trans.), *Meditations*, p. 343.

[124] W. Stechow, "Joseph of Arimathea or Nicodemus?," in *Studien zur Toskanischen Kunst: Festschrift für Ludwig Heinrich Heydenreich*, ed. W. Lotz and L.L. Moller (Munich, 1963), pp. 289–302, considers the difficulty of distinguishing between the two older male figures in Deposition and Lamentation scenes—they are frequently interchangeable. Although the works that Stechow examines are from the fifteenth- and sixteenth-centuries, he does observe that Nicodemus typically wears a more elaborate headdress.

New Testament, e.g., Jn 3:16. According to John 19:39–42, Nicodemus helped Joseph of Arimathea, who is represented next to him in the Snite miniature, prepare Christ's body for burial. John 19:38 reports that Joseph of Arimathea was secretly a disciple of Jesus and petitioned Pilate that he be permitted to remove Jesus' body from the cross for burial. In the *Meditations*' text, when Joseph and Nicodemus arrive to help the Virgin and John with the Deposition, they genuflect and cry, saying "We grieve with our whole heart for all that was done against Him, for the impious prevailed against the Just. We would gladly have delivered Him from so much injustice had we been able to. At least we shall be responsible for this little service to our Lord and Master." [125]

Not surprisingly, as educated and socially prominent men who performed a consummate act of mercy for the body of Christ, the figures of Nicodemus and Joseph of Arimathea sometimes were depicted in the guise of late medieval elite men as models of faith and reverence that were especially meaningful to male patrons.[126] For the male reader of the Snite *MVC,* these figures would provide a mode of access to enter into this final scene of Christ's earthly life, tempering the highly emotional character of the text. Precisely because duty and deliberative action is their lot, the Joseph of Arimathea and Nicodemus of the *Meditations* could serve as exemplars for professional men to emulate as they appropriated the affective devotional practices that had been conceived for women religious.

---

[125] Ragusa and Green (trans.), *Meditations*, p. 341; this is from the portion of text that is missing from the Snite manuscript.

[126] The apocryphal Gospel of Nicodemus was another importance source well known in the late middle ages in which Nicodemus and Joseph play esteemed roles in the death and burial of Christ and testify to his resurrection. Jacobus de Voragine, *Golden Legend,* I, p. 205, cites it in his account of the Passion.

The illustrations for the Passion chapters in the Snite *MVC* provide important insight into how devotion to the suffering Christ was cultivated among laymen. The miniatures balance the portrayal of Jesus' humanity, manifested in the depiction of the pain and humiliation he experienced, with the preservation of his divinity, conveyed by his willing acceptance and dispassionate recognition of the injustice and abuse he suffered. In many of the illuminations, Christ is placed in the center foreground in poses that connote authority, paralleling the compositional formula for his depiction in several of the Infancy illuminations. Even when Christ is submitting to the abuse of his captors as in the Via crucis, his resolve is apparent. The text's characterization of his tormentors in emphatically anti-Jewish terms is somewhat mitigated in the Snite miniatures, where they mostly are depicted in late medieval elite or academic dress, visually similar to the figure types in Bolognese illuminated legal manuscripts. Given the peculiar nature of the Bolognese manuscript clientele—learned men who would wield authority in the ecclesiastical and secular worlds—it is possible that these figures in the Snite Passion miniatures had monitory significance, reminding the male reader/viewer of the sins attendant on education and power, a theme that recurs in the text but there intended as encouragement for the Poor Clare in her vocation to a life of poverty and humility.

If the Snite *MVC* patron was involved in juridical pursuits, the representation of Pilate in the dress of a doctor of civil law similar to that worn by judges in legal manuscript illuminations would have been a pointed reminder of the corruption to which the profession was susceptible and the dire eternal consequences of unjust judgment.[127]

---

[127] In his discussion of the pictorial narrative of Christ's trial in the panels on the back of Duccio's Maesta, J. Lubbock, *Storytelling in Christian Art from Giotto to Donatello* (New Haven and London: Yale Univ. Press, 2006), p. 20, observes that "The theme of the sequence [of trial scenes] is justice and it centers upon what a Christian in the fourteenth century would have

Conversely, the figures of Joseph of Arimathea and Nicodemus in the Snite Lamentation miniature and in the text provide male models of learning and rectitude, appalled by the miscarriage of justice but eager to serve the Virgin Mary and the body of Christ in materially supportive ways. Though the Snite Passion miniatures are particularly interesting for their clues to the concerns of the male *MVC* reader, the illustration of the Meal at the House of the Magdalen indicates the illuminator's care also to furnish a positive model for the married female reader in the active figure of St. Martha at the hearth. Similarly, the Virgin Mary is represented in the Passion miniatures as a woman of substance whose concern for her son overrides any feminine timidity. Although the Snite illustrations do not neglect affective appeals, they are tempered by equal attention to the provision of moral models for the active secular reader and the presentation of doctrinally appropriate imagery.

---

considered the true story of the Trial of Jesus, perhaps one of history's most momentous miscarriages of justice."

CHAPTER 5

ILLUMINATIONS FOR CHRIST'S POST-PASSION APPEARANCES

For the illustration of the chapters devoted to the events following Christ's burial, the Snite illuminator confronted the challenge that lay behind the attenuated pictorial tradition for scenes from Christ's resurrected life: the impossibility of depicting in a static image a resurrected body whose identity is alternately unrecognizable then immediately comprehended, that suddenly appears and disappears, that bears mortal wounds and yet walks, talks and eats like a living person. The fact that like most Bolognese illuminators, the Snite artist also practiced his craft in legal manuscripts whose illustration required a direct, succinct, almost reportorial approach, further diminished his aptitude for the subtle pictorial demands presented by Christ's post-Resurrection appearances. The figure of Christ in the Snite post-Passion miniatures is represented in the same straightforward way as in the illuminations for the preceding chapters, albeit that the wounds of the Crucifixion are visible on his body. The viewer would have to bring to the post-Passion pictures an awareness of the scriptural accounts of the episodes between the Crucifixion and Pentecost that, though terse, make clear the extraordinary nature of his resurrected body.

The text of the post-Passion chapters continues to combine didactic and affective impulses, embellishing the scriptural accounts and sometimes shifting the emphasis of the gospel texts to heighten the emotional impact or to draw out particular moralizing

meanings. The narrative of several of the *MVC* chapters follows a common trajectory, progressing from Christ's appearance, to the disciples' recognition of him, followed by their intense contrition that elicits his immediate and complete forgiveness, leading to reconciliation and communion among them all (sometimes during a meal), culminating with Christ's expression of love and encouragement. The narrative arc thus provides both emotional satisfaction and models the continual conversion and renewed commitment required of the Christian life, while gesturing toward the Eucharistic table as the site of unity.

Such theological nuances are, for the most part, beyond the scope of the illuminator. In the illustrations of the post-Passion chapters, his primary objective seems to be the representation of the reality of the Resurrection and its witness by the disciples. Somewhat surprisingly, the privileged role of the holy women as the first to encounter the resurrected Christ is fully acknowledged in the Snite illustrations, this despite the fact that women's testimony was accorded lesser weight in courts of law.[1] Throughout, the illuminator largely follows his inclination to adhere to traditional iconographic schemes in the illuminations for the post-Passion chapters. For those episodes without representational tradition, he employs pictorial devices such as frontality and symmetry to confer authority and veracity upon these images of the resurrected Christ that illustrate events either drawn from non-canonical sources or from fleeting scriptural references. As in the chapters devoted to Christ's Infancy and Passion, the Snite post-Passion illuminations provide a counterpoint to the text, making clear that its novelty is consistent with orthodox belief.

---

[1] M. C. Schaus (ed.), *Women and Gender in Medieval Europe: An Encyclopedia* (New York and London: Routledge, 2006), sv. "Law," p. 452 (entry by Thomas Izbicki).

The Virgin, Holy Women, and St. John lamenting as St. Peter returns (fol. 91v), *the* ***Descent into Limbo*** (fol. 93r), *and the* ***Apparition of Christ to the Virgin Mary*** (fol. 94r)

For the chapter following the meditation on the Passion at Compline, which was illustrated by the Lamentation miniature, the rubric is simple, and appears to have been inserted as an afterthought: "Lo die del sabato" wraps around the upper right corner of the illustration of the Virgin Mary and her female companions seated in an interior as John goes to answer Peter's knock at the door (Plate 32). The illumination is placed immediately following the closing lines of the preceding chapter that related the Virgin's soliloquy about the pain and sorrow that Christ and his faithful sustained in the Crucifixion, and directly above the opening lines of this chapter that describe the Virgin Mary and her companions quietly grieving on Saturday morning in John's house while he stands guard at the door. A portion of the instructions for the illuminator in the lower margin—part of which have been trimmed—indicates to "show how Madonna Saint Mary and the Maries and Saint John weep and Saint Peter. . . ."[2] The text for the chapter tells of Peter, deeply ashamed and grief-stricken over his betrayal and abandonment of Christ, coming to the house and soon followed by other contrite disciples. Their shameful conduct is implicitly contrasted to that of the holy women and St. John, and especially of the Virgin Mary. In response to the male disciples' dissolution into tearful contrition, the Virgin Mary calmly expresses her hope in the return of her son, reminds them of his infinite mercy, and reassures them that the Passion was in accord with God's will.[3] The

---

[2] Snite *MVC* f. 91v: "Fac como madona santa Maria e le marie a san Goane piangeano e sam Piedro. . ." The second line is trimmed so that only the ascenders are partly visible.

[3] Cf. the account of the Resurrection in the *Golden Legend,* I, p. 219, where Jacobus de Voragine explains why Christ did not wait to rise with the general resurrection, asserting that "all except

chapter ends with the holy women going out once evening comes to buy spices to take to the tomb.

Lacking a pictorial tradition to draw upon for this extra-scriptural episode, the Snite illuminator likely turned to a model from the legend of St. Nicholas. The story of St. Nicholas tossing a bag of coins into the house of an impoverished father to spare the prostitution of his three daughters was typically represented in the Trecento by an image of the three girls and their father in an enclosed interior as St. Nicholas, standing in profile next to the exterior wall, reaches up to drop his purse through the window. The *MVC* text describing the Virgin and holy women in the house with St. John as St. Peter knocks at the door must have prompted the illuminator to adapt the representation of the Nicholas legend. A mid-fourteenth-century fresco in San Zeno in Verona attributed to the Master of Santa Felicità of St. Nicholas's donation to the poor father and his three daughters closely resembles the Snite composition (Plate 223). The figure of St. Peter at the door in the Snite miniature in place of St. Nicholas in the fresco underscores the text's description of the fear that gripped the faithful women at the sound of his knocking. As the Snite artist seems to have borrowed from an illumination of St. Nicholas's infancy in a cutting from the Hungarian *Legendary* for Christ's First Bath, it is probable that the repertoire of images for the picture book edition of the *Golden Legend* made for the Hungarian royal patrons was recorded in a model book accessible to Bolognese illuminators, and it may well have included a scene similar to the San Zeno fresco.

From the consideration of the theme of Christian contrition and divine mercy that underlies the vigil of the Virgin Mary and her companions in the chapter on Holy

---

the Blessed Virgin lost their faith at the crucifixion but recovered it once the resurrection was known."

Saturday, the next chapter turns to a meditation on Christ's descent into hell before his resurrection. Unlike the chapter on the descent into hell in the ca. 100-chapter text of the *MVC,* which includes a lengthy excerpt from Bernard of Clairvaux, the chapter in the Snite manuscript is brief. The author casts the event as manifesting Christ's humility and charity, observing that rather than sending an angel to free the "holy fathers" in Limbo, Christ himself went to visit as though they were his friends not servants[4] and describes the rejoicing that follows Christ's arrival.

The rubric for the chapter, "La meditatione del die del sabado," appears directly above the illumination that precedes the text. The miniature conforms to the traditional iconography for the Descent into Limbo (Plate 33): dressed in the same garments he was last seen wearing in the Agony in the Garden—a white tunic with scattered blue motif and fluttering red mantle lined in green—Christ strides purposefully from the left toward a rocky cave at whose mouth is a crowd of patriarchs kneeling on the collapsed doors. The instructions to the illuminator in the lower margin of the folio state, "Show how Christ went to Limbo and opened[?] the doors and paint[took?] Adam and the other holy fathers."[5] The figures in the cave are all depicted with receding hairlines and beards, except for a single young male figure at the far right, who may be intended as Abel.[6]

---

[4] This echoes John 15:15 when, during the Last Supper discourse, Christ tells his disciples, "I will not now call you servants: for the servant knoweth not what his lord doth. But I have called you friends: because all things whatsoever I have heard of my Father, I have made known to you." The *MVC* author must also have been aware of Old Testament references to Moses (Deut. 34:5), Joshua (Joshua 24:29), and David (Ps. 89:21) as servants of God, while Isaiah 41:8 refers to Abraham as a friend of God.

[5]Snite *MVC*, fol. 93r: "Fac como Cristo andoe a limbo e aspcato le porti e pngia adam ei altri sancti padri"

[6] In Dante's *Commedia*, Inferno, Canto IV, Abel is mentioned immediately after Adam as among those freed from Limbo. G. A. Anderson, *The Genesis of Perfection: Adam and Eve in Jewish and Christian Imagination* (Louisville and London: Westminster John Knox, 2001), p. 174,

Wielding a white banner emblazoned with a red cross—a contrast to the red banner with black scorpion borne by a soldier in the Via Crucis—Christ tramples over a black devil, who has been defaced by the scraping of his pigment, in order to grasp the foremost patriarch—likely Adam—by the wrist; the wound on the back of Christ's right hand is clearly visible. The composition resembles that of early and mid-fourteenth-century representations of the Descent into Limbo produced by Emilian artists, such as the detached fresco fragment from the Eremitani now in the Museo Civico in Padua that is attributed to Pietro and Giuliano da Rimini and the scene in the diptych panel attributed to Giovanni da Rimini in the Galleria Nazionale, Rome.

As Jacobus de Voragine acknowledges in the *Legenda aurea*, the scriptural evidence for Christ's descent into limbo is only indirect, and there is none at all for his appearance first to his mother following the resurrection (Plate 34). However, while making clear that none of the gospels mentions that the resurrected Christ first appeared to his mother, at the same time Jacobus takes care to justify its acceptance for two reasons: first, on the grounds of tradition evident in the fact that the church at Rome celebrates a station at S. Maria Maggiore on Easter Sunday; and, second, because it is inconceivable that a son like Jesus would have not honored his mother by visiting first with her. Jacobus further explains the evangelists' silence about the Virgin Mary as the first witness to the resurrected Christ as due to their awareness that a mother's testimony about her beloved son would have been regarded as even less credible than that of the

---

discusses the implications of Abel as the first man to die and the significance of his unjust death as a type for Christ. Further, the eucharistic prayer in the Canon of the Mass invokes the sacrificial offering of "Abel the just."

holy women.[7] In contrast to Jacobus's rationalizations, the author of the *MVC* text for the chapter on the apparition of Christ to his mother does not trouble to justify the inclusion of this non-canonical episode. However, he twice later acknowledges that, although not mentioned in the gospels, it is held by the Church.[8]

While the development of the narrative describing the resurrected Christ's first meeting with his mother has been attributed to the *MVC* author,[9] and the iconography of the subject was still nascent in the mid-fourteenth century, neither the rubric for the Snite *MVC* chapter nor the instruction to the illuminator provides helpful clues for designing a picture. The rubric, "dela resurectione del nostro signore Jesu Cristo como aparue alla madre in prima," which appears at the top of folio 94v is also specified in a cursive hand in the upper margin of 94v. The miniature of Christ appearing to his mother is placed in the lower half of folio 94r, preceding the chapter text, and only one line remains of the instructions to the illuminator that are visible in the margin below: "fac como Cristo aparue a la madre in prima." The chapter first dwells on the Virgin Mary's ardent prayers to the Father that the promise of the Resurrection on the third day be fulfilled and to her Son that he return. Similar to the scriptural accounts of some of the post-Passion apparitions, Christ appears "subitamente" in radiant white garments, causing the Virgin to ask, "are you my son, Jesus?" She then adores him, they visit, and finally the Virgin asks if his wounds still hurt, to which he assures her that he has vanquished pain and

---

[7] Jacobus de Voragine, *Golden Legend*, I, p. 221.

[8] Snite *MVC*, fols. 101v and 109r.

[9] J. D. Breckenridge, "'Et prima vidit': The Iconography of the Appearance of Christ to his Mother," *Art Bulletin* 39 (1957): 16–21.

death, and she thanks God the Father. The chapter thus couches a summary catechesis of the Resurrection within emotionally accessible dialogue.

As noted in chapter two above, the Snite artist modeled his composition for the illustration of this chapter on the Annunciation miniature earlier in the manuscript (Plate 4).[10] In place of the angel Gabriel, he represents the adult Christ entering from the left and the Virgin Mary genuflecting in prayer[11] before an open book at a prie-dieu within a cell-like interior on the right. Christ's pose and garments are similar to his appearance in the miniature of the Temptation (Plate 16), but now he holds the banner of the resurrection in his left hand and raises his right hand—its wound clearly visible—to bless his mother. His mantle billows out behind him, indicating his instantaneous arrival. The text alludes to the Annunciation in Christ's words of salutation, "Dio ti salvi madre."[12] The adaptation of Annunciation imagery in both text and miniature for this first appearance of Christ to his mother following his resurrection serves a theological purpose. It links the fulfillment of the Virgin's unwavering trust in divine providence even through the events of the Passion back to her initial act of faith in submitting to God's will that she bear his son: she is the first of Christ's disciples to be given proof of the Resurrection.[13]

---

[10] In the miniature of Christ's first appearance to his mother after the resurrection in CCC 410, fol. 154v, Christ is shown genuflecting before his kneeling mother in a manner akin to Gabriel and the Virgin in the earlier Annunciation miniature on fol. 8v, but there is no resemblance between the architectural settings of the two scenes.

[11] The Virgin's pose is similar to Adam's in the *Descent into Limbo*, perhaps intending to designate her as the new Eve.

[12] Snite *MVC*, fol. 95r.

[13] Breckenridge, "'Et prima vidit'," pp. 26–8, discusses the appropriation of Annunciation compositional schemes for the episode of Christ's appearance to the Virgin but traces it to fifteenth-century developments in Marian devotion.

The Maries at the Tomb (fol. 95v), *Noli me tangere* (fol. 97v), and the *Apparition of Christ to the three Maries* (fol. 99v)

The focus on women as the first witnesses to the Resurrection continues in the next three chapters that synthesize the gospel accounts of the discovery of the empty tomb and supplements them with devotional prompts and explanations of the women's emotional states and motivations. While the gospels vary on many details in their accounts of the women's experiences at the tomb—the time of day, the number of women, the identities of the women, and what exactly transpires at the tomb—the *MVC* text identifies the three as Mary Magdalen and the two other Maries and imposes a narrative chronology that accommodates the variations in the scriptural accounts. Each chapter in the Snite manuscript is preceded by an illumination that largely conforms to conventional iconography, thus anchoring the innovative textual material in authoritative tradition.

The text of the chapter that is illustrated by the miniature of the three women at the tomb begins with a description of the three Maries performing a brief memorial pilgrimage along the Via Crucis as they walk from the city gates to the tomb. When they come to the cross, they fall prostrate and adore it. Upon arriving at the tomb and finding the stone at its entrance rolled away, they encounter an angel seated on the tomb. His address to them is largely drawn from Matthew 28:5, with some embellishment:

> "Do not be afraid. I know that you come seeking Jesus who was crucified and I tell you that he is not here because he has been resurrected as he told you. And if you do not believe me, look here inside the sepulcher and see that he is not here," and they looked in the tomb and did not see him. Then the angel said, "Go immediately to his disciples and tell them how Christ is resurrected and that he goes ahead to Galilee and there you will see and find him as I have told you."[14]

[14] Snite *MVC*, fol. 96r–96v: "no abiati paura io soe che voi andiate chiendo iesu lo quale foe crucifisso ed io vo dito che lli non ce inpercio che lli e rususscitato secondo ke lli ve disse e se voi non mi credite guardate qui dentro nel sepolcro e vedite che lo non ci e e guardoro in dell avallo e

In this passage, the role of the women as witnesses to the empty tomb is emphasized by the angel's insistence that they look inside to confirm that the Jesus who was crucified has risen as promised; in addition, the angel makes clear their mission to announce this news to the disciples.[15] The chapter continues by narrating that the women went to the disciples to report this news, prompting Peter and John to hurry to the tomb and confirm Christ's disappearance. The two men leave the gravesite in sorrow, but the Maries stay and see two angels who, paraphrasing Luke 24:5, ask them, "Whom do you seek? Do you think you will find the one who lives with those who are dead?"[16] The women do not comprehend and withdraw from the tomb while Mary Magdalen stays, weeping in desolation. The author then draws on John 20:11–13 to relate her encounter with the angels at the tomb, when she states that "they have taken my Lord away and I don't know where they laid him."[17] Aware that this contradicts the earlier passage in the chapter in which the angels had said that Jesus had risen and was alive, the author explains that Mary Magdalen had forgotten this information since she was so distraught because of her all-consuming love for Christ. Still with his mother, Christ sees the Magdalen's distress and decides to go and console her.

---

no l videro alora disse l angelo andate incontinenti ali dissipoli suoi e dicete loro come cristo e risuscitato e chi li vadano innaçi in galilea e quine l vedrete e trovarete secondo ch io vo anuntiato."

[15]This emphasis on the women's roles in witnessing to and announcing the Resurrection is not as pronounced in CCC 410, nor in the Canonici *MVC*.

[16] Snite *MVC*, fol. 96v: "'che cercate voi? credete voi trovare colui che vivo con coloro ke sono morti?'"

[17] Snite *MVC*, fol. 97r: "anno tolto l mio signore e non soe duve l anno posto"

The rubric for the chapter states, "How the angel appeared to the other Maries when they went to the tomb with ointments."[18] The miniature (Plate 35) represents the three women at the left, each holding a pyx-like container, kneeling before the angel seated upon the tomb in a niche within the rocky hillside at the right; the landscape setting is similar to that in the earlier Entombment illumination. The angel's face is not red as is sometimes the case,[19] but he wears a vivid red garment, not white as described in the gospels of Matthew and John. The unusual depiction of the women in kneeling poses and the vivid red garment of the angel suggest that the illuminator or his advisor may have taken his cue from Luke 24:4–5: it describes two men in dazzling garments at the tomb before whom the women fall prostrate. That pose is also the one accorded to the women in the *MVC* text's description of their adoration of the cross immediately prior to their arrival at the tomb. Apart from the kneeling pose of the women, the Snite miniature closely resembles earlier representations of this subject by Bolognese and Riminese artists. For example, in the upper portion of an historiated initial "A" in a cutting ca. 1320 now in the Metropolitan Museum (Plate 224), the Bolognese miniaturist Nerio employed a very similar composition, although the group of women approaching the angel on the tomb from the left are depicted in upright poses that convey both urgency and

---

[18] Snite *MVC,* fol. 95v: "como aparue l ançelo ali altre marie quando andorno al monimento colli ungenti"

[19] A. Petzold, "'His face like lightning': Colour as Signifier in Representations of the Holy Women at the Tomb," *Arte medievale* II ser.; 6:2 (1992): 149–55. Ca. 1365, Nicolò da Bologna represented the angel seated on the tomb with a red face in an historiated initial 'A' on a leaf from an antiphonary now in the Breslauer Collection; see, W. M. Voelkle and R. S. Wieck, *The Bernard H. Breslauer Collection of Manuscript Illuminations* (New York: Pierpont Morgan Library, 1992), cat. no. 70; color repr., p. 46.

apprehension.[20] Directly below they are shown prostrate before the standing figure of the resurrected Christ, the incident that Matthew 28:9 recounts as occurring on their way back to the disciples following their encounter with the angel at the tomb. Thus it is not difficult to imagine that the use of the kneeling pose in the Snite miniature of the Maries at the tomb was prompted not only by the *MVC* text and the gospel of Luke but also by the availability of a model of a closely related subject. The resulting image is one that suits the preference for reverence rather than drama that the Snite illuminator consistently demonstrates.

Though the illustration for the chapter on Mary Magdalen's encounter with the resurrected Christ strikes one as similarly restrained, the illuminator does hint at the drama of the "Noli me tangere" by placing the figure of the Magdalen closer to Christ and reaching out to him as he arcs his body to elude her touch (Plate 36). The specificity of the rubric for the chapter, "How [he] appeared to the Magdalen according to what is contained in the gospel of Saint Matthew and Saint John,"[21] is characteristic of other post-Passion chapters whose rubrics often include reference to their scriptural and non-scriptural sources. The text of the Noli me tangere chapter vacillates between the affective and didactic. It provides a moving narrative of this episode and the powerful emotions of its protagonists and at the same time imagines conversation between them that is clearly meant to illuminate the challenge of faith for the medieval Christian who is

---

[20] Other Trecento examples of the Holy Women at the Tomb whose composition resembles that of the Snite miniature—except that the women stand rather than kneel—include an historiated initial 'A' attributed to the 1328 Master in one of the series of choirbooks made ca. 1325–33 for the Servites at Ssa. Annunziata in Florence, and a panel attributed to Giovanni da Rimini in Palazzo Venezia, Rome.

[21] Snite MVC, fol. 97v: "como aparue alla madalena segondo che se contene nel vagelio de sam mathio e dela san giovani"

deprived of the presence of Jesus' physical body. 'Drunk' with grief, the Magdalen at first fails to recognize Christ, but once he speaks her name she comes to joyful life and then remonstrates him for hiding from her. She runs to kiss his feet but Christ admonishes her not to touch him. The *MVC* author lingers on the possible reason for this and even conjectures that it is hard to believe that she did not kiss his feet and hands before their meeting was over, while at the same time repeating that Christ withdrew from her touch because he wanted to elevate her soul to the things of heaven.[22] The text describes their conversation as like that of lovers filled with delight and happiness[23] and avers that Christ's admonition was not harsh or cruel but that he wanted to comfort and teach her.

The Snite illuminator translates the textual emphasis on Christ's desire to elevate Mary Magdalen's soul to heavenly things by representing the two figures in a rocky landscape composed of two hills that descend toward the center where Mary Magdalen kneels on one knee before Christ and reaches out her hands toward him. A tree immediately behind her curves toward Christ to underscore her yearning. He is shown clearly ascending the hillside at the right, perhaps inspired by the repetition of "ascent" in Christ's reproach to the Magdalen in the gospel of John.[24] Christ holds the banner of the Resurrection in his left hand and turns his body back and reaches out with his right hand, fingers pointing downward and palm facing outwards as though to display his wounds rather than to remonstrate. The frontality of Christ's torso permits a clear view of his side

---

[22] The contrast in John 20 between Christ's responses to Mary Magdalen and to the doubting Thomas was something that medieval exegetes labored to explain.

[23] Snite *MVC*, fol. 98v.

[24] In John 20:17, Christ explains to the Magdalen that she cannot touch him because "I am not yet ascended to my Father. But go to my brethren, and say to them: I ascend to my Father and to your Father, to my God and your God."

wound, a daub of red paint against his white and blue garment. Christ's pose and position upon a rocky incline strongly resemble an historiated initial in one of the choirbooks made for San Domenico in Bologna during the 1320s (Plate 225).

Although the Snite composition is very similar to that in a panel (ca. 1340–60) attributed to Vitale da Bologna now at the Courtauld Institute (Plate 226), Vitale's Mary Magdalen is far more dramatic as she lunges toward Christ, who in turn draws his hand back toward his body in a gesture of self-protection. Vitale shows the encounter taking place in a "valley," but the rising ground line to the right of Christ in the panel is minimal and he is not ascending as he is in the Snite miniature. Giotto's Noli me tangere fresco in the Arena Chapel was the progenitor of this composition, in which the hillside descends to serve as a backdrop to Christ's outstretched hand (Plate 227). Giotto's composition was adapted soon after its execution for an historiated initial of the Noli me tangere for one of the choirbooks illuminated by the Master of Gherarduccio for the cathedral in Padua (Plate 228). In the two latter examples, Christ reaches out toward the Magdalen, but he holds his right hand so that its palm is displayed in a manner that conveys his resistance to her touch.[25] In contrast, the Snite Noli me tangere attends to the *MVC* author's interpretation of the theological meaning of Christ's words but mitigates the asperity that was imputed to his rebuke.

[25] Padua, Biblioteca Capitolare, A. 16, fol. 232. The Master of Gherarduccio reused Giotto's composition again in a Noli me tangere illumination for the gospel of Matthew that is in a manuscript miscellany of vernacular texts in Florence, Biblioteca Riccardiana, ms. 1538, fol. 134v (repr. in Stolte, "Maestro di Gherarduccio kopiert Giotto," fig. 10). There the hillside does ascend from behind Mary Magdalen upwards behind Christ, but he appears to walk on level ground.

The importance of women as the earliest witnesses to the Resurrection is clear in the next Snite miniature that represents "How [Christ] appeared to the three Maries."[26] (Plate 37) The chapter it introduces is brief. Mary Magdalen rejoins the two other Maries who had retreated from the tomb; they are saddened to learn that they missed Christ's appearance and the trio leaves to return to Jerusalem. On their way back, Jesus appears to them, they are overjoyed, and they fall to their knees and embrace his feet. Christ instructs them to tell the disciples to go to Galilee where they will see him.[27] Christ's reaffirmation of the women's role as witnesses and announcers of his resurrection likely motivated the inclusion of this subject in a roundel in the lower border of a choirbook folio whose illumination commemorates the feast of St. Thomas Aquinas.[28] (Plate 229) Attributed to the Second Master of San Domenico (also known as the Master of B 18) and probably made for the Dominican women at S. Maria Maddelena in Valdipietra, the leaf likely was added to the antiphonary shortly after the canonization of Thomas Aquinas in 1323: the large historiated initial represents Thomas teaching both Dominican friars and nuns.[29] Of similar date, the Easter historiated initial "A" in the cutting attributed to Nerio in the Metropolitan Museum employs the same composition as in the roundel for the lower scene of Christ appearing to the three holy women (Plate 224). Like these two earlier examples, the Snite miniature shows Christ standing and approaching

---

[26] Snite *MVC*, fol. 99v: "como aparue alle tre marie"

[27] The *MVC* author in effect appends the account in Matthew 28:9–10, where Christ appears to the holy women on their way back to Jerusalem after they had been told by the angel at the tomb that He had been raised, onto John 20:11–17, which relates the Noli me tangere.

[28] Bologna, Museo Civico, Corale 545, fol. 75r.

[29] The three roundels in the lower border depict Christ appearing to the prostrate figures of Mary Magdalen and a holy woman; Dominican friars and nuns in the classroom; and lay and religious students at a desk. See Medica (ed.), *Giotto e le arti a Bologna*, cat. no. 10, pp. 132–5.

from the left, with the Resurrection banner in his left hand and his right hand raised in address—wounds clearly visible—while the three women kneel at the right. However, the Snite illuminator tempers the urgency and humility of the prostrate poses given to the holy women in the earlier examples. Perhaps mindful of the decorum expected of the prosperous lay female readers of this manuscript, he instead represents the three Maries extending their hands with open palms in prayerful adoration rather than bowing to kiss Christ's feet.[30]

The Apparition of Christ to Joseph of Arimathea (fol. 100r), *the Apparition of Christ to James Minor* (fol. 100v), *the Apparition of Christ to Peter* (fol. 101r), *and the Road to Emmaus* (fol. 102v)

The three *MVC* chapters following Christ's appearances to his female disciples are brief, consistent with the spareness of the textual sources upon which the *Meditations* author drew. The rubric for the apparition to Joseph of Arimathea acknowledges that it comes from the gospel of Nicodemus: "como aparue la quarta volta a gioseph segondo che se contene in del vangellio de nicodemo."[31] The chapter itself consists of just nine lines of text that tell how Christ appeared to Joseph of Arimathea, who had been imprisoned by the Jews with the intention of killing him after the sabbath. Though the prison was secure, Christ freed Joseph without opening or breaking the lock, and took him home, safe and sound.[32] The Snite miniature represents Christ at the left, taking Joseph of Arimathea by the wrist, and walking away from the prison at the right, its large

---

[30] Cf. the account of the Resurrection in the *Golden Legend*, I, p. 220, in which Jacobus de Voragine relates the holy women's embrace of Christ's feet to their humility: "The women here stand for the humble, to whom the Lord shows himself because of their sex and because of their affection, for they held his feet."

[31] Snite *MVC*, fol. 100v. The gospel of Nicodemus was an early Christian apocryphal text.

[32] Jacobus de Voragine provides a very similar account in the *Golden Legend,* I, p. 221.

wooden door locked and barred window intact (Plate 38). The figure of Joseph of Arimathea bears no resemblance to either of the two male figures at Christ's feet in the earlier Lamentation illumination but rather is similar in physical and facial type to Christ.[33] Though the illuminator took care to employ a consistent type for Peter and John, for the other disciples he often defaulted to a male figure with dark hair and beard.

As the scene of Christ's appearance to Joseph of Arimathea was uncommon, the Snite artist likely turned to the representation of the subject of the Liberation of St. Peter for a pictorial model. It typically included the figure of the angel grasping Peter by the wrist and leading him out of an open prison door, as is shown in an historiated initial from one of the choirbooks made for San Pietro in Bologna ca. 1325–30.[34] That compositional format was employed in the following decade for the representation of St. Francis freeing a debtor from prison in a leaf from the Hungarian Legendary now at the Metropolitan Museum (Plate 230), and was elaborated in the late 1340s for an historiated initial of the Liberation of St. Peter in the Missal of Cardinal Bertrand de Deux (Plate 231), and for an historiated initial attributed to Nicolò da Bologna in a choirbook made for San Giacomo Maggiore in the late 1360s (Plate 232). In comparison to the latter two examples, the Snite miniature is prosaic, its illuminator primarily intent on representing

---

[33] The illuminator may have been confused by the fact that the subsequent illumination on folio 100v was to illustrate the apparition of Christ to James Minor, of whom Jacobus de Voragine, *Golden Legend*, I, p. 270, states, "He is called the brother of the Lord because he is said to have borne a very strong resemblance to Jesus, so that very often they were mistaken for one another." In fact, in the Snite miniature of the Agony in the Garden (fol. 67v), the apostle at the far left in the foreground row whose face resembles Christ must be intended as James Minor. For the medievals, positing a strong resemblance between him and Christ provided an explanation of the scriptural reference to James as Jesus's brother, and also furnished a reason for Judas's kiss of betrayal to designate Jesus to the soldiers, which, as Jacobus de Voragine explains, was necessary because of the physical similarity between Jesus and James Minor.

[34] Corale B, fol. 63r, Bologna, Archivio Arcivescovile. See L. Gerli, "Aspetti della miniatura bolognese del Trecento: il maestro dei corali di S. Pietro," *Il Carrobbio* 5 (1979): 190–98; repr. on p. 193.

the "facts" of Joseph's liberation by Christ. Consequently, the locked prison with its closed door occupies almost half of the picture field, a requirement imposed by the story that lacks the drama of the miraculous opening of the prison gate for St. Peter's exit as recounted in Acts 12:6–10.

The miniature of the Apparition of Christ to James Minor (Plate 39) introduces a chapter of just ten lines of text.[35] It states that Christ appeared to James Minor who had sworn not to eat until Jesus came to him and his companions.[36] Christ directed that the table be prepared, took bread and blessed it, and told James to eat. The Snite text reports that James then took the bread and instructed his brother to eat of it because the son of the Virgin had risen from the dead. The final sentence cites St. Jerome as the source of the story.[37] The Snite *MVC* version of this episode appears to conflate two elements in Jacobus de Voragine's account of James Minor, which includes both the claim that James was the first apostle to celebrate the mass after the Ascension and the story that James Minor vowed not to eat until he saw the resurrected Christ.[38] Where the *Legenda Aurea* version of the appearance of Christ to James Minor, like other *MVC* texts, attributes to

---

[35] The layout of rubric, miniature and text on folio 100r, 100v and 101r is slightly confused: the miniature of the Apparition of Christ to Joseph of Arimathea appears in the lower half of folio 100r, though the rubric and text of that chapter appear on the upper half of folio 100v. The miniature of the Apparition of Christ to James Minor appears on the lower half of folio 100v and the text for the chapter appears on the upper half of folio 101r, but no rubric was inserted. However, in the list of chapters at the end of the *MVC* text on folio 199v, there is an entry titled, "La quinta aparatione ke fece a san iacopo minore."

[36] The Snite text on fol. 101r is slightly different from the text in Sarri (ed.), "*Meditazioni,*" in Ragusa and Green (trans.), *Meditations*, and in John of Caulibus, *Meditations* (trans. Taney et al.).

[37] On folio 109r, the Snite *MVC* author notes that the appearance to James is mentioned in Corinthians (1 Cor. 15:7) and that it was referred to by Jerome.

[38] Jacobus de Voragine, *Golden Legend*, I, p. 271.

Christ the words of benediction over the bread that refer to the Resurrection, the Snite text attributes them to James Minor, who then offers the bread to his "beloved brother."[39]

The instructions to the illuminator in the upper margin of folio 100v specify Christ at the table with Saint James Minor and with a companion.[40] The model that the Snite illuminator adapted for this uncommon subject is obvious: the panel ca. 1325–30 of the Anointing at Bethany attributed to the Pseudo-Jacopino di Francesco that is now in Raleigh, North Carolina Museum of Art.[41] (Plate 191) As discussed in the previous chapter, the influence of the Raleigh *Anointing* is apparent earlier in the Snite manuscript in the illumination of Meal at the House of the Magdalen. For the Apparition of Christ to James Minor, the Snite illuminator made some minor modifications to the Pseudo-Jacopino panel, omitting the prostrate figure of the Magdalen at the lower left foreground, changing the identities of the two male figures on the far side of the table, dressing the servant at the right edge of the table in a solid green garment rather than the fanciful bi-colored garment of the servant in the Anointing, and rendering the head-height backdrop "screen" as a wood-paneled L-shaped enclosure.

In the Snite illumination Christ, not James Minor, is represented blessing the meal. The gray-haired and -bearded figure of the Pharisee seated next to Christ in the

---

[39] One wonders if the scribe corrupted an exemplar that had Christ offering the bread to James, his "beloved brother;" cf. Jacobus de Voragine's observation, *Golden Legend*, I, p. 270, that James's physical resemblance to Christ was the reason that he was called the brother of the Lord.

[40] Snite *MVC*, fol. 100v: "fac como Cristo e la me[n]sa cum sam jachomo menore e cum lo compagno"

[41] If the Bargello frescoes that include scenes from the life of the Magdalen date to ca. 1322 rather than the late 1330s as J. Elliott, " The Judgment of the Commune: The Frescoes of the Magdalen Chapel in Florence," *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte* 61:4 (1998): 509–519, has argued, it is possible that the Pseudo-Jacopino was familiar with the Giottesque composition of the Bargello *Anointing at Bethany* (Plate 233).

panel painting is given a halo in the Snite miniature: he must be intended as James Minor, even though the younger James was typically represented as more youthful. This older, nimbed gray-haired figure conforms better to the traditional figure type for James Major[42] or Joseph of Arimathea: the illuminator may have been confused by the rubric at the top of the folio that introduces the chapter on the Apparition to Joseph of Arimathea, whose text appears in the upper half of folio 100v, just above the miniature of the Apparition to James Minor. The Snite James Minor joins his hands together in reverence but turns away from Christ to look at the bearded but nimb-less figure seated to his proper left. That figure, unlike the nimbed figure of St. John who occupies the same position in the Anointing panel, rests his hands on the table as though simply observing. Such inattention to the appropriate facial and physical types that a faithful illustration of the text would require is seen elsewhere in work related to the Snite artist. For example, in the representation of Book VIII in the Marciana Metamorphoses manuscript, Scylla's beloved, Minos, is represented as an elderly king, while King Nisus, Scylla's father, whom the text describes as having gray hair, is depicted as a young dark-haired man sleeping in bed while his hair is cut by Scylla (Plate 234).

The miniature for the chapter that is introduced by the rubric, "The sixth apparition how [Christ] appeared to Saint Peter according to Saint Luke,"[43] (Plate 40) appropriates the composition of the Apparition of Christ to the Three Maries (Plate 37). The text of the chapter no doubt prompted that choice of model. The first half of the

---

[42] Cf. the historiated initial of San Giacomo in one of the choirbooks made in the late 1320s for the Cathedral of San Pietro, reproduced in Conti, *Miniatura bolognese*, fig. 217.

[43] Luke 24:34 states that when the two disciples returned to Jerusalem from Emmaus, the other disciples told them that the resurrected Christ had appeared to Simon Peter, but gives no details about the latter encounter.

chapter relates that Peter, having learned from the three Maries that they had seen the risen Christ, was deeply distressed and, driven by his great desire to see Christ, left in search of him. As he was walking, the Lord appeared to him, told him his sins were forgiven, instructed him to tell this good news to the disciples, and gave him a blessing. The second half of the Snite chapter describes Christ's return to the patriarchs whom he had placed in paradise, an episode that is treated in a separate chapter in other *MVC* manuscripts. Although the Snite *Meditations* account of Christ's apparition to Peter does not explicitly describe their poses, the illuminator represents Peter kneeling at the right and gazing reverently up to Christ who approaches from the left and raises his right hand in benediction, its nail wound clearly visible, while holding the banner of the resurrection in his left. This figure of Christ, with his garments fluttering out behind him, appears repeatedly in the Snite manuscript in scenes where he strides in from the left to encounter another figure, i.e., in the Temptation of Christ, the Descent into Limbo, the Apparition to the Virgin Mary, and the Apparition to the Three Maries. The billowing drapery must have been regarded as an effective means to convey the sense of the resurrected Christ as a dynamic living protagonist, especially in these post-Passion episodes whose action is restricted to his mere appearance before reverent witnesses.

In the miniature of the Road to Emmaus (fol. 102v; Plate 41), it is the two followers of Christ—both nimbed—who are placed at the left of the composition, walking toward the right, while Christ is represented in the center, standing and facing them with his back toward the entrance to the city at the right.[44] He is dressed in gray

[44] See M. J. Hall, "Narrative Strategies in Medieval Images of the Journey to Emmaus," *Arte medievale* II ser., 14:1–2 (2000): 1–13, for a summary of the pictorial approaches to the subject. On p. 1, Hall observes that there is not a stable iconography in medieval representations of the Emmaus episode.

garments[45] with a pilgrim's hat and walking staff; his true identity is revealed to the viewer by his cross-nimbus and visible hand wound. From the raised hands of the two disciples and Christ's raised and pointing hand, the illuminator must have had in mind the "teaching" dialogue between Christ and the two uncomprehending disciples before their arrival at Emmaus that is reported in Luke 24:13–27, especially Christ's reproach to them about their inability to see that his death and resurrection were the fulfillment of the entirety of what the prophets had spoken. Though the rubric for the chapter, inscribed at the bottom of folio 102r, cites Luke as its source—"The seventh apparition how [Christ] appeared to the disciples and they went to the town of Emmaus according to Saint Luke"[46]—the *MVC text* does not recount the conversation during the journey nor does it retell the climactic revelation of Christ's identity in the breaking of the bread at the meal at Emmaus. Rather, it dwells on how this whole episode demonstrates Christ's concern for the sorrow of his disciples, his humility in walking with them, and his wish to stoke their desire for him by seeming to be intent on continuing his journey as they approach their destination, in order to elicit their plea that he stay with them at Emmaus. The implicit message to the reader is that the impression that God is distant in life's journey is illusory and should be considered as cause to draw near to him, particularly by partaking of the Eucharist.

The placement of Christ in the Snite composition next to the city gate does not comport with the gospel report that it was the two disciples who urged Christ to stay with

---

[45] The appearance and treatment of Christ's garments resembles those of the devil disguised as a hermit in the Snite Temptation miniature (fol. 49r; Plate 16), likely because in both cases the garments disguise the true identity of their wearer.

[46] The instructions in the upper margin of fol. 102v, i.e., above the miniature, simply repeat the rubric, even though it is written on the preceding page.

them once they had reached Emmaus rather than continue on his journey. In his panel of the subject for the back of the *Maestà* (Plate 235), Duccio employed a composition similar to the Snite miniature but with the disciples and Christ in reversed positions: the two disciples draw near to Emmaus that rises on the right and point out its open city gate to Christ, who walks along behind them at the left.[47] The Snite illuminator may have adapted the compositions of two historiated initials in cuttings now in London of the first quarter of the fourteenth century whose style recalls the work of Nerio Bolognese. The one in the Victoria and Albert Museum (Plate 236) represents a group of disciples approaching a two-storied building at the right; the other in the British Library (Plate 237) depicts Christ standing at the right, his right hand raised in a preaching gesture as he faces a group of men standing at the left.[48] A comparison of the figure of Christ in the latter initial to the Christ in the Snite Emmaus miniature makes clear the illuminator's emphasis on the didactic segment of the journey to Emmaus rather than the disciples' invitation to stay for dinner at Emmaus where Christ's eucharistic identity will be revealed.

---

[47] The illuminator of the Bodleian *Vita Mariae* historiated initial (Canonici 476, fol. 104v) of the Road to Emmaus also places the two disciples before the city gate, but represents them facing Christ who is at the left, raising his hand with finger pointed in a preaching/teaching gesture (Plate 238).

[48] A detached fresco fragment now in the Museo Civico, Treviso, from a Passion cycle in S. Margherita attributed to Tomaso da Modena represents Christ at the right, walking toward the left, his wrist held by a male pilgrim figure at the left. It must be part of a Road to Emmaus scene. Though the position of these two figures is similar to their place in the Snite composition, it is highly likely that the city gate was shown at the left in the fresco, with the pilgrim-disciple leading Christ toward it.

The Apparition of Christ to the Disciples on the Day of the Resurrection (fol. 104r), ***Doubting Thomas (Apparition of Christ to the Disciples on the Eighth Day)*** (fol. 106r), the ***Apparition of Christ to the Disciples in Galilee*** (fol. 107v), and the ***Apparition of Christ to more than Five Hundred Faithful*** (fol. 108v)

The illumination of the Road to Emmaus in which Christ is at the center of the composition yet faces the two disciples on the right provides a transition between the preceding miniatures, which mostly represent the active figure of the resurrected Christ appearing at the left before one or a few of his disciples on the right, and the illuminations for the remaining chapters, which mostly represent group scenes in which a large number of faithful followers flank a static central and frontal figure of Christ. The rubric for the chapter on the appearance of Christ to the disciples on the day of the resurrection explicitly cites the gospels of Luke[49] and John[50] as its source: " como aparue alli dissipoli che stavano ringiusi lo di dela resurectione segondo che santo luca e sam goane nara."[51] The narrative of the chapter touches upon motifs of contrition, forgiveness, and devotion to and desire for Christ. The text describes how Christ appeared suddenly in the house where the disciples had gathered, even though the doors were closed, and said, "Peace be with you."[52] They fall prostrate and ask for forgiveness, which Christ bestows, and then he sits down to eat. The disciples, including the Virgin Mary and Mary Magdalen, are described as joyfully serving Christ and listening to him. The author proposes that they would have asked him to stay, and that when he rose to leave they would have begged him to return. The *MVC* text focuses upon the affective

[49] Cf. Luke 24: 33–49.

[50] Cf. John 20: 19–23.

[51] Snite *MVC*, fol. 104r.

[52] Snite *MVC*, fol. 104v.

aspects of this event. It notes only in passing[53] that Christ explained the resurrection to the disciples, whereas the gospel of Luke devotes four verses (Lk 24: 44–47) to Christ's instruction on how the prophecies had been fulfilled through his death and resurrection.

Yet, the Snite illuminator produced an image that leans toward the authoritative and didactic rather than the affective (Plate 42). He represents Christ seated at an elevated level in the center of the composition surrounded by fourteen male disciples who are seated upon the rocky ground. Christ is in a frontal pose, gazing outward. He raises both his hands, palms facing outward, so that the nail wounds are visible as is the side wound that appears through the diamond-shaped opening of his garment; the text mentions that Christ showed his hands and side to the disciples.[54] Several of the disciples raise one of their hands as though acknowledging Christ's display.[55] He once again wears the white garment[56] with scattered blue motif and the red mantle with green lining that was his usual dress in adulthood and in most of the Post-Passion miniatures. The composition, with an elevated central figure flanked by seated figures, relates to the typical iconography of teaching.[57] It may also allude to a passage in Mark 3:31–5 of an episode in Christ's ministry where the crowd is twice described as seated *about* him; the Marcan

---

[53] Snite *MVC*, fol. 104v.

[54] Ibid.

[55] The restraint of the disciples contrasts to their active investigation of Christ's wounds in the Trecento examples of the related subject of the *Witness of Christ's Stigmata by the Apostles* where the disciples similarly surround Christ. See J. Polzer, "Christ, Judge, Saviour, Advocate, Franciscan Devotion and the Doubting Thomas," in *Essays Presented to Myron P. Gilmore*, ed. S. Bertelli and G. Ramakus (Florence: La Nuova Italia, 1978), II, pp. 300–310.

[56] Snite *MVC*, fol. 105v, says that Christ was dressed in the whitest of garments.

[57] Cf. R. Gibbs, "Images of Higher Education in Fourteenth-Century Bologna," in *Medieval Architecture and Its Intellectual Context: Studies in Honour of Peter Kidson,* ed. E. Fernie and P. Crossley (London and Ronceverte, W.V.: Hambledon Press, 1990), pp. 269–81," passim.

passage reiterates that Christ looks *around* at the crowd. Tellingly, Christ then asserts that it is not blood kinship but conformity to the will of God that makes one his brother, sister, or mother.[58] The Snite composition thus could serve to remind the viewers/readers that their kinship to Christ, like that of his New Testament audience, is realized in their assimilation of this devotional text into their lives. The composition resembles an historiated initial attributed to the 1328 Master, of Christ seated upon a hexagonal dais flanked by Peter and Paul and two semi-circular rows of apostles.[59] (Plate 239) It conveys the notion of Christ as teacher to the apostles, who encircle him at his feet as his company of friends, forming a unified and solid foundation for the Church. The composition appears in illuminated Graduals as the historiated initial for the Introit for the Mass of the Common of the Saints.[60]

The illumination for the following chapter on Christ's appearance to the apostles on the eighth day after the Resurrection[61] represents the dramatic moment when Thomas, who had been absent from the previous event, places his hand in Christ's side wound. The first half of the text for the chapter retells the gospel account closely following John 20:24–29, though inserting the detail that Thomas knelt before touching Christ's wounds.

---

[58] Mark 3:31–5: And his mother and his brethren came; and standing without, sent unto him, calling him. And the multitude sat about him; and they say to him: Behold thy mother and thy brethren without seek for thee. And answering them, he said: Who is my mother and my brethren? And looking round about on them who sat about him, he saith: Behold my mother and my brethren. For whosoever shall do the will of God, he is my brother, and my sister, and mother.

[59] D'Amico et al., *Francesco da Rimini,* p. 102. In the Snite miniature, Peter and John are the two readily identifiable apostles who flank Christ.

[60] M. Manion, "Uncommon Images in the Common of the Saints of Italian Choir Books," in *The Medieval Book: Glosses from Friends and Colleagues of Christopher de Hamel*, ed. J. H. Marrow, R.A. Linenthal, and W. Noel (Houten, Netherlands: Hes and De Graaf, 2010), pp. 99–100 and figs. 2 and 3.

[61] The rubric on Snite *MVC*, fol. 106r, specifies: "como l nostro signore aparue l otavo die a tuti li apostoli."

Unlike other *MVC* manuscripts, the Snite text implies—but does not make explicit—Christ's instruction to Thomas that he specifically place his hand in Christ's side wound. In the Snite manuscript, Christ says to Thomas, "put your finger here and see the wounds of my hands and do not be doubting but faithful."[62] Rather than continue in the vein of the gospel account where Christ goes on to contrast Thomas's insistence on empirical evidence as a prerequisite for belief to those whose belief rests in faith alone, the second half of the *MVC* chapter text first gives a positive twist to Thomas's doubt. The author proposes three reasons for the preservation of Christ's wounds in his resurrected body: to furnish proof of the Resurrection and thus confirm the faith of the apostles; to make Christ an effective advocate for humankind before his Father; to display them to the damned at the Last Judgment. The chapter ends with Christ staying with his disciples, including the Virgin Mary and Mary Magdalen, and talking to them about the kingdom of God so that when he leaves, they are comforted but still desire his presence.[63]

For the illustration of the chapter, the Snite illuminator largely adhered to the traditional iconography of the Doubting Thomas (Plate 43). He employed a frontal and symmetrical composition with Christ standing at the center flanked on either side by standing apostles, very similar to the miniature on folio 65r of Christ's Sermon to the Disciples following the Last Supper (Plate 21). Thomas approaches from the left and kneels in accordance with the text, as Christ grips him by the forearm to guide Thomas's

---

[62] Snite *MVC*, fol. 106v: "'Metti qui le dita tue e cognosci li fori delle miei mani e no essere discredente ma fidele.'" The ambiguity of the Snite passage is apparent when compared to Sarri (ed.), "*Meditazioni,*" p. 364: "'Metti qua lo dito tuo, e cognosci i fori delle mie mani; e porgi qua la mano tua, e mettila nel lato mio; e non essere discredente, ma fedele.'"

[63] Cf., the observations about how the *MVC* author describes the loving relationships between Christ and his closest disciples in familial terms in R. W. Frank, Jr., "*Meditationes Vitae Christi*: The Logistics of Access to Divinity," pp. 45–6.

hand toward the side wound, which Thomas's finger probes. The faces of the figures in the center-left portion of the Doubting Thomas miniature have been smeared, probably at the time of their execution rather than in a deliberate act of defacing.[64]

Thomas's genuflecting pose is rather unusual and distinctly recalls the pose of the mohel who circumcises the infant Christ held by the standing St. Joseph earlier in the manuscript (Plate 10). This repetition aligns Thomas's doubt in Christ's resurrection that is only allayed by his touching the side wound against the mohel's lack of recognition of the infant Jesus as God incarnate because he suffered the wound of the circumcision like a normal boy baby. Bartal has observed a similar meaningful repetition of poses to contrast responses to Christ in CCC 410 and interprets this use of pictorial "*oppositio*" as a device to convey moral meaning.[65] The similarity of the figures of Thomas and the mohel in the Snite *MVC* invites the viewer to theological reflection on the mystery of the union of the divine and human natures in Jesus Christ visible to "eyes of faith." This theme is apparent in the text where Thomas's exclamation upon touching the side wound—"You are truly God and truly Lord"—is followed by the observation that "he

---

[64] The *Digestum Vetus* manuscript in Munich (Bayr. SB, Clm. 3503), which can be attributed to the Azzi workshop, also has instances in which the illuminations have been broadly smeared in a way that suggests carelessness, e.g., fol. 129v (Book 8: of rural and urban servitude; Plate 240) and 239v (Book 18: of the contract of sale), and several illuminations in which the faces appear pock-marked because bits of pigment have detached, as though the paint was still tacky when the folios were closed. Similar smearing of saintly figures' faces (below a half-length figure of the resurrected Christ) is seen in an historiated initial "B" in an antiphonary produced for the Servites in Faenza that is attributed to the Master of the Crucifixion D (Biblioteca del Seminario "Cardinal G. Cicognani," ms. B, f. 82r; reproduced in Lollini, *Corali miniati di Faenza*, pl. XVI). Cf. L'Engle and Gibbs, *Illuminating the Law*, cat. no. 6, p. 134, where Gibbs observes that in a *Decretum Gratiani* manuscript in Cambridge (Fitzwilliam Museum, MS 183) "in some places the illumination is smeared with red ink from being laid against wet gatherings. . . ."

[65] Bartal,"Repetition, Opposition, and Invention in an Illuminated *Meditationes vitae Christi*," pp. 172–4.

saw and touched the man and believed in him, confessing him truly God."[66] In the course of the three lines of text in the Snite manuscript devoted to Thomas's reaction, the words "true" and "truly" appear four times with reference to the hypostatic union: Thomas recognizes and affirms that the man whose wounds he probes is at once divine and human. The Snite miniature thus underscores the witness of the text to the key Christian doctrine.

The illuminations for the chapters on the Apparition of Christ to the Disciples in Galilee and the Apparition of Christ to more than Five Hundred Faithful are almost identical. For both, the illuminator employed a symmetrical composition with Christ standing at the center surrounded by standing male figures, their hands pressed together in reverence. In the miniature for Christ's appearance to the disciples at Galilee (Plate 44), he stands on a slight rocky rise—Mount Tabor as specified at the conclusion of the preceding chapter—and holds a book in his left hand and raises his right hand in benediction. The wounds in Christ's right hand and in his side are visible. The text for the chapter first describes Christ commanding the disciples to go out and baptize and teach and reassuring them of his abiding presence.[67] The commissioning of the apostles typically was represented with the *traditio legis* iconography. The chapter then proceeds to a brief account of Christ's appearance to the disciples as they were fishing in the sea of Tiberias, an episode that is related in dramatic detail in John 21:1–19[68] and which appears

---

[66] Snite *MVC*, fol. 106v: "allora san tomaxe ingenochiato mise la mano nelle ferite e disse ora cognoscho io veramente che tu sei verace dio e vere signore. Grande foe la fede soa inpercio che l'umo vide e palpo e in lui credete confessandolo verace dio."

[67] Cf. Matthew 28:19–20.

[68] The event as reported in John 21 includes the miraculous draught of fishes, Peter's plunge into the sea upon his recognition of Christ standing on the shore, and the dialogue between Christ and

as a separate chapter in most *MVC* manuscripts. The Snite illlumination bears, at best, a very oblique allusion to the Johannine source in the placement of John and Peter on either side of Christ.

In the miniature of Christ appearing to more than five hundred faithful (Plate 45), the only noticeable differences are the omission of the book held by Christ, the minimal shift in Christ's pose so that he turns slightly toward the right, the representation of different apostles in the foremost row on either side of Christ, and the flattening of the rocky ground upon which the figures stand. The text for the chapter devotes only a sentence to the apparition, whose scriptural source (I Corinthians 15:6) is equally spare. The author devotes the rest of the chapter to an explanation of the number of Christ's Post-Passion appearances and specifies the scriptural and non-scriptural sources for these apparitions. Acknowledging the absence of a textual tradition to support the idea, the author nevertheless also proposes that Christ likely appeared frequently to the Virgin Mary and Mary Magdalen. The chapter ends by reminding the reader of the humility and love demonstrated by Christ in condescending to spend forty days with his disciples following his resurrection when he could have ascended immediately to heaven and just sent an angel in his stead.

The ***Ascension*** (fol. 110r), the ***Ascendant Christ praised by the Saints*** (fol. 112v), and ***Pentecost*** (fol. 117r)

The preference for symmetrical compositions anchored by a central seated or standing figure continues to dominate the final three miniatures in the Snite *MVC*. The

---

Peter about Peter's love for Christ. In contrast, the passage on Christ appearing to the disciples at the sea of Tiberias in the Snite *MVC* and the chapter given to it in Sarri (ed.), "*Meditazioni*" are both minimal, making no mention of Peter's plunge or the dramatic dialogue between Christ and Peter.

illumination for the chapter on Christ's ascension represents the ascent itself, which is described in the second half of the chapter. The first half of the chapter text relates how Christ and his disciples dined in the house on Mount Sion forty days after his resurrection. During the meal Christ alludes to the events of Pentecost and speaks of their mission to preach, baptize, and witness. As in several of the previous post-Passion appearances, the author proposes that Christ would have engaged in an emotional and intimate conversation with the Virgin Mary when she likely reclined on Christ's breast as did St. John at the Last Supper.

The Ascension illumination is conventional (Plate 46). It represents Christ seated frontally in the upper half of the picture field, holding the banner of the resurrection in his left hand as he blesses with his right, its wound visible, with his feet resting upon a cloud-like pillow. At either side of the seated Christ is an angel who is depicted with arms positioned as though raising him aloft although the text specifies that he ascended by his own strength;[69] the angels' red clothing and red skin designate them as seraphim.[70] Christ's clothing is of the usual color combination, but now his garment is red and his mantle is white with the scattered blue motif and green lining.[71] Christ's round and

---

[69] Snite *MVC*, fol. 112r: "finalmente compiuti tuti ministerij comincio l salvator jesu a levarsi in alto e assalire in cielo per sei medesimo"

[70] The angels are similar to the row of red angels to the proper right of the enthroned Father and Son within a mandorla in an illumination attributed to the Illustratore ca. 1340 in a manuscript of Gregory IX's *Decretals*, BAV, Vat. lat. 1389, fol. 4r (Plate 243).

[71] Sarri (ed.), "*Meditazioni,*" p. 373, describes the ascending Christ as "glorioso, bellisimo e rubicondo, splendiente e allegro" whereas the Snite *MVC*, fol. 113r, says "glorioso bellisomo e giocundo e sprediente e allegro." D. Cooper and J. Robson, *The Making of Assisi* (New Haven and London: Yale Univ. Press, 2013), p. 76, note that Christ wears a "striking red mantle" in the rose window of the Ascension in the north transept of the Upper Church at Assisi and relate it to the inscription on a scroll held by Isaiah in one of the lateral medallions with the opening words of Is. 63:1–2, "Who is this that cometh from Edom, with dyed garments from Bosra . . . Why then is thy apparel red, and thy garments like theirs that tread in the winepress."

beardless face, in conjunction with his pose, is similar to the figure of the goddess Hecate seated upon the altar in the illumination of the courtship of Jason and Medea in the Marciana *Metamorphoses* (Plate 176), suggesting that the illuminator simply may have copied the 'seated deity' type from a shop model book.[72] The disciples kneel upon the ground below in two groups on either side of the rocky hill that indicates the site as Mount Olivet, which is specified in the text.[73] They gaze upward at the ascending Christ and press their hands together in prayer. To Christ's proper right is the Virgin Mary—figure of Ecclesia[74]—and to his left is St. Peter—the Rock upon which the Church is built and keeper of the keys. Both the Virgin Mary and Peter wear garments in shades of blue but Christ directs his gaze toward St. Peter. The iconography of the Snite Ascension is consistent with Riminese and Bolognese precedents that typically favor a seated or half-length figure of Christ enthroned at the center (Plate 241).[75] The figures in the Snite composition are quite static, with the motion of the ascent conveyed by the fluttering banner of the Resurrection and the protrusion of Christ's halo just slightly above the picture frame to suggest his departure from the earthly realm.

---

[72] Venice, Biblioteca Marciana, Ms. Z. L. 449a, fol. 38v. The figure of Christ in the Snite Ascension miniature also resembles the angel seated on the tomb in the illumination of the Three Maries at the Sepulcher, Snite *MVC*, fol. 95v (Plate 35).

[73] Snite *MVC*, fol., 111v.

[74] During the conversation between Christ and his mother that the author imagines having occurred at the meal preceding Christ's ascent, Christ tells her that, rather than accompany him to heaven, she is to remain for a long time to confirm the faith of those who ought to believe in him; Snite *MVC*, fol. 111v.

[75] E.g., The historiated initial P in one of the choirbooks made for Ssa. Annunziata in Florence ca. 1330, whose illumination has been variously attributed to Nerio's workshop, the Master of Esau, or the 1328 Master (Florence, Ssa. Annunziata, Archivio, Cod. L, fol. 174v); and, the scene of the Ascension in a mid-14th-century panel with Christological subjects attributed to Giovanni da Rimini in Rome, Galleria Nazionale. Florentine artists typically preferred to represent Christ standing at the Ascension, although Pacino di Bonaguida did occasionally represent him seated.

The *MVC* devotes considerable attention to the Ascension:[76] the author asserts that "this solemnity surpasses all others"[77] because in it, man finally attained his glory.[78] In the Snite manuscript, a large miniature of Christ enthroned and praised in heaven directly follows the text describing Christ's ascent, and a rubric referring to the "praises of the saints"[79] has been inserted vertically in the margin, almost as an afterthought (Plate 47). By this means, the long chapter on the Ascension and its significance is divided into two. The second chapter is devoted to Christ's reception in heaven, in company with the patriarchs whom he had freed from Limbo, and his reunion with the Father. In the list of chapters at the end of the Snite *MVC* text, the songs of praise with which Christ was greeted provide the title of this one: "Deli dolci canti ke fecero quelli ke lli venero in contra."[80] In the lower margin, part of the instruction for the illuminator is still visible

---

[76] In Ragusa and Green (trans.), *Meditations*, pp. 374–84, it constitutes a single chapter of nine pages.

[77] Ragusa and Green (trans.), *Meditations*, p. 374; Snite *MVC*, fol. 110r, " questa sollempnitade avança [tutte l'altre]"; the losses of words in the lines of text toward the right side of the folio can be interpolated through comparison with Sarri, p. 369.

[78] Snite *MVC*, fol. 115r-115v: " questo die dell asansione par maggiore e piu santo di tuti li altri. In percio che avengna ch eli sia resuscitato ancora li conviene stare pelegrino in tera ancora sta chiusa la porta del paradixo ancora li santi padri non andara alla patria soa. E tute queste cosse sono adimpiute e compiute nell asanscione. Unde se tu pon ben mente cio ke dio a facto in fine a qui tuto l fece pervenire a questo fine e sança questo tute le suoi opre erano imperfecte. In percio che l ciolo e la terra e tute le cosse che vi sono entro son facte per l uomo e ll uomo e facto per avere gloria. A questa gloria mai nuno ci poteano venire a ora dipo l pecato del prim omo quantunqua fosse gusto e santo. Vedi dunqua come grande e meravillioso questo di dell asensione." See Ragusa and Green (trans.), *Meditations*, pp. 381–2.

[79] Snite *MVC*, fol. 112v: "lodie di santi."

[80] Snite *MVC*, fol. 119v.

that specifies "how Jesus is joined in paradise with the holy fathers and the holy orders of angels."[81]

The miniature of Christ praised in heaven represents him seated frontally upon a wooden throne that is a simplified version of the throne upon which judges are represented in Bolognese legal manuscript illuminations.[82] Christ now holds a scepter rather than the resurrection banner and raises his right hand in benediction; his side wound and wound in his right hand are clearly visible. The color combination of his garments has reverted to the usual format: white garment with blue motif and red cloak with green lining. On either side of the throne kneel a number of nimbed and bearded patriarchs who remind the reader/viewer that this event is to be understood as the fulfillment of the Old Testament prophecies. The Snite text relates that Christ ascended into heaven leading a "large and noble multitude of holy fathers and all those souls who were in Limbo, showing them the way ahead, and with them following as Micah had prophesied,"[83] and describes how the patriarchs joined in singing praises as Christ was received by the heavenly host.[84] Toward the close of the chapter, when reviewing the reasons why the Ascension is the greatest holy day, the Snite text twice more points to the entry of the patriarchs and prophets into heaven.[85] In the background of the miniature,

---

[81] Snite *MVC*, fol. 112v: "como Jesu e gunto in paradixo con li sancti padri e con li sancti ordinj delli angelli. . . "

[82] e.g., BAV, Urb. lat. 164, f. 1r; Plate 207.

[83] Snite *MVC*, fol. 112v–113r: " Et salliendo in cielo menando sie co quella nobile e grande moltitudine dei santi padri e di tutti quele anime ch erano in del linbo mostrando loro la via innanci e colloro seguitando ch avea prophetato Michea propheta." The reference is to Micah 2:13.

[84] Snite *MVC*, fol. 113r.

[85] Snite *MVC*, fol. 115v–116v.

two trumpeting angels flank the throne, probably inspired by the responsorial psalm (Ps. 46:6) for the feast of the Ascension, "God is ascended with jubilee, and the Lord with the sound of the trumpet."

The final illumination illustrates the chapter on Pentecost, the last chapter in the Snite *MVC* text.[86] It is a brief chapter that begins with a sequential conversation between the persons of the Trinity: the Son asks his Father to fulfill the promise made to the disciples that the Holy Spirit would be sent to them; the Father agrees, and tells the Son to ask the Holy Spirit, on behalf of the first two persons, to descend to the disciples; and the Holy Spirit readily assents. The descent of the Holy Spirit itself is described in a single sentence, specifying that tongues of fire descended upon 120 disciples who had gathered, filling them with the gifts of the Holy Spirit that fortified them to illuminate and teach the whole world so that a great part of it became Christian.[87] The chapter concludes with an exhortation addressed to both the writer and the reader[88] to relinquish carnal and mundane things and focus on Christ in preparation to finally meet him, a passage that gives added meaning to the eschatological aura of the opening illumination of the Snite manuscript.

Although the chapter makes no mention of the Virgin Mary, in the Pentecost miniature (Plate 48) she is the prominent figure standing in the center, flanked on either side by numerous nimbed male disciples. Otherwise, the composition basically repeats

---

[86] This differs from Ragusa and Green (trans.), *Meditations,* but is similar to Sarri (ed.), "*Meditazioni.*"

[87] Snite *MVC*, fol. 117v: "E incontinenti [the Holy Spirit] dissce in figura di lengue di fuoco sopra cento[v?]enti dispoli raunati insieme e si lli rinpie d ogna gaudio e virtude et di tuti li dono dello spirto sancto per la cui vertudi e fortificati li disscipoli e maestrati ed illuminati tuto l mondo cercoro e comossero e gran parte del mondo sottopossecro all fede cristiana."

[88] Snite *MVC*, fol. 118r: the author writes in the first person plural imperative, "Let us . . ."

the format employed for other post-Passion subjects that showed Christ standing in the center surrounded by groups of standing figures. All of the foremost figures press their hands together in reverential prayer as red rays extend from the half-circle of a red sun at the upper center directly below the word "pentecoste," a rendering of the descent of the Holy Spirit in tongues of fire that was likely inspired by the invocation of Christ's appellation as "Sun of Justice" in the preceding chapter.[89] John is represented at the Virgin's proper right and Peter at her left. While the Virgin stands in a frontal pose, she turns her head toward Peter and exchanges gazes with him. Mary is dressed in her customary deep blue garments that she wore in the Ascension miniature, but Peter now wears pale rose, not the medium blue that he wore at the Ascension. The composition thus makes Mary's preeminence clear, and thereby reminds the reader/viewer that Christ's presence on earth is guaranteed by the Church, which Mary personifies. Though simple and direct, the miniature suggests that the same gifts of the Holy Spirit that descended at Pentecost—subsequently made available through the sacraments of the Church—will enable the members of this family of readers to become faithful witnesses to Christ's life, death, resurrection, and ascension.

Given the diminution of emotional intensity in the text of the *MVC* post-Passion chapters, it is not surprising that these Snite illustrations strike the viewer as anticlimatic. Nevertheless, it is notable how strongly the Snite illuminator favors reverence and propriety, even for those episodes that the *MVC* text explores in affective terms. The

[89] Snite *MVC*, fol. 116r; see Ragusa and Green (trans.), *Meditations*, p. 383. The theme of Christ as the Sun of Justice that arises from the Virgin Mary is prominent in the liturgy of the Feast of the Nativity of the Virgin Mary, e.g., in the entrance antiphon for the Mass: "Let us celebrate with joyful hearts the birth of the Virgin Mary of whom was born the Sun of Justice, Christ the Lord."

advisor to the illuminator and the manuscript patron seem to have been particularly interested in the potential of the pictures to testify to the truth of the Resurrection, turning to traditional iconographies to enhance their authority. While taking care to represent the significant role of women as the first witnesses of the Resurrection, the illuminator does not demonstrate an interest in representing the emotional character of their response to the resurrected Christ. Both illuminator and patron seem to have appreciated the didactic content of the post-Passion stories much more. As in the illuminations for the Infancy and Passion chapters, the Snite artist continues to employ devices to underscore the post-Passion events as fulfillment of Old Testament prophesies, not only through the overt representation of the patriarchs flanking the ascendant Christ but also by means of the static, symmetrical compositions that recall the pictures in Bolognese typological manuscripts such as the *Speculum humanae salvationis*.[90] The retention of such archaisms in a manuscript of the mid-Trecento serves a theological purpose by linking the *MVC* text to prevailing medieval exegetical habits and is consistent with the stylistic tendencies of the Azzi workshop to which the Snite Illuminator belongs. The conservatism of the Snite miniatures as a clue to the concerns of the patron will be explored in the next chapter.

[90] Silber, "Toledo *Speculum Humanae Salvationis,*" pp. 46–7, characterizes the markedly symmetrical and static compositions of the Bolognese group of Speculum manuscripts as the "conscious aesthetic choice of a compositional mode, already somewhat old-fashioned but matching the typological rigour of the text and its mnemonic rhythms with its simplified and repetitious forms."

CHAPTER 6

PATRONAGE AND SOCIAL CONTEXT OF THE SNITE *MVC* MANUSCRIPT

The pictorial program in the Snite *Meditations* and the iconographies employed by the illuminator demonstrate a conscious effort to tailor its illustrations to meet the needs and expectations of the patron, a layman and his family living in a secular urban environment markedly different from that of the cloistered Franciscan convent in which the reader of the original *MVC* text resided. The opening miniature of the Snite manuscript (Plate 1) indicates that the patron—the figure kneeling at Christ's proper right—favored clothing associated with knighthood. If that were all that we could deduce from his costume of red tunic, belt and spurs, it is still redolent with religious symbolism.

In the manual of knighthood composed in the vernacular ca. 1350 by Geoffroi de Charney, inspired in part by the notion that a knight should be a good Christian because of the likelihood of his sudden death, chivalry and piety are interwoven. His description of the knighting ceremony resembles the rite of baptism. It first prescribes the necessity for confession and bathing before a night's sleep in a clean bed so that soul and body are cleansed of sin and impurity. The clothing ceremony by which those about to be knighted are then dressed by knights is related in explicitly religious terms:

> Then the knights should come to the beds to dress those to be knighted; the stuff in which they dress them, the linen and all that goes with it should be new: this signifies that just as the body of each one should be cleansed of all the impurities of sin, so

> should it be clothed in new, white, and clean material, signifying that they should all from henceforth keep themselves pure and free from sin. Then the knights should robe them in red tunics, signifying that they are pledged to shed their blood to defend and maintain the faith of Our Lord and the rights of the Holy Church and all the other just rights set out above which it is the knight's duty to protect. Then the knights bring black hose and put them on those to be knighted; this signifies that they should remember that from the earth they have come and to the earth they must return for the death which awaits them, they know not at what hour; therefore they should put all pride beneath their feet. Then the knights bring them white belts with which they gird them, signifying that they should surround their bodies with chastity and purity of the flesh. After that the knights bring them red cloaks and place them on their shoulders as a sign of great humility, for cloaks in this form were made in ancient times in all humility. . . [the knights-to-be are then taken into church a spend the day and following night in vigil so that, on the third day, they go to mass after which they are led to the person who confers the order of knighthood]. . .For each one to be knighted he gives two gilded spurs. . .signifying that gold is the most coveted of all metals and is placed on their feet as a sign that they should remove from their hearts all unworthy covetousness of riches. Then the knight who is to confer the order of knighthood takes a sword; as the sword cuts on both sides of the blade, so they should defend and maintain right, reason, and justice on all sides without being false to the Christian faith or to the rights of the Holy Church for anyone. Then the knights who confer the order on them should kiss them as a sign of confirmation of the order conferred on them and received by them, and that peace, love, and loyalty may be in them.[1]

The association of the exalted status of knighthood with moral virtue was promoted in the stratified social order of late medieval Italy. The knight was typically thought to be a man of means, prudent, honorable, and socially prominent. He might well be educated and have a reputation for reason, as Bonaventure's report in the *Legenda maior* of the verification of St. Francis's stigmata makes clear:

> One of those who was allowed to see the body of St. Francis was a knight called Jerome, who was an educated and prudent man. He was a very well known person, but he was unbelieving like the Apostle St. Thomas and he doubted the reality of the stigmata. In his eagerness he did not hesitate to move the nails in full sight of all the friars and all the people, and he felt the saint's hands and feet and side with his fingers. As he felt the marks of Christ's wounds under his touch, the doubt vanished

[1] R. W. Kaeuper and E. Kennedy (trans.), *The Book of Chivalry of Geoffroi de Charney*, pp. 167–9 (Section 36).

> from his heart and from the hearts of others. As a result he and many others bore witness to the truth which he had verified so carefully, and swore it on the Gospel.[2]

In this account, Bonaventure at once asserts the limitations of reason and the pitfall of skepticism while at the same time pointing to the trustworthiness of the knight Jerome—validated in his social prestige—as a reliable witness to the reality of Francis's stigmata. Knights recur in significant episodes of Francis's biography: a knight named John witnesses the miracle at Greccio when Francis lifts the infant Christ from the presepio,[3] and Francis prophesies the death of the knight who has invited him to dine in Celano.[4]

Significantly, these prominent knights in the legend of St. Francis are usually depicted in late medieval Italian painting wearing the professional dress of the Doctor of Law, not the equestrian costume that one more readily associates with knighthood.[5] Although lawyers wielded words rather than swords, they claimed the rights and respect given to knights. Because of their legal and administrative acumen, they considered themselves just as important to the defense and functioning of the community as the

---

[2] Bonaventure, *Major Life*, Ch. XV.4, in *St. Francis of Assisi: Writings and Early Biographies (English Omnibus of the Sources for the Life of St. Francis)*, ed. M. A. Habig (Chicago: Franciscan Herald Press, 1972), p. 743.

[3] Ibid., Ch. X.7, p. 711.

[4] Ibid., Ch. XI. 4, pp. 713–4.

[5] E.g., the three frescoes in the St. Francis cycle in the Upper Church at Assisi. S. R. Blanshei, *Politics and Justice in Late Medieval Bologna* (Leiden/Boston: Brill, 2010), pp. 239–60, explains that, by the late thirteenth century, the perception of who was a knight in Bologna had as much to do with lifestyle as it did with having been inducted in a formal ceremony. Wealthy men who appropriated the appurtenances of the "*vita honorabilis*" associated with knighthood were not necessarily magnates, and technically could still be designated *popolani*. Judges could be *popolani* or magnates. Depending upon one's political fortunes, the designation of an individual as magnate or *popolano* could shift. In her "Habitus: Identity and Formation of Hereditary Classes in Late Medieval Bologna," in *Bologna: Cultural Crossroads from the Medieval to the Baroque: Recent Anglo-American Scholarship*, eds. G. M. Anselmi, A. De Benedictus, and N. Terpstra (Bologna: Bononia Univ. Press, 2013), pp. 143–57, Blanshei argues that knighthood was an aspirational lifestyle whose prestige was linked to civic virtue.

knights who were supposed to protect it by means of their prowess at arms. William Durandus describes the lawyer's role as that of a soldier and warrior in his late thirteenth-century treatise, *On the advocate*, that was included in his encyclopedic *Speculum iudiciale*.[6] He thought it quite appropriate for lawyers to affect the chivalric accessories of breastplates, spurs, and buckles, which allows for the possibility that the patron of the Snite *MVC* was a lawyer or judge.

In his history of the legal profession during the middle ages, Brundage notes the knightly privileges that Doctors of Law claimed: the honorific "Sir" (Dominus, Ser, or Messer), the right to insignia, burial in scarlet robes, immunity from judicial torture, exemption from the taxes and other civic duties imposed upon people of lower status, and the right of their heirs to inherit their social position.[7] In theory, knights and lawyers both were types whose word was assumed to be trustworthy and whose conduct was to be honorable. However, as both groups wielded considerable power in late medieval society, it does not surprise that they also had a reputation for abusing that trust for their own advantage at the expense of those subordinate to them: the knight on horseback was identified with the vice of pride and the lawyer with hypocrisy and greed.[8] Nevertheless, in medieval treatises that described the ideal role of the knight or of the lawyer, both were characterized as a kind of priesthood called to serve God and the Christian community:

---

[6] William Durand, *On the Advocate,* trans. Patrick J. Lally from Guilelmus Durandus, *Speculum iudiciale*, 2 vols. (Basel: Ambrosius & Aurelius Frobenius [fratres], 1574): 1:259–71, revised by Osvaldo Cavallar, Constantin Fasolt, and Julius Kirshner for a forthcoming anthology of Ius Commune texts in English translation, eds. Julius Kirshner and Osvaldo Cavallar.

[7] J. A. Brundage, *The Medieval Origins of the Legal Profession: Canonists, Civilians, and Courts* (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 2008), pp. 474–5.

[8] Ibid., pp. 478–85.

Durandus baldly states that "advocates are called priests and soldiers."[9] The maxim, derived from the ancient Roman jurist Ulpian, that advocates were "priests of the law," was familiar to all medieval lawyers, just as the knight's obligation, articulated by Geoffroi de Charney, to defend "right, reason, and justice," would have been widely endorsed among the nobility, even if infrequently practiced.

The social status of the patron may also be reflected in certain passages in the Snite *Meditations* text. A telling clue is provided in the account of Christ's entry into Jerusalem on Palm Sunday where the text relates that Christ went first to the temple. Whereas the Paris *MVC* simply states that there Jesus drove out the merchants and then preached, the Snite manuscript relates that Jesus went first to the temple to pray and give thanks to God—not because he needed to, but to provide an example of how one should go to church and pray. Further, the reader is told that when travelling to another city or town, his first stop should be at a church in order to pray and, upon returning home, he should go directly to his oratory to kneel and give thanks to God and His saints.[10] This interpolated passage implies that the reader was a man of means, accustomed to travel, whose home included a room for private prayer.[11] A passage in Leon Battista Alberti's

---

[9] William Durand, *On the Advocate,* pt. 2 [what types of vestments advocates should wear], trans. Patrick J. Lally.

[10] Snite *MVC*, fol. 56v: "Entro dunqua Jesu nella cita e incontinenti tuta la cita fo comossa a remore dela soa venuta. Ella prima cosa ke fece ando al tempio e qui ne stete un poco in oratione lo dando e rengraciando dio suo padre e recomandandosi a lui. Questo fece non perche a luy fosse bisogno ma per dare esemplo a noi de visitar la chiesa e adorare. Dunqua tu a suo esemplo quando per vieni ad alcuna cita o castello in primamente visita la chiesa la quelle caxa de dio e qui ne sta un poco in oracione inginochiandoti reverentemente rendedolanda e gracie a dio dey beneficij ke ta fati e racomandati a luy. Simigliantemente quandessi fuor de caxa nella toa reddita entra in prima in del tuo oratorie e inginochiati e loda e ringracia dio e li soi santi e a lor ti racomanda."

[11] W. A. Pantin, "Instructions for a Devout and Literate Layman," p. 400 and p. 406, relates that the pious English layman is directed to retire to a private place for prayer and spiritual

prescriptions for the design of a villa in his mid-fifteenth-century architectural treatise, *De re aedificatoria,* attests to similar expectations of the prosperous patriarch's conduct and dwelling. Alberti suggests that the first room off the entrance in a villa should be a chapel where, "the head of the family on his return home may pray to the gods above for peace and calm for his family."[12] In contrast to the acceptance of itinerancy as normative for the male reader, the Snite *MVC*, like other *Meditations* manuscripts, speaks of the pregnant Virgin Mary's progress through Bethlehem with Joseph in search of an inn and, later, her wanderings through Jerusalem in search of the twelve-year-old Jesus as a source of humiliation and shame.[13] While such attention to the perils of public exposure would have been directed to the cloistered nuns for whom the *MVC* was originally composed, late medieval conduct literature habitually advised respectable laywomen, both married and unmarried, to avoid appearing in public without suitable chaperones.[14]

Further clues to the social status of the Snite *MVC* patron are apparent in its mitigation of the emphasis on the strict poverty of the holy family that characterizes the Paris (Ms. ital. 115) and Oxford (CCC 410) manuscripts. In the chapter on the Adoration of the Magi, the Snite manuscript (fol. 22r) *omits* the sentences in which the author addresses the nun-reader, asking her what she would have done with the valuable gold

---

conversation. In Matthew 6:5–6, Christ himself recommends private prayer that he contrasts to the public piety of the hypocrites.

[12] L. B. Alberti, *De re aedificatoria: On the Art of Building in Ten Books*, trans. J. Rykwert, N. Leach, and R. Tavernor (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1988), bk 5, 17.

[13] Snite *MVC*, fols. 14v and 38r.

[14] Cf., Jacobus, *Giotto and the Arena Chapel*, p. 222–3. Jacobus also notes on p. 223 that the *MVC* author explains that the Virgin Mary walked quickly to her cousin Elizabeth's after the Annunciation to avoid being in the public view. In doing so, the author was furnishing a moralizing meaning to the scriptural account (Lk 1:39) that describes Mary going "in haste" to Elizabeth, which Jacobus does not observe.

that the magi offered, and continuing, "Did the poverty-stricken Lady keep it for herself, her old husband, and the little Child, that they might have the means to live, to spend or to save or to buy houses, fields, vineyards? God forbid that those devoted to poverty should concern themselves with these things."[15] Presumably, such financial transactions were, in fact, typical of the Snite patron's life and their condemnation excised as incompatible with his status. A reluctance to denigrate activities typical of elite households is also evident in the Snite *MVC* chapter on the life of the holy family while in Egypt. The Snite manuscript does retain much of the Paris *MVC* diatribe against "fancywork" and "curiosities" that are contrasted to the needlework of the Virgin Mary with which she supports her family, but it omits the sentence that ascribes such feminine vices to those who live a secular life. Conversely, in the chapter on the return of the holy family from Egypt, when they encounter the young John the Baptist as they cross the Jordan on their way to St. Elizabeth's, the Snite manuscript omits the sentence describing John the Baptist as the first hermit and model for those who lead the religious life.

Though the text of the Snite *MVC* slightly softens the asceticism that the Paris *MVC* asserts, it remains fundamentally faithful to the moralizing tenor of the text directed to a Poor Clare. The omissions and interpolations in the Snite text do not attest to a comprehensive agenda to tame the text so as to make it more palatable to a worldly lay reader. For example, on the one hand, the Snite text for the chapter on Christ's temptations in the desert recounts that he was tempted a third time by being transported to the top of Mount Quarentana, but omits the phrase that he was there tempted to avarice. On the other hand, the Snite manuscript slightly elaborates upon Christ's expulsion of the merchants from the Temple following his entry into Jerusalem. Since the

[15] Ragusa and Green (trans.), *Meditations,* p. 51.

Meditations author sought to retell the life of Christ in a way that would accord with the scriptural sources, it was inevitable that the values and characteristics of the rich and powerful would largely be cast in a negative light. The readers of the Snite *MVC* would have been alert to the spiritual perils inherent in their social position that are frequently articulated in the text. In the chapter on the Nativity, the author makes clear that those who are insensitive to others or too anxious to impress will fail to understand the meaning of the poverty and humility assumed in the incarnation: the author tells the reader to "know that the infancy of Christ and his tears and the manger and the stable do not give consolation to those who are furious and garrulous and raucous, or those who delight in fine clothes and love honor among people."[16] Similarly, for a male reader schooled to assume dominance over others, the *MVC* characterization of Jesus's life between the ages of thirteen and thirty as one in which he appeared "good for nothing" and "stupid"— although extrapolated from scriptural sources (Mark 6:2–3; Luke 4:22)— would have challenged the prevailing social assumptions about the path to elite status.

While it seems reasonable to infer that the male figure adoring Christ in the Snite opening illumination was the primary patron, it bears remembering that the matron kneeling at Christ's proper left was also very likely to have been a reader of the manuscript. The *Meditations* text, written for a female cloistered audience, would have been readily appreciated by a lay female reader, though she, too, likely found its repeated exaltation of poverty chastening. The pervasive maternal and bridal imagery in the text

[16] Snite *MVC*, fol. 16r: "Sappi per lo fermo che lla infancia de cristo e lle soe lacrime e lla mangiatora e lla stalla non danno consolatione a coloro che son furiosi e garritori e riditori e chessi delectano in belli vestri et amano honore intra la gente." Cf. Ragusa and Green (trans.), *Meditations,* p. 36.

would have been regarded as especially congenial for its female readers.[17] The life of Christ and the Virgin, when retold with an emphasis on his humanity and suffering, aligned more easily to the experience of medieval women than to elite men. The central role accorded the Virgin Mary's virginal maternity as essential to the incarnation provided a powerful exemplar for women, both religious and lay. The depiction of the Virgin Mary in both the text and illustrations of the Snite *MVC* would have been gratifying to the female members of the family.

The portrayal of the Virgin Mary in the Snite manuscript was also compatible with the concerns of the male patron. The representation of her in the Snite illuminations as more of a "woman of substance" than a timid virgin is consistent with the trend in Trecento Bolognese imagery to mine the theme of divine wisdom relative to the Virgin Mary. By representing her reading or in scholarly settings, the highly educated Bolognese viewer was invited to see his own intellectual work through a theological lens as sapientially significant.[18] Of course, the Virgin Mary as a model for male clergy in her virginal but fruitful receptivity to God's word was long-established, and found expression

---

[17] Yet, the multiple identities which the fourteenth-century Augustinian, Simone Fidati da Cascia, ascribes to God as the object of prayer in his *La Vita cristiana* makes clear that the Trecento reader would not have strictly compartmentalized a spousal role from other divine capacities. In this catechetical treatise written for the laity, Simone Fidati writes that, in prayer, the soul addresses God sweetly, "'O dolce Padre, o Signore, o Creatore, o benefattore, o perdonatore, o amico, o amoroso e castissimo sposo, o aiutatore e difenditore dai nimici!'" See Simone Fidati da Cascia, "La Vita Cristiana," in *Mistici del Duecento e del Trecento*, ed. A. Levasti, 2nd ed. (Milan: Rizzoli, 1937), p. 662.

[18] R. Gibbs, "Dreams of Salvation: Vitale da Bologna's Mezzaratta *Nativity* and its Progeny," in *Tributes to Nigel Morgan*, ed. J. M. Luxford and M. A. Michael (London/Turnhout: Harvey Miller, 2010), p. 267, notes the infiltration of legal and scholarly motifs, for example, in the chest of books before the bed of the dreaming Virgin and near the reading maiden in the lower left scene of the counterfacade frescoes attributed to Vitale. The scene is part of a Marian healing miracle and Gibbs compares the chest of books to similar bookcases that are customarily depicted before the judicial tribunal in Bolognese legal imagery.

in Trecento Bolognese manuscript illumination such as the numerous historiated initials of the Virgin reading in the Missal of the anti-Pope Clement VII, illuminated by Nicolò da Bologna.[19] Devotion to the Virgin as *nostra avvocata*, encouraged by the Dominicans, was also shared by clergy and laity.[20]

At the same time that the Snite *MVC* illuminations represent a consequential Virgin Mary with whom both husband and wife could identify, there are passages in its text that suggest that for its readers, devotion to Christ rather than Mary was their priority. In the chapter on the life of the Virgin Mary before the Incarnation, the Snite manuscript includes the excerpt from the *Revelations of St. Elizabeth* in which the Virgin Mary tells St. Elizabeth about her life while a girl in the Temple. In the series of petitions that Mary says she prayed before the altar, the fifth one—as recorded in the Paris *Meditations* manuscript—says, " [I prayed] that I might live to see the birth of the holy virgin who was to bear the Son of God, that God would preserve my eyes to see her, my ears to hear her, my tongue to praise her, my hands to serve her, my feet to take me to her service, my knees to adore the Son of God in her womb."[21] In contrast, the Snite manuscript text has the Virgin Mary refer all but the first "anticipations" to Christ:

---

[19] See the list of illuminations in M. Paoli, "Il messale avignonese dell'antipapa Clemente VII con miniature di Nicolò di Giacomo," in *Il codice miniato: rapporti tra codice, testo e figurazione* (Atti del III Congresso di storia della miniature, Cortona, 1988), ed. M. Ceccanti, M.C. Castelli and K. Weitzmann (Florence: L.S. Olschki, 1992), p. 169, n. 5.

[20] Cf. Brundage, *The Medieval Origins of the Legal Profession,* p. 477. Christ is also characterized as "our advocate" in the Snite *MVC* and its reader would have been familiar with 1 John 2:1: "if any man sin, we have an advocate with the Father, Jesus Christ the just." See also G. R. Evans, *Law and Theology in the Middle Ages* (London and New York: Routledge, 2002), pp. 62–4, on the "theology" of advocacy.

[21] Ragusa and Green (trans.), *Meditations,* p. 11.

> I asked grace that it would be permitted to me to see the time in which would be born she who was to bear the Son of God, and [that God] would preserve me and give me the grace that before I die I would with my eyes see him, with my ears to hear, with my tongue to speak to and to praise, my hands to serve him, with my feet to be able to visit him, with my knees to adore him, and in my lap to sweetly hold him.[22]

This petition as expressed in the Paris manuscript seems to be intended to convey the depths of the young Virgin Mary's humility, unable to imagine that she will be the mother of God. It thus at once models the disposition to which the nun is to aspire and articulates the veneration owed to the Virgin Mary. Either the Snite *MVC* version was the result of an inattentive scribe who carelessly changed the pronouns after the opening phrase, or, the original form of this petition did not make sense to him or to the theological advisor who likely was involved in the production of the Snite manuscript for this particular patron. In any case, the Snite *MVC* version of the petition emphatically shifts the emphasis away from the Virgin Mary by making Christ the fulfillment of the prayer.

The Christocentric orientation of the patron's piety—manifest in the opening illumination—may also be revealed in the final folios of the Snite manuscript where one finds an unusual passage that asserts that Christ, rather than the Virgin Mary or the saints, should be the focus of prayer. The *MVC* text is followed by an anecdote about a saintly German bishop, Albert (presumably the thirteenth-century Dominican, Albert the Great) who, after repeatedly petitioning Christ to tell him what to do to be a good Christian, finally threatens during Mass to no longer elevate or adore the Host unless Christ answers

---

[22] Snite *MVC*, fol. 6v: "possa adomandava gratia ke mi facesse vedere l tempo nel quale fosse nata colei ke dovena partirire lo filgluolo di dio e conservassimi e dessimi gratia ke io inançi ke i morisse lo vedesse colli mei occhi e colle orechie audire con la lengua parlare e lodare colle mani servirlo colli piedi poterlo visitare colle ginochie poterlo adorare e in del mio grenbo dolcemente tenerlo."

his prayer.[23] Christ replies with eight statements[24] in which he juxtaposes the simple and humble Christian behavior against its opposite, which in most cases is the conspicuous display of piety, often extravagant acts of self-mortification. For example, Christ tells Albert that "if you suffer a harsh word from your neighbor [it] will be more dear to me and more useful to you than if you were to break on your back as many switches as there are in the forest and in woods and in every other place." In the sixth antithesis, Christ recommends direct rather than intercessory prayer as more efficacious. He says, "If you ever beseech grace for [your] body or soul, ask it from me yourself. [This] would be more dear to me and more useful to you than if my mother asks it from me for you, and all the men and all the orders of angels and all the other saints who have passed from this world from the time of Adam and Eve."[25] Such diminution of the role of the Virgin Mary as meditrix starkly contrasts with the illumination by Nicolò da Bologna for the Office of the Dead in the Kremsmünster Book of Hours (Plate 242) that represents Christ as Judge at the upper left with the Virgin Mary in the center directly below him and in slightly larger scale; she is seated upon the landing of a staircase and supervises the vesting of the

---

[23] Nitz, *Albertus Magnus in der Volkskunst*, pp. 9–18, surveys the origins and diffusion of this legend. Nitz suggests that the text may have originated with the famous thirteenth-century Franciscan preacher, Berthold of Regensburg. Albert the Great was Bishop of Regensburg for a brief period ca. 1260 and would have known Berthold. The Illustratore illuminated a canon law manuscript ca. 1335–40 of the *Liber Sextus decretalium* for Bishop Albert of Passau (Plate 60), so perhaps was the conduit through which the anecdote came to Bologna.

[24] Nitz, Ibid., pp. 16–17, reports that the tradition typically includes nine.

[25] Snite *MVC,* fol. 120v: "La sexta si e se mai tu domandarai gratia per lo corpo o per l anima domandala a mi tu medesemo a mie sera piue caro e a tie sera piu utile che se el me pregasse per ti la madre mia e tuti li omini e tuti li ordini deli angeli e tuti li altri santi chi sono pasati de questo mondo dal tempo d adam e da eva." This is a somewhat different assertion than the one reported by Nitz, Ibid. p. 17: "Wenn du zu Lebzeiten für dich betest, ist es besser, als wenn nach deinem Tode alle Heiligen im Himmel für dich beten würden."

naked souls on their ascent to heaven.[26] In the eight antitheses of the Albert anecdote, the patron of the Snite *MVC* was encouraged to renounce the pious practices typical of devout wealthy laity, e.g., financing crusade, going on pilgrimage, and to cultivate instead a close primary relationship with Christ, accompanied by sincere penitence and active charity. Above all, his religiosity was to be expressed in quiet and unobtrusive ways. Such a message would resonate most strongly if the patron and his family actually had the financial means and social prestige to indulge in showy but hypocritical piety.

These adjustments to the Snite *MVC* text, coupled with the sometimes lengthy marginal instructions whose author appears to be theologically attuned, suggest the presence of an advisor who mediated between the manuscript patron, on the one hand, and the scribe and illuminator, on the other. The instances when the marginal notations lapse into Latin or quote directly from scripture and where they describe the event to be depicted in terms of the narrative rather than in pictorially informative ways, indicate that the author of the instructions was probably not a professional artist.[27] In light of the modifications to the text as described above, the inclusion of the Albert anecdote, and the theologically subtle allusions in the illuminations, it seems likely that the advisor was a religious. He may have served as a spiritual director for the patron, and perhaps was a Dominican, especially if the patron was a judge or lawyer. The length of some of the

---

[26] For further examples of Trecento Bolognese Marian imagery see E. Cassee, "Maria mediatrice a Bologna," in *Ultramontani: Studi belgi e olandesi per il IX centenario dell' alma mater bolognese*, ed. A. W. A. Boschloo (Bologna: Edizioni Luigi Parma, 1990), pp. 11–18.

[27] In comparison, the marginal instructions to the illuminator in the Paris *MVC* are much more concise and pictorially specific, see Ragusa and Green (trans.) *Meditations*, pp. 403–458. C. Donovan, *The De Brailes Hours* (Toronto: Univ. of Toronto Press, 1991), p. 38, characterizes its captions written in a cursive hand, which are not always pictorially instructive, as "more like marginal notes" written by William de Brailes, the illuminator who, though married, also held minor orders.

cursive instructions that extend well into the margins, and the apparent lack of concern that they could not be effectively eliminated by trimming, would be consistent with a theological advisor and a patron who were accustomed to reading heavily glossed books that frequently bear extensive marginalia, seen even in deluxe illuminated Trecento legal manuscripts.[28] Although the fact that the text is in the vernacular may have been motivated by the needs of the female members of the family, it is not incompatible with an erudite layman as the patron. The legal historian Antonio García y García observed that "legal teaching and writing in Latin and the vernacular were not mutually exclusive; they stimulated each other to such an extent that they became interdependent, as jurists writing in the vernacular had studied at the university and perhaps taught there."[29]

If the Snite *MVC* patron was engaged in the law, it is probable that the themes of justice and righteousness as manifested in the life and death of Christ were particularly meaningful to him. The *Meditations'* retelling of Christ's life opens with the dispute among the virtues before God that resembles a courtroom trial before the ultimate judge.[30] The debate about whether man should be saved exposes the seemingly

---

[28] Further, annotation in the margins is a feature of late medieval Italian vernacular Bible manuscripts, according to S. Corbellini, "Vernacular Bible Manuscripts in Late Medieval Italy," in *Form and Function in the Late Medieval Bible*, ed. E. Poleg and L. Light (Leiden: Brill, 2013), p. 274.

[29] A. García y García, "The Faculties of Law," in *A History of the University in Europe*, vol. I, ed. H. De Ridder Symoens (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), p. 392.

[30] The inclination to cast salvation history in legal terms is embedded in scripture. Brundage, *The Medieval Origins of the Legal Profession*, p. 9, relates that Stephen of Tournai, a twelfth-century canonist, wrote that the first trial occurred when God accused Adam and Eve of disobedience. At the other end of the story, S. Y. Egerton, Jr., "The Last Judgment as Pageant Setting for Communal Law and Order in Late Medieval Italy," in *Persons in Groups*, ed. R. C. Trexler (Binghamton: SUNY Press, 1985), pp. 79-100, has analyzed how Last Judgment iconography increasingly resembled a judicial court. In a related vein, D. D'Avray, "Sermons to the Upper Bourgeoisie by a Thirteenth Century Franciscan," in *The Church in Town and Countryside*, ed. D. Baker (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1979), p. 198, reports that Guibert of Tournai, in his sermons to

irreconcilable differences between Mercy and Peace, on the one side, and Justice and Truth, on the other. The resolution to the argument is put forward by the King/Judge: "'The death of sinners is noxious but that of saints is precious and the door of life. Let there be found someone willing to die out of charity yet not guilty of death. In this way death will not be able to keep the innocent man, and he will make a passage through which he can freely pass.'"[31] The Second Person of the Trinity unifies the opposites: "Since the person of the Father appears at times awful and terrible and powerful, Peace and Mercy might not have had confidence. While the person of the Spirit is very benign and might have caused suspicions in Justice and Truth. Thus the person of the Son as a median between Justice and Mercy was accepted by each party to effect the remedy."[32]

Though the folio with the miniature of the Dispute among the Virtues is missing from the Snite manuscript, the representation of God the Father in Heaven (Plate 2) that opened the preceding chapter[33] (subsequently detached and reinserted as fol. 37) strongly resembles the image type for God the Father characteristic of the Illustratore. In two large manuscript illuminations for legal manuscripts—one canon law (Vat. lat. 1389), the other

---

judges and advocates, "makes Christ an advocate, with God the Father the judge of the case, and the cross the *locus iuris*."

[31] Snite *MVC*, fol. 4v: "rispoxe el re, 'la morte di pecatori e pessima ma quela dei santi e pretiosa et porta di vita eterna. Trovisi dunqua chi volglia la morte per carita e non sia dengno di ricervela. E in questo modo la morte non portare tenere lo innocente. Ma farae per le iiiii p[er] tii so p[er] lo quale si potra passare liberamente.'"

[32] Snite *MVC*, fol. 5r: "In percio che lla persona del padre in alcuna cosa pare orribile e terribele e potente e cusi in alcuno modo non se ne serebe afidada la pace e la misericordia. Ma la persona delo spirto sancto e benignissima e cosi in alcuna cosa non se ne serebe afidata la iustitia ne lla verita. Unde la persona di meço tra la iustitia e lla misericordia çoe del filgluolo si e aceptata da caschuna parte per dare questo remedio."

[33] The rubric at the top of fol. 37v for the chapter illustrated by God the Father in Heaven (i.e., the chapter preceding the Dispute between Mercy and Truth) in the Snite MVC reads, "Of the meditations on the time before the Incarnation, and first how the angels prayed for us."

civil (Vat. lat. 1430)[34]—that date to the mid-1330s, the Illustratore used the type of the enthroned patriarchal God[35] as the principal figure in a representation of the Trinity as source and summit of the law. Directly below the central elevated figures of Father and Son is an altar flanked by kneeling figures of clergy and laymen or saints. In Vat. lat. 1389, the mandorla surrounding the figures of Father and Son is flanked on either side by two rows of figures aloft: red seraphim at upper left, green doctors of law at lower left, blue soldiers at upper right, and yellow cherubim at lower right (Plate 243). Durandus asserted that doctors of law were like the cherubim who guarded the gates of paradise,[36] and their inclusion along with the soldiers in the celestial hierarchy claims for them an exalted role as protectors of the faith.[37] Such thinking transposes to a Christian register, the assertion of the third-century Roman jurist, Ulpian, quoted at the opening of

---

[34] Justinian's *Codex* (Vat. lat. 1430, fol. 5r). A collection of works issued in the early sixth century, the *Codex* opens with a vigorous assertion of orthodox doctrine as articulated at Chalcedon, Ephesus and Nicea, i.e., the teaching on the incarnation, Mary as the Mother of God, and the Trinitarian godhead. The sword that God the Father holds in his mouth likely refers to Hebrews 4:12–13.

[35] The Illustratore (Weimar, Thüringische Landsbibliothek, Fol. max. 10, fol. 4v) and Stefano Azzi (Vienna, ÖNB, cod. 2042, fol. 116v) employ a similar elderly patriarch as the central standing figure in their illuminations of the diagram of the Tree of Consanguinity. On the identity and iconography of this figure see W. Cahn, "A Twelfth-century Decretum Frgment from Pontigny," *Bulletin of the Cleveland Museum of Art* 62 (1975): 55–6. H. Schadt, *Die Darstellungen der Arbores consanguinitatis und der Arbores affinitatis: Bildschemata in juristischen Handschriften* (Tübingen: Wasmuth, 1982), pp. 266–8, discusses the representation of this ancestral figure in Bolognese manuscripts. Schadt, pp. 216–7, records Giovanni d'Andrea's playful identification of the patriarch as a familiar beadle at the university.

[36] K. W. Nörr, "À propos du *Speculum iudiciale* de Guillaume Durand," in *Guillaume Durand: Évêque du Mende*, ed. P.-M. Gy (Paris: CNRS, 1992), p. 70. See also Brundage, *The Medieval Origins of the Legal Profession*, p. 476.

[37] A row of nimbed men attired in legal dress is at the upper left among the ranks of angels who flank the enthroned Christ in the full page illumination of the Maiestas Domini (Plate 244) in the Missal of Cardinal Bertrand de Deux (BAV, Cod. Cap. 63, f. 188v), a mid-fourteenth century manuscript whose illumination has been attributed to the 1346 Master.

Justinian's *Digest*, which was the essential text for legal training from the twelfth century on:[38]

> A law student at the outset of his studies ought first to know the derivation of the word *jus*. Its derivation is from *justitia*. For, in terms of Celsus' elegant definition, the law is the art of goodness and fairness. Of that art we [jurists] are deservedly called the priests. For we cultivate the virtue of justice and claim awareness of what is good and fair, discriminating between fair and unfair, distinguishing lawful from unlawful, aiming to make men good not only through fear of penalties but also indeed under allurement of rewards, and affecting a philosophy which, if I am not deceived, is genuine, not a sham.[39]

Assuming that the Snite manuscript patron was professionally engaged in the law, the deliberate defacing of Pilate in the illumination of Christ's trial points to a preoccupation with justice and fair judgment. The vigor of the efforts to obliterate Pilate is apparent not only in the broad smearing of the red paint of his robes but also in the large red blotch on the facing page, which indicates that the vandalizer was so incensed that he slammed the book shut while the water or liquid that he used to wipe out Pilate was still wet (Plate 245). The role of Pilate in the Snite *MVC* text is ambiguous. Perhaps because the original reader of the *Meditations* was a cloistered woman religious for whom judicial matters would have been of little interest, scant attention is given to the trial itself. Rather than Pilate's interrogation of Christ, the strongest emphasis in the text

---

[38] On the sacred status accorded Justinian's law, see A. Gouron, "Some Aspects of the Medieval Teaching of Roman Law," in *Learning Institutionalized: Teaching in the Medieval University*, ed. J. Van Engen (Notre Dame, Ind.: Univ. of Notre Dame Press, 2000), pp. 163–6. The *Digest* was critical to the revival of legal learning in the twelfth century. As Brundage, *The Medieval Origins of the Legal Profession*, p. 78, writes, " Medieval jurists learned from the Digest how to frame sophisticated legal arguments, how to manipulate legal categories, how to analyze problems, and how to find solutions to them." By the time of the high middle ages, familiarity with Roman civil law was an essential foundation also for the study of canon law, Ibid., p. 125. J. Kirshner, "Was Bartolo da Sassoferrato a Source for Christine de Pizan?," *Medieval Studies* 74 (2012): 265, notes that "from 1300 forward, jurists increasingly earned degrees in both Roman and canon law (*utriusque iuris*)."

[39] *The Digest of Justinian,* Dig. 1.1.1, vol. I, trans. and ed. Alan Watson (Philadelphia: Univ. of Pennsylvania Press, 1985; rev. 1998), p. 72.

is on stigmatizing the Jews as malicious persecutors of Christ. The text reports that, despite their accusations, Pilate could find no reason to sentence Christ to death and so sent him to be flogged, thinking that would suffice. After lingering over the description of the flagellation, when the text reports Pilate's final condemnation of Christ to death, it characterizes him as "wretched." Yet, in the chapter on Christ's agony in Gethsemane, the Snite *MVC* interpolates a passage emphasizing that Pilate, after diligent investigation, found no reason to justify Christ's execution. Pilate's provisional verdict is there cited in a positive way as confirmation of Christ's innocence, its insertion intended to place blame for the crucifixion upon the Jews.[40] It is difficult to resolve the divergent evidence provided by this citation of Pilate's recognition of Christ's innocence, which serves to highlight Jewish perfidy, with the fact that it is the figure of Pilate, not those of the Jewish accusers, that is so vigorously defaced in the miniature of the Trial.

For a reader who may have been a judge or lawyer, Pilate's abandonment of his commitment to just judgment when faced with external pressure—especially when his interrogation had found no culpability in the accused—must have been intolerable.[41] Susan L'Engle's proposal that the illuminations that decorate the opening of manuscripts of the *Digestum vetus* dating to the second quarter of the fourteenth century represent the iconography of graft may be relevant to the reader's response to the figure of Pilate in the

---

[40] The interpolation appears in the *MVC* account of Christ's prayer to his Father that he be spared, not out of fear, but because of his concern for the Jews who would be lost by his unjust death. For the latter, see Ragusa and Green (trans.), *Meditations*, p. 324.

[41] Even the placement of Pilate at the left edge of the miniature, which contrasts with Christ's central position in the preceding miniatures, may have carried moral meaning. William Durand, *On the Advocate*, trans. Patrick J. Lally, pt. 5 (How an advocate should . . .commend [the judge]), at no. 13, writes: "[commend him] for his fairness, because he himself is fair, unpretentious, and stays close to the mean, not swerving to the right or to the left, and on this account he is said to be seated in the midst."

Snite Trial miniature.[42] L'Engle interprets these Digest opening illuminations as allegories of law and justice designed to show the threat posed by judicial corruption, its pernicious consequences, and the imperative to eliminate it. The images are vivid and memorable, though perplexing to a modern viewer, e.g., richly dressed secular figures kneel before the judge and proffer bribes while being clubbed by soldiers. She links the elaboration of this iconography to the signory from 1337 to 1347 of the wealthy jurist Taddeo Pepoli and his efforts to eliminate extortion and other abuses of power by municipal officers. Apart from the immediate political context of these illuminations, more generally they articulate the solemn obligations of those involved in the law. For example, a large illumination attributed to the Master of 1328 that opens a *Digestum vetus* in Turin (Bibl. Naz., Ms. E.I.1, fol. 1r), probably dating to the first half of the 1330s, represents the female personification of Justice flanked by personified virtues in the upper register, while in the register below, soldiers cudgel groups of figures bearing gifts at either side and in the center a soldier raises his sword to slice a baby in two—a reference to the wisdom of Solomon and the gravity of the law's work (Plate 246). Below these two main registers, in borders framing the two main columns of text, an assortment of scholars are depicted in their classrooms and carrels, surrounded by piles of books, and an anchorite sits in his cave at the far right as a symbol of the renunciation of worldly blandishments required of those who would teach and practice law.[43] If such monitory imagery was familiar to the Snite patron—highly likely if he were a lawyer or judge—the failure of Pilate, the Roman governor, to follow the law, and especially his conscious

[42] L'Engle, "Illumination of Legal Manuscripts," pp. 284–95.

[43] Gibbs, "'Sober as a Judge'," p. 132.

capitulation to what, in Trecento terms, was like a vendetta[44] resulting in the death of the savior, would have cut very close to home. [45]

While Pilate in this reading exemplifies the judge who, in the end, is neither just nor merciful, St. Joseph provides the consummate counter example of the man in whom justice and mercy coexist. From the passage in Matthew 1:19, it was clear that the appellation of Joseph as a "just man" refers to his righteousness: his respect for Jewish law that expressed God's covenant with Israel. His decision to quietly divorce the pregnant Virgin Mary was consistent with the law's proscription of adultery[46] yet would spare the Virgin's life. The challenge of reconciling obedience to the law—essential to the concept of justice—with mercy, was integral to the understanding of the ideal realization of justice. Christ's success in performing his healing miracles while not only deflecting charges that his conduct violated the law, but even asserting that he had come to fulfill it, provided a model that the Christian lawyer or judge could not ignore.[47]

---

[44] Cf. L'Engle, "Illumination of Legal Manuscripts in Bologna," p. 291. L'Engle identifies as a negative example of vigilante justice the two central figures in the act of murder (flanked by rich people offering bribes) that are placed directly below the enthroned figure of Justice in the opening illumination of a *Digestum vetus* manuscript ca. 1350 attributed to the 1346 Master (Paris, BnF, Ms. latin 14339, fol. 3). In Vat. lat. 1411, the 1346 Master depicts a vicious beheading in the center foreground before Justice (Plate 208).

[45] The Church of Santo Stefano in Bologna, which recreated the pilgrimage sites of Jerusalem, included the "Cortile di Pilato" and a relic reputed to be the basin in which Pilate washed his hands. See R. G. Ousterhout, "The Church of Santo Stefano: A 'Jerusalem' in Bologna," *Gesta* 20 (1981): 311–21.

[46] Deuteronomy 22: 22–24 required the condemnation and stoning to death of both parties consenting to adultery, as well as of the woman who was betrothed yet still a virgin and the man who had forced himself upon her, if the intercourse took place in the city and she had failed to protest loudly.

[47] The commonplace disparagement of Jewish interpretation of scripture was invoked in medieval criticism of the rigidly literalist interpretation of statutes that would result in absurd restrictions. See J. Kirshner, "'Made exiles for the love of knowledge': Students in Late Medieval Italy," *Mediaeval Studies* 70 (2008): 190.

Medieval awareness of the tension between these virtues and the importance of harmonizing them, which is articulated in the Dispute chapter in the *MVC*, is apparent in the image that Francesco da Barberino designed for a mural in the courtroom of the bishop's palace in Treviso in the early fourteenth-century that represented a large figure of Justice accompanied by Mercy and Conscience.[48] Faced with such responsibility, it is not surprising that it was assumed that the judge should be a person of deep faith in order to render just judgment.[49]

That the gospel account of Joseph's decision to act righteously but not vindictively, is immediately followed by the appearance of the angel who announces his special role as husband to Mary and father to Jesus, made clear to medieval exegetes that such integration of justice and mercy was favored by God. For the pious judge or lawyer, Joseph's virtues were of a piece with the dominant scriptural themes that figure in the readings throughout the liturgical year.[50] The prominence given to Joseph in the Snite Infancy miniatures would have been informed, for example, by the readings for Mass during Advent. In the week before Christmas, the gospel text is Matthew 1:18–25, the account of Joseph's discovery of Mary's pregnancy and the vision of the angel who addresses him as "Joseph, son of David," which is preceded by Jeremiah 23:5–8

---

[48] A. Minnis, "Image Trouble in Vernacular Commentary: The Vacillations of Francesco da Barberino." *Nottingham Medieval Studies* 56 (2012): 240.

[49] B. Morel, "Justice et bien commune: Étude comparée de la fresque du *Bon Gouvernement* d'Ambrogio Lorenzetti et d'un manuscrit juridique bolonais," *Mélanges de l'École Française de Rome: Moyen Âge* 113:1 (2001): 695.

[50] The alphabetical word list on the Vatican website for the New American Bible (http://www.vatican.va/archive/ENG0839/_FA1.HTM) indicates the frequency in the Old and New Testaments of the following scriptural terms: love: 672; peace: 477; justice: 299; mercy: 281; truth: 205.

concerning the righteous shoot of David who "shall execute judgment and justice in the earth," and who is called "the Lord our just one," and Psalm 71(72), the paean to Solomon, the wise, just, and merciful king. The representation of Joseph as a mature and dignified husband who diligently protects his wife and their child, preserving Mary's virginity and concealing Christ's divinity, in conjunction with his identification as a righteous man, would have provided a model consistent with the values of a devout jurist.[51]

A relevant work that sheds light on a pious lawyer's worldview is the treatise, *De gestis Domini Salvatoris*, written in Latin in the mid-fourteenth century by the Augustinian monk, Simone Fidati,[52] for Tommaso Corsini, a married layman who was his friend and follower. Corsini was a doctor of law and served as the Gonfaloniere di Giustizia in Florence. After narrating the life of Christ in Books I–XIV, Fidati concludes the treatise with Book XV, *De iusticia christiana*. Fidati first considers justice as a legal virtue and then as a social virtue, including the justice owed between family members, relatives, and friends. He sees the father's role as that of a mediator between his children

---

[51] The Dominicans in Bologna, who had close relationships with the university law faculty, may have been the instigators in this. The inclination to interpret the members of the holy family as models for discipleship among the educated is apparent in the concluding episode of the legend of St. Dominic in the *Golden Legend*. Jacobus de Voragine, *Golden Legend*, II, pp. 57–8, reports that in the notes of Master Alexander, bishop of Vendôme, on the text of Ps. 85:11, "mercy and truth have met each other; justice and peace have kissed," he records the story of the conversion of a licentious university student. The student had a vision in which he was caught in a great storm but his efforts to seek shelter in the houses of Justice, Truth, and Peace, were rebuffed. When he knocked at the door of Mercy, she advised him to go to the house of the Order of Preachers and "there you will find the stable of penance and the manger of continence and the pap of doctrine, the ass of simplicity and the ox of discretion; and Mary will enlighten you, Joseph will perfect you, and the Child Jesus will save you."

[52] See M. G. McNeil, *Simone Fidati and His "De gestis Domini Salvatoris"* (Washington, DC: Catholic University Press, 1950). Nicolò da Bologna is attributed with the illumination of a manuscript of Fidati's vernacular text, *De vita cristiana*, which is often characterized as the first Italian catechism, now in the British Library, Ms. add. 27428.

and God: the good father should encourage his son to be merciful, generous, humble, and faithful, and should not be harsh or play favorites among his children. In the conclusion of Book XV, Fidati considers just rule and asserts that those in authority are to serve their subjects and will be held accountable to God for their conduct. He admonishes judges to judge prudently, seeking to absolve rather than condemn, and taking into account the context in which a crime was committed and the relationship between the contending parties before rendering judgment. He warns judges of the gravity of their task: "God desires, declares Fidati, that men be judged in tranquility of soul, humility of heart, and compassion of mind, for the judge should always be mindful that he could be guilty of the same offence."[53] That Christ, himself, required that lawyers act justly and would reward their righteousness is apparent in a polyptych attributed to Simone Martini made for the Duomo in Pisa now in Casciana Alta: the lay patron, dressed as a canon lawyer, is presented by an apostle saint to the Madonna and Child in the central panel and the Child holds a scroll whose inscription is from the Beatitudes (Matthew 5:6), "Blessed are they that hunger and thirst after justice; for they shall have their fill."[54]

The representation of St. Joseph in the Snite *MVC* coheres with the representation of the mature civic officials or men of prominence—the *sapientes*—in works such as Ambrogio Lorenzetti's *Allegory of Justice and Good Government* in Siena's Palazzo Pubblico. The figure of Justice in the fresco holds scales inscribed with the verse from the Old Testament book of Wisdom 1:1: "Love justice, you that are the judges of the

---

[53] McNeil, *Simone Fidati and His "De gestis Domini Salvatoris,"* p. 166.

[54] J. Cannon, "Simone Martini, the Dominicans and the Early Sienese Polyptych," *JWCI* 45 (1982): 84–6. Cannon notes that the inscription is unusual.

earth."[55] That same verse is inscribed on the infant Christ's scroll in Simone Martini's *Maestà,* also in the Palazzo Pubblico.[56] In his analysis of a sermon given by a thirteenth-century French Franciscan directed to urban men who wielded political and judicial power, David D'Avray perceives an emphasis on the virtue of wisdom by which the preacher asserts that they are to be conformed to God. Wisdom is to be made manifest in their professional and personal conduct, particularly by refusing bribes and gifts that may have been acquired at the expense of the poor.[57] St. Joseph's age, dress, and demeanor in the Snite illuminations also accord with the dignified pensive figure that Polzer has identified as a personification of *senectute* at the far right of the seated row of figures in Andrea di Bonaiuto's fresco of the Via Veritatis in the Spanish Chapel of Santa Maria Novella, the Dominican church in Florence. Polzer proposes that the figure could be a judge or notary who represents the period in such a man's life between age 45–70 that ought to be devoted to "prudence, justice, largesse, praise, and affability."[58]

The appreciation of Joseph as a wise and just man, like the ideal urban male civic leader, meshed readily with the representation of Joseph as a loving father and faithful

---

[55] L. Bolzoni, *The Web of Images: Vernacular Preaching from its Origins to Saint Bernardino*, p. 142: "diligite iustitiam qui iudicatis terram"

[56] J. Cannon, "Duccio and Devotion to the Virgin's Foot in Early Sienese Painting," in *A Wider Trecento: Studies in 13th- and 14th-Century European Art Presented to Julian Gardner*, ed. L. Bourdua and R. Gibbs (Leiden: Brill, 2012), p. 61, n. 3.

[57] D. L. D'Avray, "Sermons to the Upper Bourgeoisie by a Thirteenth Century Franciscan, " p. 190.

[58] J. Polzer, "Andrea di Bonaiuto's *Via Veritatis* and Dominican Thought in Late Medieval Italy," *Art Bulletin* 77 (June 1995): 281.

husband.[59] His portrayal as the tender but masculine head of the family was charged, as so many of the other "bourgeois" features in the representation of the holy family that art historians have generally regarded as concessions to a lay audience, with theological and doctrinal meaning.[60] Joseph's solicitude for the infant Jesus underscored his place as the last of the Old Testament patriarchs who not only saw the prophecies fulfilled but was granted the privilege of holding and touching Christ, freighted with clear eucharistic significance. His portrayal as family provider was prompted by typological interpretation that took its cue from the Matthaean geneaology that named Jacob as his father: thus Joseph of Nazareth was linked to Joseph in Egypt who forgave his brothers and saved his people from famine by providing them food, again with eucharistic connotations.[61] His chaste marriage with the Virgin Mary and acceptance of the *bonum prolis*, Jesus, was paralleled to the union of Christ and the Church and its fruitfulness in giving birth to Christian progeny and nurturing them through the sacraments. Joseph's duties and privileges would have made him an apt model for men, both clerical and lay, who wielded authority in late medieval Bologna.[62]

---

[59] D. Herlihy, "Family," *American Historical Review* 96:1 (February 1991): 12, quotes a couplet from a fourteenth-century poem praising St. Joseph written by Eustache Deschmps: "'You who serve wife and infants/Ever have Joseph in your remembrance.'"

[60] Bernard of Clairvaux and Peter John Olivi were two significant contributors to the elevation of Joseph's role. For a survey of theologians' treatment of St. Joseph, see the essays in J. F. Chorpenning, ed., *Joseph of Nazareth through the Centuries* (Philadelphia, PA: St. Joseph University Press, 2011), and the brief overview in C. C. Wilson, *St. Joseph in Italian Renaissance Society and Art* (Philadelphia, PA: St. Joseph University Press, 2001), pp. 3–6.

[61] Similiarly, by providing an unused tomb for the body of Christ, Joseph of Arimathea was linked to Joseph of Nazareth, who preserved the virginal womb of the Virgin Mary. See E. P. Dunne, "Albert the Great's Theology of St. Joseph," *Cahiers de Joséphologie* 7:2 (1959): 51–2.

[62] Joseph as a male exemplar was also appropriated by craftsmen. Toward the end of the fourteenth-century, St. Joseph is cited as the "protector and defender" of the woodworkers guild in its statutes dated 1377. The invocation at the beginning of the statutes names an array of saints

That such men appreciated religious and moralizing literature keyed to their station in life is apparent, for example, in the illuminated "Officiolum" of Francesco da Barberino, the early fourteenth-century Florentine author, notary, and judge, who had been educated in Bologna and Padua. On folio 3v of his book of hours, a lawyer—most likely Francesco—is represented surrounded by books and captioned, "they are vain in whom there is no knowledge of the Lord."[63] He is best known for his poetic allegory, the *Documenti d'amore,* an illustrated conduct manual for men written in the vernacular, with Latin paraphrase and gloss, in which twelve personifications, such as Docilitas, Prudentia, and Justitia, provide advice on how to live a virtuous life.[64] It was conceived as a book with illustrations designed by Francesco; the *mise-en-page* resembles a legal manuscript. In Bologna, Giovanni D'Andrea, the leading canonist and law professor of the first half of the Trecento, energetically promoted the cult of St. Jerome, championing him as the learned translator of the bible, a moral exemplar, and a contributor to knowledge of law.[65] The latter reputation was expressed in the etymology that Jacobus da

---

in addition to Joseph: the Virgin Mary, Peter and Paul, Petronius and Ambrose, the soldier and martyr Florian, and Dominic and Francis. See Gardin, "Presenza di immagini religiose in codici laici," pp. 383–4.

[63] K. Sutton, "The lost 'Officiolum' of Francesco da Barberino rediscovered," p. 157, n. 20.

[64] For a discussion of the role of the illustrations vis à vis the Italian and Latin text, see A. Minnis, "Image Trouble in Vernacular Commentary: The Vacillations of Francesco da Barberino." See also, C. Harding, "Speaking in Pictures: Reading, Memory and Interpretation in Francesco da Barberino's Advice to Women in his *Reggimento e costumi di donna*," *RACAR* 36:1 (2011): 29–40. R. Gibbs, "'Sober as a Judge'," pp. 123–4, briefly discusses Francesco's illustrated books.

[65] See E. F. Rice, Jr., *Saint Jerome in the Renaissance* (Baltimore/London: Johns Hopkins Univ. Press, 1985), pp. 64–8, on Giovanni d'Andrea's promotion of his cult, and also B. Ridderbos, *Saint and Symbol: Images of Saint Jerome in Early Italian Art* (Groningen, Netherlands: Bouma's Boekhuis, 1984).

Voragine provides for his name: "Jerome comes from *gerar*, holy and *nemus*, a grove—or *noma*, a law. Therefore in his legend the saint's name is interpreted as sacred law."[66]

Giovanni d'Andrea not only wrote a major study of St. Jerome, the *Hieronymianus,*[67] he also had the life of Jerome painted on the walls of his house "visible to everyone," founded a chapel dedicated to Jerome in the cathedral of Bologna, a church on the road to Florence, a monastery near Bologna, and erected altars dedicated to him in several churches.[68] Giovanni specified the iconography of St. Jerome with his cardinal's hat set beside him and accompanied by his tame lion, and the inclusion of the image of Jerome becomes a feature of illuminated manuscripts of Giovanni's legal works in the second half of the century.[69] Given St. Jerome's withdrawal to pursue an ascetic life at the cave of the Nativity in Bethlehem (and his translation of the apocryphal Infancy gospel), and Giovanni d'Andrea's reknown and influence among the educated elites, it is possible that representations of the Nativity, which in Bologna typically included an

---

[66] *Golden Legend,* II, p. 211. The antiphon for the feast of St. Jerome refers to Psalm 1:2–3: "[Blessed is the man whose] will is in the law of the Lord, and on his law he shall meditate day and night. And he shall be like a tree which is planted near the running waters, which shall bring forth its fruit in due season."

[67] R. Gibbs, "Images of Higher Education in Fourteenth-Century Bologna," p. 278, reports that the earliest known copy, whose frontispiece was illuminated by the 1346 Master, is in the Collegio di Spagna, Ms. 273.

[68] B. Ridderbos, *Saint and Symbol: Images of Saint Jerome in Early Italian Art*, pp. 16–19.

[69] In a manuscript of Giovanni d'Andrea's *Novella* (Vat. lat. 1456), whose large opening illumination was signed by Nicolò da Bologna and dated 1353, Giovanni is represented presenting his work to the Pope, teaching a class, and reading in his study, while the historiated initial for the text depicts St. Jerome and his lion. In the *Novella* manuscript in the Biblioteca Ambrosiana (Plate 65), the pictorial references to Jerome in the illumination of the *Christ and the Woman accused of Adultery* are oblique: a lion crouches in a cave directly beneath Christ and a tree rises in the center aligned with Christ's writing hand, conflating the "sacred law" and "grove" elements of the *Golden Legend* etymology.

attentive and reverent St. Joseph, acquired particular appeal among learned men aware of Giovanni d'Andrea's identification with Jerome.[70]

Though his origins were modest, Giovanni became man of considerable wealth with close connections to members of the papal court, particularly to Bertrand du Poujet, the papal legate in Bologna in the early 1330s.[71] He was also the husband of the daughter of a canonist and father to five children by her, two illegitimate sons, and an adopted son, Giovanni Calderini. Practicing and teaching law was the family profession: three sons were professors at the university in Bologna and three of his daughters married lawyers. According to Christine de Pizan, whose father had been at the university of Bologna in the mid-fourteenth century, Giovanni d'Andrea's youngest daughter, Novella, would teach class for her father from behind a curtain when he was away.[72] Many scholars are

---

[70] Rice, *Saint Jerome in the Renaissance*, p. 65, reports that "he sometimes signed himself Giovanni d'Andrea di San Girolamo." Giovanni d'Andrea's devotion to St. Jerome is probably linked to his papal connections. In a document of 1290, St. Jerome's relics were recorded as having been translated to Rome sometime in the thirteenth-century and housed in S. Maria Maggiore near the relics of the manger of the Nativity venerated there. Consecrated to Mary the Mother of God in commemoration of the Council of Ephesus, S. Maria Maggiore was the site of the principal papal Nativity liturgy. The cult of St. Jerome was promoted in Rome in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, encouraged by Jerome of Ascoli, who became the first Franciscan pope, Nicholas IV (1288–92). See Rice, Ibid., pp. 55–6, and Cooper and Robson, *The Making of Assisi,* pp. 177–80.

[71] For a concise biography of Giovanni D'Andrea see the entry by Giorgio Tamba in *Dizionario biografico degli Italiani,* v. 55 (2001), s.v. "Giovanni d'Andrea." On his relationship with Bertrand du Poujet, see M. Medica, "Libri, miniatori e committenti nella Bologna di Bertrando del Poggetto," in his *Giotto e le arti a Bologna*, pp. 79–83.

[72] Christine de Pisan, *The Book of the City of Ladies*, trans. E. J. Richards (New York: Persea Books, 1982), p. 154 (II.36.3). P. De Winter, "Bolognese Miniatures at the Cleveland Museum," p. 347, n. 13, suggests that the fact that Bolognese professors were paid a fee per student per lecture, might have been the motivation to have Novella substitute for him. In Vat. lat. 2634, whose illumination De Winter attributes to Nicolò da Bologna, ca. 1365, a half-length female figure pointing to the text is represented in the initial directly below the large illumination on f. 1r of Giovanni d'Andrea teaching (Plate 221). Since Giovanni d'Andrea explicitly linked his major legal work, the *Novella*, with his mother and daughter who were both named "Novella," perhaps it was this kind of personified figure that gave rise to the notion of his daughter serving as a substitute teacher.

skeptical of this claim and likewise are doubtful of the seriousness of Giovanni's occasional statements in his legal works that he had consulted his wife, Milancia.[73] Still, the d'Andrea family seems to have countenanced capable women, customarily appointing them as executors and guardians,[74] and Giovanni does refer to family matters in his scholarly work in a way that is unusual. His adopted son, Giovanni Calderini, was a well-known lay canonist and professor and took an active role in Bologna's civic life during the signory of Taddeo Pepoli. Like his adoptive father, Calderini's intellectual work integrated religious concerns: he compiled a comprehensive list of biblical passages and references that appear in Gratian's *Decretum* and the *Decretals*, and his enormous library included a wide range of texts, the greatest part of which were religious and theological works, including bibles, patristic and scholastic texts, devotional miscellanies, as well as Jacobus da Voragine's *Golden Legend*, and moralizing treatises.[75] Law professors at the university of Bologna may have felt freer to pursue their theological interests because of the fact that there was no theology faculty at the university until the 1370s.

The efforts to synchronize their professional and religious commitments that one sees in the lives of these two preeminent lay canonists of fourteenth-century Europe would have been, in part, a reaction to the widespread view—then as now—that lawyers

---

[73] G. Rossi, "Contributi alla biografia del canonista Giovanni d'Andrea (L'insegnamento di Novella e Bettina, sue figlie, ed i presunti response di Milancia, sua moglia)," *Rivista trimestrale di diritto e procedura civile* 11 (1957): 1451–1502, gives the issue serious consideration. S. Kuttner, "Johannes Andreae and his Novella on the Decretals of Gregory IX," *The Jurist* 14 (1964): 396, is skeptical. More recently, Kirshner, "Was Bartolo da Sassoferrato a Source for Christine de Pizan?," pp. 264-5, rejects the notion that Bolognese women acquired even a basic knowledge of Roman and canon law.

[74] Kelly Wray, "Law Faculty Wives of Trecento Bologna," p. 52.

[75] M. Cochetti, "La biblioteca di Giovanni Calderini," *Studi medievali* ser. 3, v. 19 (1978): 951–1032.

were ruthlessly ambitious and self-interested.[76] With their knowledge of the law and training in rhetoric, lawyers were able to manipulate and administer the legal system, controlling the levers of power in both the ecclesiastical and secular arenas. No doubt the awareness of the appeal of such a lucrative and powerful profession motivated the denigration of the study of law as spiritually perilous. In the thirteenth-century *Bible moralisée*, the sole mention of a non-biblical place name—Bologna—appears in the moralization of I Kings 13:19–22. The scriptural passage is about the sons of Israel, who, having been deprived of a blacksmith by the Philistines, are compelled to go to the land of the Philistines to give them their weapons for sharpening so that, on the day of battle, the soldiers of Jonathan and Saul are without their arms. The moral meaning provided is that the sons of Israel who go to pagan lands and have weapons fashioned there by heathens (Saracens are specified) are like divinity students who abandon scriptural study (by implication in Paris, where theology was dominant) to go to Bologna to study laws and decretals in a way that confuses and destroys them.[77] This moralization reveals not only the competition between the universities in Paris and Bologna for students and prestige, but also the conviction that the study of law served neither the faith nor the student as effectively as theology, because it was less about the pursuit of truth and more about the manipulation of legal language to achieve one's own ends rather than God's. Though the law itself was regarded as "holy and priceless,"[78] a lawyer's willingness to

---

[76] Brundage, *The Medieval Origins of the Legal Profession*, pp. 477–87, discusses the general contempt in which lawyers were held by nonlawyers.

[77] *Bible moralisée: Codex Vindobonensis 2554, Vienna Österreichische Nationalbibliothek*, trans. G. B. Guest (London: Harvey Millar, 1995), p. 28 and p. 47, n. 2.

[78] Brundage, *The Medieval Origins of the Legal Profession*, p. 467; the phrase originates with Ulpian.

advocate on behalf of either party in a dispute was perceived as clear evidence of his readiness to bend the truth and exploit legal loopholes for the sake of his fees.[79]

Sensitivity about the lack of esteem accorded to legal learning and the hostile view that laws, especially papal decrees, were merely human constructs designed to serve their makers, underlies a treatise titled the *Somnium*, written by the famous canonist, Giovanni da Legnano. He was a doctor of both civil and canon law who taught at the university of Bologna in the second half of the fourteenth century and played a major role in civic life, generally on behalf of the papacy.[80] He married Giovanni d'Andrea's granddaughter, also named Novella. Giovanni says that he wrote the treatise in 1372 inspired by a dream he had after a conversation with his friend, Pierre d'Estaing, Cardinal priest of S. Maria in Trastevere.[81] In the dream, he is enlisted to argue the case that two Queens, representing canon and civil law, should be allowed to join five intellectual

---

[79] A pictorial example of the arrogant lawyer can be found in a manuscript (Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Ms. Rediano 102) of the *Somme le roi.* A treatise of doctrine and morals originally compiled in 1279 by a Dominican for the French king, the *Somme le roi* was translated ca. 1300 by the Florentine notary, Ser Zucchero Bencivenni, and illuminated ca. 1320. It includes a full-page miniature of Humility and Pride on fol. 64r. The two female personifications are depicted in separate compartments in the upper register while below is the exemplum: two men kneeling before an altar. The older male figure, in simple garb, is aligned with Humility and kneels devoutly at the left, his hands joined in prayer; the young well-groomed man kneeling at the right below the figure of Pride, is dressed as a notary or lawyer and points in mockery at the pious man. See Moleta, "The *Somme le roi* from French Court to Italian City-State," p. 134.

[80] The range of his intellectual pursuits is documented in J. P. McCall, "The Writings of John of Legnano with a List of Manuscripts," *Traditio* 23 (1967): 415–37. As J. P. McCall, "Chaucer and John of Legnano," *Speculum* 40 (1965): 484–9, demonstrates, Giovanni da Legnano had such an international reputation that Chaucer compared his fame as lawyer and philosopher to Petrarch's fame as a poet. See also M. Consiglia De Matteis, "Profilo di Giovanni da Legnano," in *L'Università a Bologna: Personaggi, momenti e luoghi dalle origini al XVI secolo*, ed. O. Capitani (Milan: Silvana, 1987), pp. 157–71.

[81] The treatise is analyzed in G. M. Donovan and M. H. Keen, "The 'Somnium' of John of Legnano," *Traditio* 37 (1981): 325–45.

virtues that adorn the papal throne; his opponents are religious representing the disciplines in the arts. The work is a lengthy defense of the laws and their study, pressing his case that the study of laws is not merely particular nor necessarily contradictory[82] but rests on general principles that derive from God. He asserts that civil law is essential to a well-ordered society and earthly happiness and that canon law is oriented to the happiness of eternal life. He further argues that canon and civil law are interdependent, seeking to refute those who would make secular authority completely independent of canon law. Because Giovanni believes in the essential harmony of all laws as having been ordained by God, and since he sees the Pope as God's representative on earth, he affirms that the pope is the ultimate princely ruler, and that this reflects the natural order as determined by the Creator, the first lawgiver. While Giovanni's thought is instinctively conservative, in the deluxe manuscript of his works that he commissioned for presentation to the Pope ca. 1376–78 (BAV, Vat. lat. 2639), Nicolò da Bologna illuminated the opening folios that include an extensive series of innovative scenes from the life of Christ with particular attention given to Christ's trial,[83] and Stefano Azzi painted the small historiated initials.

The splendor of the manuscript presented to the pope hints at the wealth that an eminent lawyer could accumulate during his career. In general, legal manuscripts were among the most expensive to produce. The texts of law books with apparatus were

---

[82] He is alert to the fact that many laws contradict each other and that there are changes in laws over time.

[83] His friend, Cardinal d'Estaing, commissioned a missal (Munich, Bayr. SB, Clm. 10072) dated 1374 with a similar cycle of scenes from the life of Christ illuminated and signed by Nicolò da Bologna. It includes many of Christ's healing miracles but an abbreviated trial sequence.

extraordinarily complex and time-consuming to copy,[84] and, as has been demonstrated, wealthy lawyers appreciated illustrated books. From the mid-thirteenth to mid-fourteenth century, Bolognese records show that the average cost of a law book was about thirty-five lire; a house might sell for as little as thirty lire.[85] A manuscript of the *Digest* with apparatus cost between 100 and 150 lire around 1300.[86] Because of their expertise, prestigious law professors generated significant income by serving as legal consultants for high profile clients.[87] The patrons of Bolognese illuminators were highly educated and often academics, but they also were owners of substantial amounts of property. Robert Gibbs has suggested that the naturalistic landscape settings that proliferate in Trecento Bolognese legal manuscript illuminations may have been developed in response to the business and property interests of the legal elite.[88] Although the text of the Snite *MVC* would have been comparatively simple to copy, the number of its illuminations is comparable to that of an illustrated *Decretum Gratiani* or *Digestum vetus,* so it is certain that the Snite patron had considerable wealth.

I have proposed that the primary patron of the Snite *MVC* was a rich but pious lay man who claimed knightly status, appreciated pictorial imagery that fused doctrinal and

---

[84] Brundage, *The Medieval Origins of the Legal Profession*, p. 273, writes that "The task of copying any of the basic legal texts was likely to take a year or more."

[85] Ibid.

[86] A. Gouron, "Some Aspects of the Medieval Teaching of Roman Law," p. 167. In the paper Gouron delivered on 19 September 1992 at University of Notre Dame on which this published paper was based, he stated that the cost of a glossed Digest manuscript would equal that of twelve bibles.

[87]Brundage, *The Medieval Origins of the Legal Profession,* p. 349.

[88] R. Gibbs, "Landscape as Property: Bolognese Law Manuscripts and the Development of Landscape Painting," *Rivista di Storia della Miniatura* 1–2 (1996–97): 207–16.

spiritual concerns, and approached this account of the life of Christ particularly sensitive to the role of justice and righteousness in it. In Bologna, the likeliest candidate as patron would be found among judges or lawyers. Although I have not been able to determine a precise identity for the Snite *Meditationes'* patron, the manuscript of Durandus's *Speculum iudiciale* in Holkham Hall, whose illumination has been attributed to Stefano Azzi, provides an enticing clue.[89] Bound in three volumes, the manuscript includes Durandus's encyclopedic synthesis of civil and canon law and manual of procedure for civil, criminal, and canon law cases, and, Giovanni d'Andrea's *Additiones* to the treatise. The first folio of the third volume bears a Latin inscription with a decorative border that refers to Lord Joseph ("Dominus IOSPS"), possibly the patron.[90] David Herlihy has observed that "Joseph" was uncommon as a given name in Italy until the early modern period, when the cult of Saint Joseph became widespread.[91] In light of the particular attention paid to Saint Joseph in the Snite *MVC* illuminations and the pertinence of his identification as a "just man" for the fourteenth-century Bolognese jurist, the possibility that the aristocratic client named "Joseph" who commissioned the Durandus manuscript, might also have been the patron of the Snite *Meditations*, is intriguing.

The opening illumination in the first volume of the Holkham Hall *Speculum iudiciale* shows the Pope, enthroned and flanked by the papal court, with Durandus kneeling at his proper right and presenting his book, and a male figure in academic robes

---

[89] Reynolds, *A Catalogue of the Manuscripts in the Library at Holkham Hall*, I:1, pp. 146–50.

[90] Ibid., p. 149. The inscription is embedded in the lower third of the central vertical border, below the kufic lettering.

[91] D. Herlihy, "The Family and Religious Ideologies in Medieval Europe," *Journal of Family History* 12 (1987): 13–14.

kneeling at the Pope's proper left and presenting a sheaf of parchment; the latter figure may be Giovanni D'Andrea. The large frontispiece to the third volume represents the Madonna and Child enthroned[92] and flanked by standing saints with a kneeling male figure in the foreground, who is dressed in the red ermine-trimmed robes characteristic of the Doctor of Civil Law and is presented by the saint standing at the Virgin's proper right (Plate 247). Although the catalogue entry identifies the kneeling figure as Giovanni d'Andrea, one would expect him to be depicted presenting his work rather than pressing his hands together in prayer. Moreover, one would expect that a saint shown sponsoring Giovanni would be readily identifiable as Jerome, conforming to the iconography he specified.[93] Thus, it seems more likely that the kneeling figure is the patron who commissioned the manuscript.

The identity of the six standing saints flanking the Madonna and Child in the frontispiece to the third volume is uncertain. At the far left is a female saint holding a basket of flowers or fruit (possibly St. Dorothy); then a bishop saint with a mitre and crozier but wearing a brown habit with brocade cope (possibly St. Louis of Toulouse); then the male sponsoring saint in a black habit with a tonsure and gray beard also holding a crozier, who resembles the figure that has been identified as St. Benedict in a side panel

[92] An unusual feature of this image is the way that the Virgin holds a square red cloth at waist height before the lower torso of the Christ Child. The drawing of the Child's lower limbs is still visible beneath the cloth, whose upper corners the Virgin holds with her hands as though deliberately concealing his genitals and legs. Yet, the edges of the cloth are not clearly outlined and it gives the impression of having been added as an afterthought. The meaning of this motif is ambiguous. It may have been specified by a patron scrupulous in matters of modesty and chastity, which could tie in with devotion to St. Joseph. Or, its resemblance to the closed red book that Christ often holds in his lap as in the Snite opening illumination may indicate that the motif was intended to convey the notion of the Virgin Mary veiling Christ's humanity, which embodies the fulfillment of the divine law that was perceived as the source of all law.

[93] In the frontispiece to the manuscript of Giovanni d'Andrea's *Hieronymianus* (Collegio di Spagna, Ms. 273), the 1346 Master depicted St. Jerome as an older bearded man in a dark habit, enthroned and flanked by scholars, with a lion at his feet.

of the Coronation of the Virgin polytych attributed to the Pseudo-Jacopino (Bologna, Pincatoca Nazionale).[94] On the far right is St. Catherine of Alexandria standing upon a wheel and holding a martyr's palm, then St. Sebastian dressed as a knight and holding an arrow, then St. Stephen who is also dressed as a knight but holds a stone. This selection of saints must have been meaningful to the patron.

Although it provides no decisive clue that would confirm a connection with the Snite *MVC,* the choice of some of the saints is consistent with the spirituality of a lawyer. Catherine of Alexandria was a favorite among Dominicans for her skill in responding to her learned persecutors. The legend of St. Dorothy included an episode about a pagan lawyer named Theophilus who taunted her on her way to execution to send him fruit and flowers from the heavenly garden; upon her martyrdom, a child appeared to Theophilus with a basket of fruit and flowers and he converted to Christianity. St. Louis of Toulouse, the Franciscan saint who renounced the Angevin throne of Naples to lead an ascetical life, could represent the renunciation of power and ambition for a rigorous spiritual life. If the patron was the head of a family, the saints may be the name saints of his wife and children. Most intriguing is the resemblance of the duo of the monastic saint placing his hand upon the head of the kneeling donor to the tonsured and gray-bearded saint in a dark habit, who similarly places his hand upon the head of the praying donor, in the right foreground of the *Circumcision* fresco from Mezzaratta (Plate 168). Volpe identifies the

[94] In the thirteenth-century, the Benedictine church of San Procolo, which was located in the southwest quarter of the city, had developed close ties to many university law faculty and the abbey provided classrooms for rent. Before the rise of the mendicant orders in the thirteenth century, Benedictine foundations were prominent as sites where scholars developed the legal disciplines, e.g., J. T. Noonan, "Gratian slept here: The Changing Identity of the Father of the Systematic Study of Canon Law," *Traditio* 35 (1979): 148, reports that Odofredus, the Roman law teacher of the mid-Duecento, claimed that Gratian had resided at the Benedictine abbey of Ss. Naborre e Felice in Bologna.

saint in the Mezzaratta fresco as St. Benedict, but the donor figure has not been identified.[95] He is dressed in knightly costume similar to that worn by the male donor in the opening miniature of the Snite *MVC*. This raises the tantalizing possibility that the patron—Dominus Joseph—of the *Speculum iudiciale*, the Snite manuscript, and the Mezzaratta *Circumcision* fresco might be one and the same person. In any case, the *Speculum iudiciale* illumination demonstrates the desire to manifest his devotional commitments within this famous legal text.

If the Albert anecdote rather than the prominence given to Saint Joseph is assumed to be a significant clue to the identity of the Snite *MVC* patron, the pool of candidates widens considerably as the name "Albert" was quite common in Trecento Bologna. For example, Massimo Medica has suggested that Alberto di Fabiano Casali, a Bolognese notary and member of the embassy sent to the pope in Avignon in 1328, may have been the patron of the panels attributed to the Pseudo-Jacopino now in Raleigh. Medica proposes that Alberto is represented as the knight on horseback with hands joined in prayer in the right middleground of the Raleigh *Martyrdom of St. Catherine*.[96] If the *wife* of the Snite *Meditations* patron played a part in the contents of the manuscript, the 1377 will of a widow of a law professor suggests another sort of possibility.[97] Zanna di Zancari's father was a prominent physician, Alberto Zancari, and she left two Roman law books—the *Digestum vetus* and the *Infortiatum*—to her nephew and a bequest for mendicant friars studying at the convent schools. Kelly Wray has shown that in Bologna,

---

[95] Volpe, *Mezzaratta*, p. 61.

[96] Medica, *I corali di San Giacomo Maggiore*, p. 40.

[97] See Kelly Wray, "Law Faculty Wives in Trecento Bologna," pp. 53–4.

law faculty wives brought "extraordinarily high" dowries to their marriages,[98] which may have given them greater influence in certain family decisions.

Though the identity of the Snite *MVC* patron and his wife remains elusive, it is clear that members of the elite legal community in Bologna would have appreciated its textual and pictorial contents. Francesco Zabarella,[99] who had studied law in Bologna ca. 1380 with Giovanni da Legnano, concluded his very practical treatise, "On Studying and Teaching Canon Law," with a summary of the religious disposition best suited to the law student and teacher, and the benefits of religious faith and practice to their professional lives:

> If you follow what I have said, have faith in God, and say every day the prayers you have learned, say devoutly the office of the most glorious Virgin Mary, which is particularly pious and honorable, or recite the entire office if you are a cleric bound to do so, and go to mass willingly as often as you can, at least on the feast days, I assure you from my experience that you will reach a happy conclusion to your studies, if you are a student; and if you are a teacher, you will attain your goal of efficient teaching and of leading your students to the rational end you had in mind for their studies. To such students and professors, God will grant a joyous life and the fame of a good name in this world, and everylasting glory with the chosen ones in the next world.[100]

The confident tenor of the advice suggests that he assumed his audience would have readily agreed, both with his prescriptions for religious practice, their compatibility with legal study, and the twin rewards that will result: a good life and reputation in one's earthly existence and eternal happiness among the elect after death. The mentality is one

---

[98] Ibid. p. 51.

[99] Zabarella was a doctor of both canon and civil law. After a 25-year career teaching canon law in Florence and Padua, he was named bishop and then cardinal of Florence, although he never progressed beyond minor orders. He played a major role at the Council of Constance.

[100] Franciscus de Zabarellis, *On How to Teach and Study Canon and Civil Law*, ed. and trans. Osvaldo Cavallar and Julius Kirshner, unpaginated typescript for a forthcoming anthology of Ius Commune texts in English translation, eds. Julius Kirshner and Osvaldo Cavallar.

that accords both with the miniatures of the Snite *MVC*, which represent the life of Christ in the matter-of-fact pictorial terms very similar to legal manuscript illumination, and with the message of the Albert anecdote, that it is more important that religious practice be modest and sincere rather than extreme and showy.

The patron whom I have proposed for the Snite *Meditations* was pious, prosperous, and powerful. He likely was a lawyer or judge,[101] committed to and successful within the political and judicial system but cognizant that its legitimacy was continually compromised by corrupt judges and civic officials. As a devout man, he would have believed that ultimately he would be called to account for his conduct before God, an awareness likely sharpened by the searing experience of the Black Death. As a member of the social elite, he would have taken pride in his role as family patriarch heading a respectable and well-ordered household. As a man educated in the Bolognese university environment, he would have assumed that his status was divinely ordained and that the responsible exercise of his privilege was both necessary and justified.

The Snite manuscript that he commissioned for himself and his family affirms this worldview. Because the scriptural accounts of the life of Christ are the core around which the text is built, and because the text itself was originally conceived for women religious, it was the illuminator and his advisor who developed a mode of access for the wealthy male patron to enter into the story. The elevation of the figure of St. Joseph as an equal participant in the infancy of Christ provided a meaningful model for the male reader of

[101] That the Snite manuscript dwelt among legal books for some period is strongly suggested by a Latin inscription written in ink, upside down, on fol. 121v, in a hand that may date to the sixteenth century: "extructionem totiens autem hec pars locum habet quotiens dilatio periculum allatura est. Proinde si quis cum opus hoc mora periculum allaturum esset nuntiaverit." This is a fragment of the final sentence of Dig. 39.1.5.12 and the first sentence of Dig. 39.1.5.13, from Justinian's *Digestum novum.* I am grateful to David Gura who corrected my transcription and identified the source of the text.

the Snite *MVC*. The representation of Joseph, the just man, as a dignified but loving husband, father, and provider, serves as a masculine exemplar suitable to an elite Bolognese layman,[102] validating his place as head of the family and reminding him of his responsibility to protect and serve the body of Christ and the Church. Likewise, the role given to Joseph of Arimathea and Nicodemus, both in the text[103] and in the Lamentation miniature, demonstrates to the educated layman that his life of privilege conducted among the powerful was not incompatible with Christian discipleship. Conversely, the representation of Christ's tormenters in the two Mocking illuminations in the contemporary dress of elite men would remind the reader and viewer of the spiritual dangers inherent in education and worldly esteem. Above all, the representation of Pilate as a Doctor of Civil Law who abandons his judicial responsibilities and violates the concept of justice would have been a potent example of the sins attendant on power.

Because the Snite *Meditations'* patron would have valued emotional restraint as essential to the wise and prudent man and most compatible with the dispassionate reason proper to the jurist, it makes sense that the affective appeal of the text is modulated by the illuminations. They rely largely upon traditional iconography but are realized in the

---

[102] Cf. S. M. Stuard, "Burdens of Matrimony: Husbanding and Gender in Medieval Italy," in *Medieval Masculinities: Regarding Men in the Middle Ages*," ed. C. A. Lees (Minneapolis: Univ. of Minnesota Press, 1994), pp. 61–71, begins her analysis of the lives of married male citizens—the *sapientes*—by considering St. Joseph as the model of the self-denying husband. On p. 69, she astutely characterizes the social and institutional expectations of these men, who had authority over their households but were responsible for the preservation of their wives' dotal assets in an unstable economy, as a "dialectic of privilege and burden."

[103] In the *MVC* text, Joseph of Arimathea and Nicodemus are portrayed as defenders of justice. In the exchange between the Virgin Mary and Joseph of Arimathea and Nicodemus, who come to Calvary to ask her permission to bury the dead Christ, they greet her by saying: "'We grieve with our whole heart for all that was done against Him, for the impious prevailed against the Just. We would gladly have delivered Him from so much injustice had we been able to.'" See Ragusa and Green (trans.), *Meditations*, p. 341. The relevant folio is missing from the Snite manuscript.

direct, accessible style of Trecento legal manuscript illumination.[104] The vivid visual descriptions that are central to the text's affective appeal are generally ignored by the illuminator in favor of familiar religious imagery that would be encountered in ecclesiastical settings and liturgical books, serving to draw the *MVC* into the orthodox mainstream by simultaneously taming it and authorizing it. Despite their seeming simplicity and bluntness, the use of recurrent motifs and compositional cross references throughout the Snite illuminations indicate a sophisticated appreciation for the pictorialization of theological ideas. A similar impulse also informs many of the details in the *MVC* narrative that modern scholars have typically assumed were designed to enliven the narrative as a concession to female sensibilities. Likewise, the placement of several of the miniatures in relation to specific passages of text shows a conscious effort to synchronize text and picture to maximize their impact. While the Snite miniatures seem devoid of deep emotional content, the defacing of the Flagellation miniature and the Christ before Pilate are salutary reminders that a reader/viewer could be aroused to visceral response by the conjunction of pictures and text.

In its superficial banality, the Snite manuscript provides valuable testimony of how the famous *MVC* devotional text transitioned from its original readership of cloistered women vowed to poverty to the prosperous urban elite environment. Although the affectivity of the text may have been readily appreciated by the female members of this Bolognese family, the representation of the Virgin Mary and the various holy women in the life of Christ in the Snite illuminations also manifests a preference for a feminine type that is consequential and, in four of the miniatures, literate. Of course, the Virgin

[104] Gibbs's, "'Sober as a Judge'," p. 135, observation that legal manuscript illuminations "perfectly exemplified that blend of daily life and abstract principle," could also be said of the Snite miniatures.

Mary is accorded a major role in Christ's Infancy and Passion, but her female companions and Christ's female followers also play active and significant roles in the illuminations through the post-Passion chapters. The illuminator seems to have assumed that such female exemplars would have been appropriate for this Bolognese family, serving to convey the message that engaged discipleship was as viable for the women of such a household as the representation of St. Joseph had demonstrated it for the men. The combination of text and image in the Snite manuscript would have served as a source of encouragement and reproach for this family, affirming their societal roles if fulfilled virtuously but repeatedly reminding them that the meaning of Christ's life and death defies human measures of power and prestige. As a product of Trecento Bologna, the Snite *MVC* exemplifies the unexpected confluence of disparate strands of late medieval spiritual, intellectual, and social life. In its text and pictures the worlds of the cloister, the classroom, the courtroom, the church, and the private residence intersect.

APPENDIX 1

MANUSCRIPT DESCRIPTION

University of Notre Dame, Snite Museum of Art
Accession Number 85.25
Meditationes Vitae Christi (in Italian)

Contents:
Meditationes Vitae Christi (Italian; 43 chapters plus prologue)—ff. 1r–120r.
Incipit: [f. 1r] Intra lli altre grandi vertudi che ssi legano di santa cicilia vergine si e questa una grandissima coe Che lla portava sempre el vangelio di Cristo nascoso in lo soe pecto.; Explicit: [f. 119v–120r; conclusion of list of chapters] Del di dela pentecoste come l nostro singnore mando lo spirto santo. Deo gratias amen.
Albert anecdote—ff. 120r–121r.
Incipit: [f. 120r] In allamagna fo una familia doto fradelli tuti fon viscovie santi. Infra li altri iene foe uno che ave nome sancto alberto. . .; Explicit: . . . xij persone bone possono conversare in lo mio santo servixio e xij desiuati possano tornare in la mia via. Amen.

Material: parchment

Leaves: ii (modern paper) + 121 + ii (modern paper)

Dimensions: 180 x 125 mm; single column of text, 127 x 80 mm; 25 or 26 long lines of text.

Collation: $1–2^{8-2}$, $3–5^{8}$, 6^{8-1}, $7–11^{8}$, 12^{8-2}, $13–16^{8}$
Catchwords appear in the center of the lower margin on the verso of the last folio of each quire: 6v, 12v, 20v, 28v, 36v, 43v, 50v, 58v, 66v, 74v, 82v, 88v, 96v, 104v, 112v, 120v.

Script: *Littera bononiensis media.*

Decoration: Painted initials in Bolognese style within square borders of two to four lines begin the chapters, with a seven-line initial on folio 1r. The initials are in rose pink with blue backgrounds in the interior of the letter forms, gold backgrounds exterior to the letters, and red and green foliate motifs. The initials have foliage flourishes in rose pink, red, green, and blue, that extend into the margins, and small gold discs scattered above,

below, and alongside the flourishes. One-line initials with penwork appear for each chapter in the list of chapter headings on folios 118v to 119v. Two-line initials within rectangles decorated with penwork begin each of the eight antitheses of the Albert anecdote on folios 120r to 121r. The initials on folios 118v to 121r alternate in red and blue with contrasting penwork. Paraph marks in red.

Miniatures: Forty-eight large rectangular miniatures remain, mostly placed at the beginning of a chapter. They extend the width of the text block and are generally a half-page in depth (12–14 lines). The subjects of the miniatures are: Christ enthroned with patrons (f. 1r); Presentation of the Virgin to the Temple (f. 5v); Annunciation (f. 8r); Visitation (f. 10v); Joseph's Doubts (f. 12 r); Nativity (f. 13v); First Bath (f. 15r); Annunciation to the Shepherds (f. 16v); Circumcision (f. 18r); Adoration of the Magi (f. 20r); Presentation in the Temple (f. 23v); Flight into Egypt (f. 26r); Return from Egypt (f. 33r); God the Father enthroned in Heaven (f. 37r); Baptism of Christ (f. 45v); Temptation of Christ (f. 49r); Entry into Jerusalem (f. 54v); Meal at the House of the Magdalen (f. 57v); Footwashing (f. 59r); Last Supper (f. 59v); Christ's Sermon to the Disciples (f. 65r); Agony in the Garden (f. 67v); First Mocking of Christ (f. 72v); Christ before Pilate (f. 74v); Flagellation of Christ (f. 76r); Second Mocking of Christ (f. 77v); Way to Calvary (f. 78r); Holy Women and St. John, Lamenting (f. 80r); Nailing of Christ to the Cross (f. 80v); Crucifixion (f. 85r); Lamentation/Entombment of Christ (f. 87r); Virgin Mary, Holy Women and St. John Lamenting as St. Peter returns (f. 91v); Descent into Limbo (f. 93r); Apparition of Christ to the Virgin Mary (f. 94r); Maries at the Tomb (f. 95v); Noli me tangere (f. 97v); Apparition of Christ to the Three Maries (f. 99v); Apparition of Christ to Joseph of Arimathea (f. 100r); Apparition of Christ to James Minor (f. 100v); Apparition of Christ to Peter (f. 101r); Road to Emmaus (f. 102v); Apparition of Christ to the Disciples on the Day of the Resurrection (f. 104r); Doubting Thomas (f. 106r); Apparition of Christ to the Disciples in Galilee (f. 107v); Apparition of Christ to more than Five Hundred Faithful (f. 108v); Ascension (f. 110r); Ascendant Christ praised by Saints (f. 112v); Pentecost (f. 117r).

Rubrics: Single sentence headings in red ink at the beginning of each chapter.

Inscriptions: Instructions to the rubricator and illuminator in the top and bottom margins written in ink in a fourteenth-century cursive hand. These inscriptions mostly state the rubric but several appear to be directed to the illuminator, i.e., folios 5v (upper margin), 8r (lower margin), 15r (lower margin), 16v (lower margin), 72v (lower margin), 74v (upper margin), 77v (lower margin), 80r (lower margin), 80v (upper margin), 87r (upper margin), 91v (lower margin), 93r (lower margin), 94r (lower margin), 99v (upper margin), 100r (lower margin), 100v (upper margin), 112v (lower margin). Most of these inscriptions have been partly trimmed but some are several lines long and extend well

into the margin. There is a Latin inscription in ink written upside down on f. 121v in an early modern hand (possibly sixteenth-century). It quotes Justinian, *Digestum novum,* Dig. 39.1.5.12–13.

Binding: Modern brown goatskin; bound at the Newberry Library bindery in 1965.

Provenance: The manuscript was owned by female members of the Warren family of Boston (the Mount Vernon Street Warrens) from the mid-nineteenth century until 1963: Susan Cornelia Warren (née Clarke; 1825–1901); Cornelia Warren (1857–1921); Gretchen Osgood Warren (1871–1961; m. Fiske Warren); Rachel Warren Barton (m. Robert Barton). It was sold by Mrs. Henry Barton of County Wicklow, Ireland, at auction in 1963 (Sotheby's, London, 9 December 1963, Lot 123; attributed to workshop of Nicolò di Giacomo da Bologna). It was purchased from Maggs Brothers in January 1964 by Everett McNear (1904–1984) of Chicago. After his death, his wife, Ann Katherine McNear (1901–1994), gave the manuscript in 1985 to the Snite Museum of Art at the University of Notre Dame in his memory.

Bibliography:

Catalogue of Western and Oriental Manuscripts and Miniatures (Sotheby's, London, 9 December 1963), p. 34.

The Calligraphic Statement: An Exhibition of Eastern and Western Calligraphy and Painting from the 8th to the 20th century, exh cat. Arts Club of Chicago, 3 March–11 April, 1970, no. 19; as *The Life of Christ*, attributed to Atelier of Nicolò da Bologna, ca. 1380.

Medieval Art, 1060–1550: Dorothy Miner Memorial, exh. cat. Art Gallery of Notre Dame, Notre Dame, Indiana, 1974, cat. no. 14; as *Life of Christ*, attributed to Atelier of Nicolo[sic] di Giacomo da Bologna, ca. 1380.

Everett McNear: Painter, Designer, Collector, exh. cat., Art Gallery, University of Notre Dame, 1975, No. 97 (as *Life of Christ*, attributed to Atelier of Nicolo de Bologna [sic], ca. 1380.)

Selected Works from the Snite Museum of Art. (Notre Dame, Ind.: Snite Museum of Art, 1987), pp. 11, 61; as *Life of Christ and the Life of the Virgin*, attributed to Atelier of Giacomo [sic] da Bologna, c. 1380.

H. Flora, "The Paris *Meditations on the Life of Christ*: A Pisan Fourteenth-Century Manuscript," *Bolletino Storico Pisano* 72 (2003): 353–9, at p. 353, n. 2 (as Snite 95 [sic]).

H. Flora, "A Book for Poverty's Daughters," pp. 61–97 in *Varieties of Devotion in the Middle Ages and Renaissance,* ed. Susan C. Karant-Nunn (Turnhout: Brepols, 2003), at p. 64, n. 10 and n. 11 (as Snite 95 [sic]).

D. Phillips, "The *Meditations on the Life of Christ*: An Illuminated Fourteenth-Century Italian Manuscript at the University of Notre Dame," in *The Text in the Community: Essays on Medieval Works, Manuscripts, Authors, and Readers*, ed. J. Mann and M. Nolan (Notre Dame, Ind.: University of Notre Dame Press, 2006), pp. 237–81.

H. Flora, *The Devout Belief of the Imagination: The Paris "Meditationes Vitae Christi" and Female Franciscan Spirituality in Trecento Italy* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2009), pp. 33, 50–51, 53–57, 64, 66.

S. McNamer, "The Origins of the *Meditationes vitae Christi*." *Speculum* 84 (2009): 905–955, at p. 905.

H. Flora, "Empathy and Performative Vision in Oxford Corpus Christi College MS 410," *IKON* 3 (2010): 169–78, at p. 174.

R. Perry, "'Thynk on God, as we doon, men that swynke': The Cultural Locations of *Meditations on the Supper of Our Lord* and the Middle English Pseudo-Bonaventuran Tradition," *Speculum* 86 (2011): 419–54, at p. 424, n. 22, and p. 426, n. 30.

H. Flora, "Gender, Image, and Devotion in Illustrated Manuscripts of the *Meditationes Vitae Christi*," pp. 160–176, in *Beyond the Text: Franciscan Art and the Construction of Religion*, ed. X. Seubert and O. Bychkov (St. Bonaventure, N.Y.: Franciscan Institute, 2013), at pp. 160, 169–75

R. Bartal, "Repetition, Opposition, and Invention in an Illuminated Meditationes vitae Christi: Oxford, Corpus Christi College, MS 410," *Gesta* 53 (2014): 155–74, at p. 156, n. 5.

R. Bartal, "*Ducitur et reducitur*: Passion Devotion and Mental Motion in an Illuminated *Meditationes Vitae Christi* Manuscript (Oxford, Corpus Christi College, MS 410)," pp. 369–79 in *Visual Constructs of Jerusalem*, ed. B. Kühnel, G. Noga-Banai, and H. Vorholt (Turnhout:Brepols, 2014), p. 371, n. 13

D. T. Gura, *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Medieval and Renaissance Manuscripts of the University of Notre Dame and Saint Mary's College* (Notre Dame, Ind.: University of Notre Dame Press, forthcoming 2016).

APPENDIX 2
THE HISTORY OF THE SNITE *MVC* MANUSCRIPT IN AMERICA

Although it was hardly noticed until the later twentieth century, the Snite *Meditations on the Life of Christ* is a fascinating artifact in the history of the collecting of medieval Italian art in America. In two letters in the museum file written after Everett McNear had purchased the manuscript in 1964, Mrs. Robert C. Barton (Rachel Warren Barton) replies to Ann Everett McNear's inquiry about the provenance of the manuscript. Rachel Warren Barton indicates that it was originally part of her grandmother's (Mrs. Samuel Dennis Warren [née Susan Cornelia Clarke]) collection, probably having been given to her unmarried daughter, Cornelia Lyman Warren, who lived in the family home at 67 Mount Vernon Street in Boston.[1] Rachel Warren Barton suggests that her mother, Gretchen Osgood Warren (1871–1961),[2] who was married to Cornelia's younger brother, Fiske Warren (1862–1938), must have purchased the manuscript at the family sales held following the death of Mrs. Samuel Dennis Warren in 1901.

---

[1] M. Green, *The Mount Vernon Street Warrens: A Boston Story, 1860–1910* (New York: Charles Scribner's, 1989).

[2] Rachel and her mother are the subjects of a famous portrait painted in 1903 by John Singer Sargent, *Mrs. Fiske Warren (Gretchen Osgood Warren) and Her Daughter Rachel* (Boston, Museum of Fine Arts).

A more intriguing piece of evidence in the museum file that sheds light on the history of the manuscript is a letter written in Boston and dated 15 May 1878 from William G. Medlicott to "Miss Cornelia," presumably Cornelia Lyman Warren who would then have been about twenty years old. He writes that he is returning the manuscript, which he has taken to the Boston Public Library to be examined by "Miss Green, who is in Mr. Whitney's department."[3] William Gibbons Medlicott was an important book collector who came to America from England in 1835 and settled in Massachusetts.[4] He was a successful businessman in the manufacture of woolen goods and acquired a significant library of as many as 20,000 books, specializing in English literature and history. After suffering business setbacks in the 1870s, he published privately a catalog of his collection in 1878 and sent it to libraries and individuals whom he thought might be interested in purchasing from it. He embarked on a sales campaign in spring 1878, visiting librarians of educational institutions, e.g., Harvard, Yale, Princeton, the Boston Public Library, and private individuals such as Charles Eliot Norton. It is likely that the Warren family was suggested to him as a potential customer, and that his visit to the family prompted Cornelia Warren to show him the *Meditations* manuscript.

---

[3] James L. Whitney was the head cataloguer at the Boston Public Library. He became head of the library in 1899 and immediately established its Department of Manuscripts. Harriet E. Green was the curator of card catalogues there from 1873–83. See University of the State of New York, Albany, *State Library Bulletin, Library School*, No. 1 (August 1891), p. 18, where Harriet E. Green is listed as a faculty member specializing in "Dictionary cataloguing" and her period of employment at the Boston Public Library is listed among her credentials. She may have been related to Samuel Abbott Green, a physician who was a trustee of the Boston Public Library from 1868 to 1878 and served as Acting Librarian in 1877–88. According to G. A. Moriarty, "Hon. Samuel Abbott Green, A.M., M.D., LL.D," *New England Historical and Genealogical Register* 74 (October 1920): 243–5, he never married but did have siblings who may have had children. I am grateful to James C. Turner for the identification of "Miss Green" and "Mr. Whitney."

[4] J. R. Hall, "William G. Medlicott (1816–1883): An American Book Collector and His Collection," *Harvard Library Bulletin* ns. 1:1 (Spring 1990): 13–46.

Cornelia's father, Samuel Dennis Warren (1817–1888), made his fortune in the manufacture of paper, founding the S. D. Warren Paper Company and developing the Cumberland Mills near Portland, Maine. He and his wife, Susan Cornelia Clarke Warren (1825–1911), made their first trip to Europe in 1851, four years after their marriage. He travelled to Europe for both pleasure and business, often seeking to purchase rags particularly from Italy and Egypt: he was a pioneer in the large scale importation of rags, which he then sold to manufacturers of paper. The Warrens initially collected Barbizon School paintings, but they had eclectic tastes, and a Chinese jar that they gave in 1876 to the fledgling Museum of Fine Arts in Boston was one of its first gifts. The Snite *MVC* was likely purchased during one of these European trips, and the Medlicott letter proves that it was acquired before the notable acquisitions of major Italian paintings by Susan Cornelia Warren in the later 1880s and 1890s.[5] At the instigation of her son, Ned (Edward Perry Warren; 1860–1928) and his younger friend, Bernard Berenson, she purchased a *Pietà with St. John and the Magdalen* by Carlo Crivelli (the *Panciatichi Pietà*, Boston Museum of Fine Arts) and a tondo of the *Holy Family and St. Margaret* by Filippino Lippi (the *Warren Tondo*, Cleveland Museum of Art). Bernard Berenson in fact first offered Titian's *Rape of Europa* to Mrs. Warren and had to do some frantic backpedalling when his efforts to obtain Gainsborough's *Blue Boy* for Isabella Stewart Gardner fell through, prompting him to propose the Titian to her as consolation even though he had already urged Ned's mother to buy it.[6]

---

[5] Cornelia Warren wrote a biography of her mother, *A Memorial of My Mother* (Boston: privately printed, 1908).

[6] See Berenson's letter to Isabella Stewart Gardner written from Rome on 10 May 1896 in R. V. N. Hadley (ed.), *The Letters of Bernard Berenson and Isabella Stewart Gardner: 1887–1924* (Boston: Northeastern, 1987), pp. 54–6.

Although Susan Cornelia Warren's father, Dorus Clarke, was a prominent Congregationalist minister and editor of *The New England Puritan,* her acquisition of such religious paintings was likely encouraged by her sister, Ellen Clarke, who lived with the Warren family before marrying in 1874, and was much beloved by the children. In 1858–59, Ellen travelled to Europe with Helen Hurlbut and Samuel Dennis Warren. While disapproving of Roman Catholicism, she appreciated books by members of the High Church Oxford Movement, and pictures of Catholic saints, and she displayed a painting in her room of a priest administering communion. Ned Warren, an older brother of Cornelia, was interested in religious ritual as a child and had a taste for liturgical and devotional books. He became a well-educated connoisseur of art, and sponsored Bernard Berenson to Harvard and contributed money for Berenson's early travel to Europe. As an adult, he pursued his strong interests in classical and antiquarian scholarship, and collected Ancient Greek and Roman works, perhaps the most famous being the Warren Cup now in the British Museum.[7] He was deeply misogynistic and settled in Lewes, Sussex, where he aspired to create an exclusively male environment in emulation of his peculiar vision of Ancient Greece.[8] He sometimes served as an agent for the Boston

---

[7] On the Warren Cup, see J. R. Clarke, "The Warren Cup and the Contexts for Representations of Male-to-Male Lovemaking in Augustan and Early Julio-Claudian Art," *Art Bulletin* 75 (June 1993): 275–94, and, J. Pollini, "The Warren Cup: Homoerotic Love and Symposial Rhetoric in Silver," *Art Bulletin* 81 (March 1999): 21–52.

[8] He had a longtime relationship with John Marshall, an Englishman whom he met in Oxford in 1884. In 1907 Marshall married Ned's cousin, Mary Bliss. Marshall shared Ned's interests in antiquities and art and served as a purchasing agent for the Metropolitan Museum of Art. In 1928, Warren privately published a three-volume treatise about his personal ethos, *The Defence of Uranian Love*, under the pseudonym, Arthur Lyon Raile. See O. Burdett and E. H. Goddard, *Edward Perry Warren: The Biography of a Connoisseur* (London: Christophers, 1941), and D. Sox, *Bachelors of Art: Edward Perry Warren and the Lewes House Brotherhood* (London: Fourth Estate, 1991).

Museum of Fine Arts and gave it a significant collection of ancient art.[9] His interest in Renaissance art was primarily aesthetic, and he developed an antipathy to Christianity, identifying it with the feminine, and with the sentimental and moralizing inclinations of late nineteenth-century female reformers.

Ned's sister, Cornelia Lyman Warren, was the kind of woman that he disdained, and he thought that she had bad taste. Her adult interests were primarily in social service and educational philanthropy. She had a circle of women friends who taught at Wellesley College and relationships with women active in the settlement house movement, demonstrating particular concern for the welfare of Italian immigrants. She also wrote a novel, *Miss Wilton*, published in 1892, of which a notice in the *Boston Evening Transcript*, 3 March 1892, quoting from the *Congregationalist*, states "'We commend especially the earnestly Christian spirit of the story.'"

The Medlicott letter to "Miss Cornelia" suggests that she took special interest in the Snite *MVC*. However, it is "Miss Green"—Harriet E. Green—whom Medlicott reports as having examined the manuscript, who merits attention. He writes that she

> has examined it and pronounces it to be Italian but of course a different phase of the language from that now in use. Miss Green states further that she saw in Washington last winter at the Congressional library a volume identical in appearance and character with this of yours. That was regarded as being of the 14th century which approximates to my view the age of yours, which I regarded as being written not far from the year 1400. This as you suppose is a life of Christ with a life of the Virgin preceding. Miss Green considered it an interesting volume and that the illuminations were particularly good.

Harriet Green was very perceptive: one of the first medieval manuscripts acquired by the Library of Congress was the Nekcsei-Lipócz Bible purchased in 1873, whose

---

[9] On Edward Perry (Ned) Warren's acquisitions for the MFA, see W. M. Whitehill, *Museum of Fine Arts, Boston: A Centennial History* (Cambridge, Mass.: Belknap Press, 1970), vol. 1, Ch. 5, "The Classical Collection." He had particular interest in ancient erotica, much of which is now in the MFA.

illumination has been attributed to Bolognese artists possibly active in Hungary ca. 1335–40.[10]

Another letter dated 19 February 1940 in the museum file indicates that the manuscript was then examined by art historians who were not as astute as Miss Green. The letter is from W. G. Constable,[11] who had taken the position of curator of painting at the MFA in Boston in 1938, and is addressed to "Mrs. Warren," who must be Gretchen Osgood Warren. She had offered the manuscript for inclusion in the "Arts of the Middle Ages: 1000–1400" exhibition that was being organized by Georg Swarzenski and was to open in 1940. He had been hired in 1939 as an acquisitions curator at the MFA to build its medieval collection.[12] Constable declined Mrs. Warren's offer of the *MVC* manuscript on the grounds that the list of objects for the exhibition had been completed much earlier and it would be impossible to add another. Constable writes that he had shown the manuscript to Dr. Swarzenski and Mr. Rossiter (Henry P. Rossiter, the curator of prints), and that in their collective assessment, "it is certainly fourteenth century and we consider it North Italian, though I do not think that the possibility of Bohemia is altogether to be excluded. As you know, there was a very strong North Italian influence in Bohemia and there was a great school of manuscript illumination which flourished there. On the whole, however, we favor a North Italian provenance."

---

[10] S. Schutzner, *Medieval and Renaissance Manuscripts in the Library of Congress*, vol. I (Washington, D.C.: Library of Congress, 1989), Ms. 6. S. L'Engle demonstrates that the illuminator, known as the Hungarian Master, was Bolognese; see her entry in M. Bollati (ed.), *Dizionario biografico dei miniatori italiani*, s.v. "Maestro del Leggendario Angioino Ungherese (Hungarian Master)."

[11] *Dictionary of Art Historians*, s.v. "Constable, W[illiam] G[eorge]." https://dictionaryofarthistorians.org/constablew.htm accessed 23 February 2016.

[12] *Dictionary of Art Historians*, s.v. "Swarzenski, Georg. https://dictionaryofarthistorians.org/swarzenskig.htm, accessed 23 February 2016.

The manuscript was attributed more perceptively when it was sold in London at auction by Sotheby's on 9 December 1963: the catalogue identifies it as *The Life of the Virgin followed by the Life of Christ,* attributes it to the workshop of Nicolò di Giacomo da Bologna, and dates it to the fourth quarter of the fourteenth century.[13] It must have been sold to Maggs Brothers in London: Everett McNear (1904–1984), a collector, painter, illustrator and graphic designer from Chicago,[14] purchased it from Maggs in January 1964. It was included in an exhibition organized by McNear at the Arts Club of Chicago in 1970. [15] McNear was a benefactor of the Art Gallery at the University of Notre Dame (now the Snite Museum of Art) and loaned it for two small exhibitions there in 1974[16] and 1975.[17] In the catalogue and checklist for those exhibitions, and in the book of selected works in the Snite Museum published in 1987[18] after Ann Katherine McNear (1901–1994) had given the manuscript to the museum in 1985 in memory of her husband, the manuscript was identified according to the information in the 1963 Sotheby's sales catalogue.

---

[13] *Catalogue of Western and Oriental Manuscripts and Miniatures* (Sotheby's, London, 9 December 1963), p. 34.

[14] For a brief biography of Everett McNear, see the Frick Collection online Archives Directory for the History of Collecting in America: http://research.frick.org/directoryweb/browserecord.php?-action=browse&-recid=11823, accessed 24 February 2016.

[15] *The Calligraphic Statement: An Exhibition of Eastern and Western Calligraphy and Painting from the 8th to the 20th century,* exh cat., Arts Club of Chicago, 3 March–11 April, 1970, no. 19.

[16] *Medieval Art, 1060–1550: Dorothy Miner Memorial,* exh. cat. Art Gallery of Notre Dame, Notre Dame, Indiana, 1974, cat. no. 14.

[17] *Everett McNear: Painter, Designer, Collector*, exh. cat., Art Gallery, University of Notre Dame, 1975. No. 97.

[18] *Selected Works from the Snite Museum of Art.* (Notre Dame, Ind.: Snite Museum of Art, 1987), pp. 11, 61.

I first examined the manuscript in the winter of 1987 at the urging of Creighton Gilbert and recognized that the text was a short version of the *Meditations on the Life of Christ*. In my dissertation proposal (13 November 1992), I proposed a date in the 1340s but did not attribute it to a specific Bolognese artist. However, in a letter of 26 January 1993 to Robert Gibbs, I raised the possibility that Stefano Azzi or his father, Alberto, might have been responsible for the illumination of the Snite manuscript. I presented those findings in an essay published in 2006.[19]

[19] D. Phillips, "The *Meditations on the Life of Christ*: An Illuminated Fourteenth-Century Italian Manuscript at the University of Notre Dame," in *The Text in the Community: Essays on Medieval Works, Manuscripts, Authors, and Readers*, ed. J. Mann and M. Nolan (Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 2006), pp. 237–81. I gave papers on the Snite *MVC* at Fordham University, 19 November 1993; at the Medieval Academy of America Annual Meeting in Knoxville, 15 April 1994; and at the CAA Annual Meeting in Boston, 22 February 1996.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Primary Sources

Meditations on the Life of Christ:

John of Caulibus. *Meditations on the Life of Christ*. Trans. and ed. Francis X. Taney, Sr., Anne Miller, and C. Mary Stallings-Taney. Asheville, N.C.: Pegasus Press, 2000.

Stallings-Taney, C. Mary (ed.). *Iohannis de Caulibus: Meditaciones vite Christi olim S. Bonaventuro attributae.* Corpus Christianorum. Continuatio Medievalis 153. Turnhout: Brepols, 1997.

Meditations on the Life of Christ: An Illustrated Manuscript of the Fourteenth Century (Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Ms. ital. 115). Trans. I. Ragusa and R. Green. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1961.

Sarri, Francesco (ed.). *"Le meditazione della vita di Cristo" di un frate minore del secolo XIV.* Milan: Società Editrice "Vita e Pensiero," 1933.

McNamer, Sarah. Meditations on the Life of Christ. Typescript dated 22 May 2013 of transcription and translation of Oxford, Bodleian Library, Ms. Canonici ital. 174.

Other:

Bible (Douay-Rheims version)

Maximus the Confessor. *The Life of the Virgin.* Trans. Stephen J. Shoemaker. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2012.

Jacobus de Voragine. *The Golden Legend: Readings on the Saints*. Trans. W. G. Ryan. 2 vols. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993; paperback ed. 1995.

Cavalca, Domenico. *Vite dei santi padri*. Ed. Carlo Delcorno. 2 vols. Florence: Edizioni del Galluzzo per la Fondazione Ezio Franceschini, 2009.

Fra Niccolò of Poggibonsi. *A Voyage Beyond the Seas (1346–1350)*. Trans. T. Bellorini and E. Hoade. Jerusalem: Franciscan Press 1945.

Kaeuper, Richard W. and Elspeth Kennedy (Trans. and Eds.). *The Book of Chivalry of Geoffroi de Charney: Text, Context, and Translation.* Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1996.

The Digest of Justinian, Trans. and ed. Alan Watson. 4 vols. Rev. ed. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1998.

William Durand. *On the Advocate.* Trans. Patrick J. Lally from Guilelmus Durandus, *Speculum iudiciale*, 2 vols. Basel: Ambrosius & Aurelius Frobenius [fratres], 1574. Vol. 1, pp. 259–71. Revised by Osvaldo Cavallar, Constantin Fasolt, and Julius Kirshner for a forthcoming anthology of Ius Commune texts in English translation, eds. Julius Kirshner and Osvaldo Cavallar.

Franciscus de Zabarellis. *On How to Teach and Study Canon and Civil Law.* Ed. and trans. Osvaldo Cavallar and Julius Kirshner for a forthcoming anthology of Ius Commune texts in English translation, eds. Julius Kirshner and Osvaldo Cavallar.

SELECTED BIBLIOGRAPHY

Secondary Sources

Acres, Alfred. "Porous Subject Matter and Christ's Haunted Infancy." In *The Mind's Eye: Art and Theological Argument in the Middle Ages*. Ed. J. F. Hamburger and A-M. Bouché. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2006. pp. 241–62.

Alexander, Jonathan J.G. *Medieval Illuminators and Their Methods of Work*. New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1992.

Arcangeli, Francesco et al. *Pittura bolognese del '300: Scritti di Francesco Arcangeli*. Bologna: Grafis, 1978.

Avril, François; Maurice-Chabard, Brigitte; and Massimo Medica (eds.). *Bologne et le pontifical d'Autun: chef d'oeuvre inconnu du premier Trecento, 1330–1340*. Exh. cat. Musée Rolin, Autun, 12 September–19 December, 2012. Langres: Éditions Dominique Guéniot, 2012.

Bandmann, Gunter. "Höhle und Säule auf Darstellungen Mariens mit dem Kinde." In *Festschrift für Gert von der Osten*. Ed. Horst Keller et al. Cologne: DuMont Schauberg, 1970. pp. 130–48.

Barasch, Moshe. *Giotto and the Language of Gesture*. Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1987.

Bartal, Renana. "Repetition, Opposition, and Invention in an Illuminated *Meditationes vitae Christi*: Oxford, Corpus Christi College, MS 410." *Gesta* 53:2 (September 2014): 155–74.

_____. "Ducitur et reducitur: Passion Devotion and Mental Motion in an Illuminated *Meditationes Vitae Christi* Manuscript (Oxford, Corpus Christi College, MS 410)." In *Visual Constructs of Jerusalem*. Ed. Bianca Kühnel, Galit Noga-Banai, and Hanna Vorholt. Turnhout: Brepols, 2014. pp. 369–79.

Baxandall, Michael. *Painting and Experience in Fifteenth Century Italy: A Primer in the Social History of Pictorial Style*. Oxford/New York: Oxford University Press, 1972.

Bellini, Pietro et al. *Il Cappellone di San Nicola a Tolentino*. Cinisello Balsamo, Milan: Silvana, 1992.

Belting, Hans. *The Image and its Public in the Middle Ages: Form and Function of Early Paintings of the Passion.* Translated by Mark Bartusis and Raymond Meyer. New Rochelle, NY: A. D. Caratzas, 1990.

Benevolo, Giancarlo and Massimo Medica, eds. *I Corali di San Giacomo Maggiore: Miniatori e committenti a Bologna nel Trecento.* Ferrara: Edisai, 2003.

Bentini, Jadranka; Cammarota, Gian Pietro; and Daniela Scaglietti Kalescian (eds.). *Pinacoteca Nazionale di Bologna Catalogo Generale*, vol. I: *Dal Duecento a Francesco Francia.* Venice: Marsilio, 2004.

Bestul, Thomas. H. *Texts of the Passion: Latin Devotional Literature and Medieval Society.* Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1996.

Blanshei, Sarah Rubin. *Politics and Justice in Late Medieval Bologna.* Leiden/Boston: Brill, 2010.

_____. "Habitus: Identity and Formation of Hereditary Classes in Late Medieval Bologna." In *Bologna: Cultural Crossroads from the Medieval to the Baroque: Recent Anglo-American Scholarship.* Eds. Gian Mario Anselmi, Angela De Benedictus, and Nicholas Terpstra. Bologna: Bononia University Press, 2013. pp. 143–57.

Boggi, Flavio and Robert Gibbs. *The Life and Career of Lippo di Dalmasio, a Bolognese Painter of the Late Fourteenth Century.* Lewiston, NY: Edwin Mellen, 2010.

Bollati, Milvia (ed.) *Dizionario biografico dei miniatori italiani: secoli IX–XVI.* Milan: Edizioni Sylvestre Bonnard, 2004.

Bolzoni, Lina. *The Web of Images: Vernacular Preaching from its Origins to Saint Bernardino of Siena.* Aldershot, Hants, UK and Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2004.

Bornstein, Daniel. "Provincial Painters: Local Artists in Quattrocento Cortona and the Origins of Luca Signorelli." *Renaissance Studies* 14:4 (2000): 435–52.

Borsook, Eve. *Gli Affreschi di Montesiepi.* Florence: EDAM, 1969.

Bosi, Roberta. "L'*Offiziolo* bolognese della Biblioteca Abbaziale Kremsmünster." In *"Conosco un ottimo storico dell'arte. . ." per Enrico Castelnuovo: Scritti di allievi e amici pisani.* Ed. Maria Monica Donato and Massimo Ferretti. Pisa: Edizioni della Normale, 2012. pp. 131–9.

Boskovits, Miklós. "Un dipinto poco noto e l'iconografia della preparazione all Crocefissione." In his *Immagini da meditare: Ricerche su dipinti di tema religioso nei secoli XII–XV.* Milan: Vita e Pensiero, 1994. pp. 189–231.

Boskovits, Miklós; Padovani, Serena; and Irene Martin. *The Thyssen-Bornemisza Collection: Early Italian Painting, 1290–1470.* London: Sotheby's; New York: Rizzoli, 1990.

Boyle, Leonard E. "'The Ways of Prayer of St Dominic': Notes on MS Rossi 3 in the Vatican Library," *Archivium Fratrum Praedicatorum* 64 (1994): 5–17.

Branchesi, Pacifico Maria. "Una chiesa bolognese dedicata a San Giuseppe dal secolo XII." *Cahiers de Joséphologie* 19 (1971): 576–90.

Breckenridge, James D. "'Et prima vidit': The Iconography of the Appearance of Christ to his Mother." *Art Bulletin* 39 (1957): 9–32.

Brubaker, Leslie and Mary B. Cunningham (eds.). *The Cult of the Mother of God in Byzantium.* Farnham, Surrey, UK: Ashgate, 2011.

Brundage, James A. *The Medieval Origins of the Legal Profession: Canonists, Civilians, and Courts.* Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 2008.

Burr, David. *The Spiritual Franciscans.* University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2001.

Cartlidge, David. R. and J. Keith Elliott. *Art and the Christian Apocrypha.* London and New York: Routledge, 2001.

Cassee, Elly. *The Missal of Cardinal Bertrand de Deux: A Study in Fourteenth-century Bolognese Miniature Painting.* Trans. M. Hoyle. Florence: Istituto universitario olandese di storia dell'arte, 1980.

_____. "La Madonna del Parto." *Paragone* 29, no. 345 (1978): 94–97.

_____. "Maria mediatrice a Bologna." In *Ultramontani: Studi belgi e olandesi per il IX centenario dell' alma mater bolognese.* Ed. A. W. A. Boschloo. Bologna: Edizioni Luigi Parma, 1990. pp. 11–18.

Castiglioni, Gino. "Per un'iconologia del Messale: L''Ad te levavi'." In *Il codice miniato: rapporti tra codice, testo e figurazione* (Atti del III Congresso di storia della miniature, Cortona, 1988). Ed. M. Ceccanti, M.C. Castelli and K. Weitzmann. Florence: L.S. Olschki, 1992. pp. 181–93.

Chorpenning, Joseph F., ed. *Joseph of Nazareth through the Centuries.* Philadelphia, PA: St. Joseph University Press, 2011.

Cochetti, Maria. "La biblioteca di Giovanni Calderini." *Studi medievali* ser. 3, v. 19 (1978): 951–1032.

Coleman, William E. (ed.). *Philippe de Mézières' Campaign for the Feast of Mary's Presentation.* Toronto: Published for the Center for Medieval Studies by the Pontifical Institute for Mediaeval Studies, 1981.

Consiglia De Matteis, Maria. "Profilo di Giovanni da Legnano." In *L'Università a Bologna: Personaggi, momenti e luoghi dalle origini al XVI secolo.* Ed. O. Capitani. Milan: Silvana, 1987. pp. 157–71

Conti, Alessandro. *La miniatura bolognese: Scuole e botteghe, 1270–1340.* Bologna: Alfa, 1981.

_____. Review of *The Missal of Cardinal Bertrand de Deux: A Study in Fourteenth-century Bolognese Miniature Painting,* by Elly Cassee. In *Prospettiva* n. 24 (January 1981): 72–82.

Cooper, Donal and Janet Robson. *The Making of Assisi: The Pope, the Franciscans and the Painting of the Basilica.* New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2013.

Corbellini, Sabrina. "Vernacular Bible Manuscripts in Late Medieval Italy: Cultural Appropriation and Textual Transformation." In *Form and Function in the Late Medieval Bible.* Ed. Eyal Poleg and Laura Light. Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2013. pp. 261–81.

Cornish, Alison. *Vernacular Translation in Dante's Italy.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008.

Crook, J. A. ""Feminine Inadequacy and the *Senatusconsultum Velleianum.*" In *The Family in Ancient Rome.* Ed. Beryl Rawson. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1986. pp. 83–92.

D'Amico, Rosalba; Grandi, R. and M. Medica (eds.). *Francesco da Rimini e gli esordi del gotico bolognese.* Bologna: Nuova Alfa, 1990.

D'Arcais, Francesca Flores. "Osservazioni su Stefano degli Azzi, miniatore delle *Metamorfosi* di Ovidio (Venezia, Biblioteca Marciana, ms Lat. Z 449)." In *Miniatura: Lo sguardo e la parola.* Ed. F. Toniolo and G. Toscano. Cinisello Balsamo, Milan: Silvana, 2012. pp. 133–9.

D'Avray, David L.. "Sermons to the Upper Bourgeoisie by a Thirteenth Century Franciscan." In *The Church in Town and Countryside.* Ed. Derek Baker. Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1979. pp. 187–99.

Dean, Trevor. "Domestic violence in late-medieval Bologna." *Renaissance Studies* 18:4 (2004): 527–43.

Derbes, Anne. *Picturing the Passion: Narrative Painting, Franciscan Ideologies, and the Levant.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996.

Deshman, Robert. "Servants of the Mother of God in Byzantine and Medieval Art." *Word and Image* 5 (1989): 33–70.

De Winter, Patrick M. "Bolognese Miniatures at the Cleveland Museum," *Bulletin of the Cleveland Museum of Art* 70:8 (October 1983): 314–51.

Donovan, G. M. and M. H. Keen. "The 'Somnium' of John of Legnano." *Traditio* 37 (1981): 325–45.

Dunne, Edward P. "Albert the Great's Theology of St. Joseph." *Cahiers de Joséphologie* 7 (1959): 223–62.

Ebel, Friedrich; Fijal, Andreas; and Gernot Kocher. *Römisches Rechtsleben im Mittelalter: Miniaturen aus den Handschriften des "Corpus iuris civilis."* Heidelberg: C.F. Müller Juristischer Verlag, 1988.

Egerton, Jr., Samuel Y. "The Last Judgment as Pageant Setting for Communal Law and Order in Late Medieval Italy." In *Persons in Groups*. Ed. Richard C. Trexler. Binghamton: SUNY Press, 1985. pp. 79-100

Evangelatou, Maria. "The Purple Thread of the Flesh: the theological connotations of a narrative iconographic element in Byzantine images of the Annunciation." In *Icon and Word: The Power of Images in Byzantium*. Ed. Antony Eastmond and Liz James. Aldershot, Hants, UK: Ashgate, 2003. pp. 261–79.

Evans, G. R. *Law and Theology in the Middle Ages.* London and New York: Routledge, 2002.

Falvay, Dávid. "St. Elizabeth of Hungary in Italian Vernacular Literature: *Vitae*, Miracles, Revelations and the *Meditations on the Life of Crist*." In *Promoting the Saints: Cults and their Contexts from Late Antiquity until the Early Modern Period.* Ed. Ottó Gecser *et al.* Budapest and New York: Central European University Press, 2011. pp. 136–50.

Fasoli, Gina. "Bologna nell'età medievale." In *Storia di Bologna*. Ed. A. Ferri and G. Roversi. Bologna: Bononia University Press, 2005. pp. 127–84.

Ferretti, Massimo. *Rappresentazione dei Magi: Il gruppo ligneo di S. Stefano e Simone dei Crocefissi.* Bologna: Alfa, 1981.

Filas, Francis L. *Joseph: The Man Closest to Jesus.* Boston: St. Paul Editions, 1952.

____. "Joseph, St." *New Catholic Encyclopedia.* 2nd ed. Vol. 7. Detroit: Gale, 2003. pp. 1034–37.

Fischer, Columban. "Die 'Meditationes Vitae Christi': ihre handschriftliche Uberlieferung und die Verfasserfrage." *Archivum Franciscanum Historicum* 25 (1932): 3–35, 175–209, 305–48, 449–83.

Fleck, Cathleen A. "'To exercise yourself in these things by continued contemplation': Visual and textual literacy in the frescoes at Santa Maria Donna Regina." In *The Church of Santa Maria Donna Regina.* Ed. Janis Elliott and Cordelia Warr. Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2004. pp. 109–128.

Fleming, John V. *An Introduction to the Franciscan Literature of the Middle Ages.* Chicago: Franciscan Herald Press, 1977.

Flora, Holly. *The Devout Belief of the Imagination: The Paris "Meditationes Vitae Christi" and Female Franciscan Spirituality in Trecento Italy.* Turnhout: Brepols, 2009.

_____. "A Book for Poverty's Daughters." In *Varieties of Devotion in the Middle Ages and Renaissance.* Ed. Susan C. Karant-Nunn. Turnhout: Brepols, 2003. pp. 61–97.

_____."Tensions in Textual Exegesis: Word and Picture in an Illustrated Manuscript of the *Meditationes Vitae Christi.*" *IKON: Journal of Iconographic Studies* 1 (2008): 123-132.

_____."Empathy and Performative Vision in Oxford Corpus Christi College MS 410." *IKON: Journal of Iconographic Studies* 3 (2010): 169–78.

_____. "Women Wielding Knives: The Circumcision of Christ by His Mother in an Illustrated Manuscript of the *Meditationes vitae Christi* (Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France ital. 115)." In *The Christ Child in Medieval Culture.* Ed. Mary Dzon and Theresa M. Kenney. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2012. pp. 145–166.

_____."Gender, Image, and Devotion in Illustrated Manuscripts of the *Meditationes Vitae Christi.*" In *Beyond the Text: Franciscan Art and the Construction of Religion.* Ed. Xavier Seubert and Oleg Bychkov. St. Bonaventure, NY: Franciscan Institute, 2013. pp. 160–76.

Foster, Marjory Bolger. "The Iconography of St. Joseph in Netherlandish Art, 1400–1550." Ph.D. Diss., University of Kansas, 1978.

Frank, Robert Worth, Jr. "*Meditationes Vitae Christi*: The Logistics of Access to Divinity." In *Hermeneutics and Medieval Culture.* Ed. Patrick J. Gallacher and Helen Damico. Albany, NY: State University of New York Press, 1989. pp. 39–50.

Freuler, Gaudenz. *'Manifestatori delle cose miracolose': Arte italiana del '300 e '400 da collezioni in Svizzera e nel Liechtenstein.* Lugano-Castagnola: Fondazione Thyssen Bornemisza; Einsiedeln: Eidolon, 1991.

Frojmovic, Eva. "Taking Little Jesus to School in Two Thirteenth-century Latin Psalters from South Germany." In *Beyond the Yellow Badge: Anti-Judaism and Antisemitism in Medieval and Early Modern Visual Culture.* Ed. Mitchell B. Merback. Leiden: Brill, 2008. pp. 87–117.

Gardin, Alessandra. "Presenza di immagini religiose nei codici laici." In *Il codice miniato: rapporti tra codice, testo e figurazione* (Atti del III Congresso di storia della miniature, Cortona, 1988). Ed. M. Ceccanti, M.C. Castelli and K. Weitzmann. Florence: L.S. Olschki, 1992. pp. 375–85.

Gardner, Julian. "Andrea di Bonaiuto and the Chapterhouse Frescoes in Santa Maria Novella." *Art History* 2 (1979): 107–38.

Garnier, François. *Le langage de l'image au Moyen Âge. Vol II.* Paris: Le Léopod d'Or, 1989.

Gerli, L. "Aspetti della miniature bolognese del Trecento: il maestro dei corali di S. Pietro." *Il carrobbio* 5 (1979): 190–98.

Gibbs, Robert. *Tomaso da Modena: Painting in Emilia and the March of Treviso, 1340–80.* Cambridge/New York: Cambridge University Press, 1989.

_____. "Two Families of Painters at Bologna in the later Fourteenth Century." *Burlington Magazine* 121 (1979): 560–68.

_____. "Recent developments in the study of Bolognese and trecento illustration," *Burlington Magazine* 126 (October 1984): 638–41.

_____. "Images of Higher Education in Fourteenth-Century Bologna." In *Medieval Architecture and Its Intellectual Context: Studies in Honour of Peter Kidson.* Ed. Eric Fernie and Paul Crossley. London and Ronceverte, WV: Hambledon Press, 1990. pp. 269–81.

_____. "Sorting out Simone." *Apollo* 135: 364 (June 1992): 362–6.

_____. "Towards a History of Earlier 14th-century Bolognese Illumination: Little-known Manuscripts by Nerio Bolognese and the Hungarian Master." *Wiener Jahrbuch für Kunstgeschichte* 46–47 (1993–1994): 211–21.

_____. "Landscape as Property: Bolognese Law Manuscripts and the Development of Landscape Painting." *Rivista di Storia della Miniatura* 1–2 (1996–97): 207–216.

_____. "'Sober as a Judge': Ambrogio Lorenzetti's *Allegory of Justice in the Good Commune* 'Under the Influence' of the *Digest* and other Bolognese Illuminated Law Manuscripts." In *Under the Influence: The Concept of Influence and the Study of Illuminated Manuscripts*. Ed. John Lowden and Alixe Bovey. Leiden: Brepols, 2007. pp. 121–38.

_____. "Dreams of Salvation: Vitale da Bologna's Mezzaratta *Nativity* and its Progeny." In *Tributes to Nigel Morgan*. Ed. J. M. Luxford and M. A. Michael. London/Turnhout: Harvey Miller, 2010. pp. 263–77.

_____. "Vat. lat. 1388: A Novel Copy of Gregory IX's *Decretals* considered in relation to the origins of the Stefano Azzi workshop." In *Buchschätze des Mittelalters: Forschungsrückblicke, Forschunsperspektiven.* Ed. Klaus Gereon Beuckers, Christoph Jobst and Stefanie Westphal. Regensburg: Schnell and Steiner, 2011. pp. 251–63.

Gouron, André. "Some Aspects of the Medieval Teaching of Roman Law." In *Learning Institutionalized: Teaching in the Medieval University*. Ed. John Van Engen. Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 2000. pp. 161–76.

Grandi, Renzo. *I monumenti dei Dottori e la scultura a Bologna (1267–1348).* Bologna: Istituto per la storia di Bologna, 1982.

Grion, P.A. "La 'Legenda' del B. Venturino da Bergamo secondo il testo inedito del codice di Cividale." *Bergomum* 50 (1956): 11–110.

Guernelli, Daniele. "Una retorica per Nicolò di Giacomo: Tre nuove opere ed un punto su catalogo e cronologia." *Strenna Storica Bolognese* 53 (2013): 229–50.

Hahn, Cynthia. "'Joseph Will Perfect, Mary Enlighten and Jesus Save Thee': The Holy Family as Marriage Model in the Mérode Triptych." *Art Bulletin* 68:1 (March 1986): 54–66.

Hale, Rosemary Drage. "Joseph as Mother: Adaptation and Appropriation in the Construction of Male Virtue," in *Medieval Mothering*. Ed. J.C. Parsons and B. Wheeler. NewYork/London: Garland, 1996. pp. 101–116.

Hall, Marjorie J. "Narrative Strategies in Medieval Images of the Journey to Emmaus." *Arte medievale* II ser., anno 14:1–2 (2000): 1–13.

Hamburger, Jeffrey F. *The Visual and the Visionary: Art and Female Spirituality in Late Medieval Germany*. New York: Zone Books, 1998.

Harding, Catherine. "Speaking in Pictures: Reading, Memory and Interpretation in Francesco da Barberino's Advice to Women in his *Reggimento e costumi di donna*," *RACAR* 36:1 (2011): 29–40.

Heinonen, Meri. "Henry Suso and the Divine Knighthood." In *Holiness and Masculinity in the Middle Ages*. Ed. P. H. Cullum and Katherine J. Lewis. Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2004. pp. 78–92.

Herlihy, David. "The Family and Religious Ideologies in Medieval Europe." *Journal of Family History* 12 (1987): 3–17.

_____. "Family." *American Historical Review* 96:1 (February 1991): 1–16.

Hirn, Yrjo. *The Sacred Shrine: A Study of the Poetry and Art of the Catholic Church.* Boston: Beacon Press, 1957.

Hoch, Adrian S. "The 'Passion' cycle: Images to contemplate and imitate amid Clarissan *clausura*." In *The Church of Santa Maria Donna Regina*. Ed. Janis Elliott and Cordelia Warr. Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2004. pp. 129–53

Hourihane, Colum. *Pontius Pilate, Anti-Semitism, and the Passion in Medieval Art.* Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2009.

Hülsen-Esch, Andrea von. "Kleider machen Leute: Zur Gruppen repräsentation von Gelehrten im Spätmittelalter." In *Die Repräsentation der Gruppen: Texte, Bilder, Objekte*. Ed. Otto Gerhard Oexle and Andrea von Hülsen-Esch. Göttingen: Vanderhoeck and Ruprecht, 1998. pp. 225–57.

Hundersmarck, Lawrence F. "Reforming Life by Conforming it to the Life of Christ: Pseudo-Bonaventure's *Meditaciones Vite Christi*." In *Reform and Renewal in the Middle Ages and Renaissance: Studies in Honor of Louis Pascoe, S.J.* Ed. Thomas M. Izbicki and Christopher M. Bellitto. Leiden: Brill, 2000. pp. 93–112.

Jacobus, Laura. *Giotto and the Arena Chapel: Art, Architecture and Experience.* London/Turnhout: Harvey Miller, 2008.

James, M. R. "*Pictor in Carmine*." *Archaeologia* 94 (1951): 141–66.

Jansen, Katherine Ludwig. *The Making of the Magdalen: Preaching and Popular Devotion in the Later Middle Ages*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2000.

Jolly, Penny Howell. "On the Meaning of the 'Virgin Mary Reading': Attributed to Antonello da Messina." *Journal of the Walters Art Gallery* 40 (1982): 25–35.

Kanter, Laurence B. et al. *Painting and Illumination in Early Renaissance Florence, 1300–1450*. New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1994.

Karnes, Michelle. *Imagination, Meditation and Cognition in the Middle Ages.* Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 2011.

Karras, Ruth Mazo. *From Boys to Men: Formations of Masculinity in Late Medieval Europe.* Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2003.

Katzenstein, Ranee A. "Three Liturgical Manuscripts from San Marco: Art and Patronage in Mid-Trecento Venice." PhD diss., Harvard University, 1987.

Kelly Wray, Shona. *Communities and Crisis: Bologna during the Black Death.* Leiden/Boston: Brill, 2009.

_____. "Law Faculty Wives of Trecento Bologna." In *Bologna: Cultural Crossroads from the Medieval to the Baroque: Recent Anglo-American Scholarship.* Eds. Gian Mario Anselmi, Angela De Benedictus, and Nicholas Terpstra. Bologna: Bononia University Press, 2013. pp. 45–56.

Kempers, Brian and S. De Blaauw. "Jacopo Stefaneschi: Patron and Liturgist." *Mededelingen van het Nederlands Instituut te Rome* 47 (1987): 83–113.

Kenney, Theresa M. "The Manger as Calvary and Altar." In *The Christ Child in Medieval Culture: Alpha es et O!.* Ed. Mary Dzon and Theresa M. Kenney. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2012.

Kent, Dale. "Charity and Power in Renaissance Florence: Surmounting Cynicism in Historiography." *Common Knowledge* 9:2 (2003): 254–72.

Kirshner, Julius. "'Made exiles for the love of knowledge': Students in Late Medieval Italy." *Mediaeval Studies* 70 (2008): 163–202.

_____. "Was Bartolo da Sassoferrato a Source for Christine de Pizan?," *Medieval Studies* 74 (2012): 263–82.

Kishpaugh, Mary Jerome, Sr. *The Feast of the Presentation of the Virgin Mary to the Temple: An Historical and Literary Study.* Washington, DC: The Catholic University of America Press, 1941.

Kitzinger, Ernst. "The Hellenistic Heritage in Byzantine Art." *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 17 (1963): 95–115.

Klaniczay, Gábor. *Holy Rulers and Blessed Princesses: Dynastic Cults in Medieval Central Europe.* Trans. Eva Pálmai. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002.

Klapisch-Zuber, Christiane. "The Name 'Remade': The Transmission of Given Names in Florence in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries." In her *Women, Family, and Ritual in Renaissance Italy.* Trans. L. G. Cochrane. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1985. pp. 283–309.

Kocks, Dirk. *Die Stifterdarstellung in der italienischen Malereri des 13.–15. Jahrhunderts*. Cologne: Bothmann, 1971.

Krinsky, Carol Herselle. "Representations of the Temple of Jerusalem before 1500," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 33 (1970): 1–19.

Kuehn, Thomas. *Law, Family and Women: Toward a Legal Anthropology of Renaissance Italy*. Chicago and London: Univ. of Chicago Press, 1991.

Ladis, Andrew. "The Legend of Giotto's Wit and the Arena Chapel," *Art Bulletin* 68:4 (Dec 1986): 581–96.

Lafontaine-Dosogne, Jacqueline. *Iconographie de l'enfance de la vierge dans l'Empire byzantine et en Occident*. 2 vols. Brussels: Académie royale de Belgique, 1964; reprint 1992.

La Piana, George. "The Byzantine Iconography of the Presentation of the Virgin Mary to the Temple and a Latin Religious Pageant." In *Late Classical and Medieval Studies in Honor of Albert Mathias Friend, Jr.* Ed. K. Weitzmann. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1955. pp. 261–71.

L'Engle, Susan. "The Illumination of Legal Manuscripts in Bologna, 1250–1350: Production and Iconography." Ph.D. dissertation, Institute of Fine Arts, New York University, 2000.

_____. "Addressing the Law: Costume as Signifier in Medieval Legal Miniatures." In *Encountering Medieval Textiles and Dress: Objects, Texts, Images*, ed. D. Koslin and J. E. Snyder. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2002. Pp. 137–153.

L'Engle, Susan and Robert Gibbs. *Illuminating the Law: Legal Manuscripts in Cambridge Collections*. Exh. cat. Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum, 3 Nov–16 Dec 2001. London/Turnhout: Harvey Miller, 2001.

Liebrich, Julia. *Die Verkündigung an Maria: Die Ikonographie der italienischen Darstellungen von den Anfängen bis 1500*. Cologne/Weimar/Vienna: Böhlau Verlag, 1997.

Linardou, Kallirroe. "Mary and Her Books in the Kokkinobaphos manuscripts: Female Literacy or Visual Strategies of Narration?" *DChAE* 29:4 (2008): 35–48.

Longhi, Roberto. *Lavori in Valpadana del trecento al primo Cinquecento, 1934–1964*. Edizione delle opera complete di Roberto Longhi 6. Florence: Sansoni, 1973.

Lowe, Kate. "Secular brides and convent brides: wedding ceremonies in Italy during the Renaissance and Counter-Reformation." In *Marriage in Italy, 1300–1650*. Ed. T. Dean and K.J.P. Lowe. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998. pp. 41–65.

Lubbock, Jules. *Storytelling in Christian Art from Giotto to Donatello*. New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2006.

Lucco, Mauro (ed.) *La pittura nel Veneto: Il Trecento*. 2 vols. Milan: Electa, 1992.

Maguire, Henry. "The Iconography of Symeon with the Christ Child in Byzantine Art," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 34/35 (1980/81): 261–9.

_____. "*Abaton* and *Oikonomia*: St. Neophytos and the Iconography of the Presentation of the Virgin." In *Medieval Cyprus: Studies in Art, Architecture, and History in Memory of Doula Mouriki*. Ed. N. P. Ševčenko and C. Moss. Princeton, NJ: Princeton, University Press, 1999. pp. 95–105.

Mariani Canova, Giordana. "La miniatura veneta del Trecento tra Padova e Venezia," In *La pittura nel Veneto: Il Trecento*. Ed. M. Lucco. Milan: Electa, 1992. Vol. 2, pp. 383–408.

Marrow, James H. *Passion Iconography in Northern European Art of the Late Middle Ages and Early Renaissance*. Kortrijk, Belgium: Van Ghemmert, 1979.

Mattia, Eleonora. "Due Ovidio illustrati di scuola bolognese," *Miniatura* 3–4 (1990–91): 63–72.

McCall, John P. "The Writings of John of Legnano with a List of Manuscripts." *Traditio* 23 (1967): 415–37.

McNamer, Sarah. *Affective Meditation and the Invention of Medieval Compassion*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2010.

_____. "Further Evidence for the Date of the Pseudo-Bonaventuran *Meditationes Vitae Christi*." *Franciscan Studies* 50 (1990): 235–61.

_____. "The Origins of the *Meditationes vitae Christi*." *Speculum* 84 (2009): 905–955.

_____. "The Author of the Italian *Meditations on the Life of Christ*." In *New Directions in Medieval Manuscript Studies and Reading Practices: Essays in Honor of Derek Pearsall*. Ed. Kathryn Kerby-Fulton, John J. Thompson, and Sarah Baechle. Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 2014. pp. 119–37.

McNeil, Mary Germaine. *Simone Fidati and His "De gestis Domini Salvatoris."* Washington, DC: Catholic University Press, 1950.

Meany, Mary. "The *Meditaciones vite Christi* as a Book of Prayer." *Franciscan Studies* 64 (2006): 217–34.

Medica, Massimo (ed.). *"Haec sunt statuta": Le corporazioni medievali nelle miniature bolognese*. Exh. cat. Rocca medievale Boncompagni Ludovisi, Vignola, 27 March–11 July, 1999. Modena: F.C. Panini, 1999.

Medica, Massimo (ed.). *Duecento: Forme e colori del medioevo a Bologna*. Exh. cat. Museo civico archeologico, Bologna, 15 April–16 July, 2000. Venice: Marsilio, 2000.

Medica, Massimo (ed.). *Giotto e le arti a Bologna al tempo di Bertrando del Poggetto*. Exh. cat. Museo Civico Medievale, Bologna, 3 Dec. 2005–28 Mar. 2006. Cinsello Balsamo, Milan: Silvana, 2005.

Medica, Massimo (ed.). *Giotto e Bologna*. Cinisello Balsamo, Milan: Silvana, 2010.

Medica, Massimo. "La miniatura a Bologna al tempo di Bertrando del Poggetto." In *Corali miniati di Faenza, Bagnacavallo e Cotignola*. Ed. Fabrizio Lollini. Faenza [Ravenna]: Edit Faenza, 2000. pp. 83–92.

Mellinkoff, Ruth. *Outcasts: Signs of Otherness in Northern European Art of the Late Middle Ages*. 2 vols. Berkeley, CA: Univ. of California Press, 1993.

Melnikas, Anthony. *The Corpus of the Miniatures in the Manuscripts of Decretum Gratiani*. 3 vols. Rome: Institutum Gratianum ; Columbus, Ohio: Index of Juridical and Civic Iconography, 1975.

Metz, R. "L'Entrée des mineurs dans la vie religieuse et l'authorité des parents d'après le droit classique." *Studia Gratiana* 20 (1976): 187–200.

Milliner, Matthew J. "The Sexuality of Christ in Byzantine Art and in Hypermodern Oblivion." Paper posted to the Religion and Culture web forum, January 2014, The Martin Marty Center for the Advanced Study of Religion.

Minnis, Alastair. "Image Trouble in Vernacular Commentary: The Vacillations of Francesco da Barberino." *Nottingham Medieval Studies* 56 (2012): 229–45.

Moleta, V. "The 'Somme le roi' from French Court to Italian City State." In *Patronage and Public in the Trecento*. Ed. V. Moleta. Florence: L.S. Olschki, 1986. pp. 125–58.

Molli, Giovanna Baldissin et al. (eds). *La miniatura a Padova dal medioevo al settecento*. Modena: Franco Cosimo Panini, 1999.

Morel, Barbara. "Justice et bien commune: Étude comparée de la fresque du *Bon Gouvernement* d'Ambrogio Lorenzetti et d'un manuscrit juridque bolonais." *Mélanges de l'École Française de Rome: Moyen Âge* 113:1 (2001): 685–97.

Munro, J. H. "The Medieval Scarlet and the Economics of Sartorial Splendor." In *Cloth and Clothing: Essays in Memory of Professor E.M. Carus-Wilson*. Ed. N.B. Harte and K.G. Ponting. London: Heinemann Educational Books, 1983. pp. 13–70.

Neff, Amy. "The Pain of Compassio: Mary's Labor at the Foot of the Cross." *Art Bulletin* 80: 2 (June 1998): 254–73.

_____. "Lesser Brothers: Franciscan Mission and Identity at Assisi," *Art Bulletin* 88:4 (December 2006): 676–706.

Newton, Stella Mary. *Fashion in the Age of the Black Prince: A Study of the Years 1340–1365*. Woodbridge, Suffolk: Boydell Press, 1980.

Nilgen, Ursula. "The Epiphany and the Eucharist: On the Interpretation of Eucharistic Motifs in Mediaeval Epiphany Scenes." *Art Bulletin* 49:4 (December 1967): 311–16.

Nitz, Genoveva. *Albertus Magnus in der Volkskunst: Die Alberti-Tafeln*. Munich: Schnell & Steiner, 1980.

Nörr, K. W. "À propos du *Speculum iudiciale* de Guillaume Durand." In *Guillaume Durand: Évêque du Mende*. Ed. P.-M. Gy. Paris: CNRS, 1992. pp. 63–71.

O'Brien, Cecilia. "The Illustration of the First Sunday of Advent in Fourteenth and Fifteenth Century Italian Breviaries." In *Il codice miniato: rapporti tra codice, testo e figurazione* (Atti del III Congresso di storia della miniature, Cortona, 1988). Ed. M. Ceccanti, M.C. Castelli and K. Weitzmann. Florence: L.S. Olschki, 1992. pp. 147– 57.

Ousterhout, Robert G. "The Church of Santo Stefano: A 'Jerusalem' in Bologna," *Gesta* 20 (1981): 311–21.

Pächt, Otto. "Künstlerische Originalität und ikonographische Erneuerung." Reprinted in his *Methodisches zur kunsthistorischen Praxis*. Munich: Prestel, 1977. pp. 154–8.

Palladino, Pia. *Treasures of a Lost Art: Italian Manuscript Painting of the Middle Ages and Renaissance*. New Haven, CT: Metropolitan Museum of Art, Yale University Press, 2003.

Pallucchini, Rodolfo. *La pittura veneziana del Trecento*. Rome: Istituto per la collaborazione culturale, 1964.

Pantin, W. A. "Instructions for a Devout and Literate Layman." In *Medieval Learning and Literature: Essays presented to Richard William Hunt*. Ed. J. J. G. Alexander and M. T. Gibson. Oxford: Oxford Clarendon Press, 1976. pp. 398–422.

Paoletti, John T. "The Strozzi Altarpiece Reconsidered." *Memorie Domenicane* n.s. 20 (1989): 279–300.

Papastavrou, Hélène. "Le symbolisme de la colonne dans la scène de l'Annonciation." *DChAE* 15:4 (1989–1990): 145–160.

Partner, Peter. *The Lands of St. Peter: The Papal State in the Middle Ages and the Early Renaissance*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1972.

Pasini, Pier Giorgio. *La pittura riminese del Trecento*. Rimini: Cassa di Risparmio di Rimini, 1990.

Payan, Paul. *Joseph: Une image de la paternité dans l'Occident médiéval*. Paris: Aubier, 2006.

Petrucci, Armando. "Reading and Writing in *Volgare* in Medieval Italy." In *Writers and Readers in Medieval Italy: Studies in the History of Written Culture*. Ed. and trans. C. M. Radding. New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1995. pp. 169–235.

Petzold, Andreas. "'His face like lightning': Colour as Signifier in Representations of the Holy Women at the Tomb." *Arte medievale* II ser. 6:2 (1992): 149–55.

Pfändtner, Karl-Georg. "Zwischen Frankreich und Byzanz: Zwei Bologneser Psalter des 13. Jahrhunderts und ihr Illustrationssystem (Bologna, Bibl. univ., ms 346 und Paris, BNF, ms Smith- Lesouëf 21)." In *The Illuminated Psalter: Studies in the Content, Purpose and Placement of its Images*. Ed. F. O. Büttner. Turnhout, Belgium: Brepols, 2004. pp. 181–92.

Phillips, Dianne. "The *Meditations on the Life of Christ*: An Illuminated Fourteenth-Century Italian Manuscript at the University of Notre Dame." In *The Text in the Community: Essays on Medieval Works, Manuscripts, Authors, and Readers*. Ed. Jill Mann and Maura Nolan. Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 2006. pp. 237–81.

Pini, Antonio Ivan. "Miniatori, pittori e scrittori nelle 'venticinquine' bolognesi del Due e Trecento," *Il Carrobbio* 7 (1981): 347–65.

Pini, Raffaella. *Il mondo dei pittori a Bologna: 1348–1430*. Bologna: CLUEB, 2005.

Polzer, Joseph. "Christ, Judge, Saviour, Advocate, Franciscan Devotion and the Doubting Thomas." In *Essays Presented to Myron P. Gilmore*. Ed. S. Bertelli and G. Ramakus. Florence: La Nuova Italia, 1978. Vol. II, pp. 300–310.

_____. "Andrea di Bonaiuto's *Via Veritatis* and Dominican Thought in Late Medieval Italy," *Art Bulletin* 77 (June 1995): 262–89.

Pope-Hennessy, John. *The Robert Lehman Collection*. Vol. I: *Italian Paintings*. New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1987.

Porzio, Francesco. (ed.) *Francesco d'Assisi: Documenti e Archivi, Codici e Biblioteche, Miniature*. Milan: Electa, 1982.

Ragusa, Isa. "The Dispute of the Virtues Miniature in the 'Meditations on the life of Christ' (Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Ms. ital. 115)." In *Studi di storia dell'arte in onore di Maria Luisa Gatti Perer*. Ed. Marco Rossi and Alessandro Rovetta. Milan: Vita e Pensiero, 1999. pp. 47–52.

Rice, Jr., Eugene F. *Saint Jerome in the Renaissance*. Baltimore/London: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1985.

Ridderbos, Bernhard. *Saint and Symbol: Images of Saint Jerome in Early Italian Art.* Groningen, Netherlands: Bouma's Boekhuis, 1984.

Ringbom, Sixten. "Some pictorial conventions for the recounting of thoughts and experiences in late medieval art." In *Medieval Iconography and Narrative: A Symposium*. Ed. Flemming G. Andersen. Odense, Denmark: Odense University Press, 1980. pp. 38–69.

Robb, David M. "The Iconography of the Annunciation in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries." *Art Bulletin* 18 (1936): 480–526.

Rosand, David. *Painting in Cinquecento Venice: Titian, Veronese, Tintoretto.* New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1982.

Rossi, Guido. "Contributi alla biografia del canonista Giovanni d'Andrea (L'insegnamento di Novella e Bettina, sue figlie, ed i presunti response di Milancia, sua moglia)." *Rivista trimestrale di diritto e procedura civile* 11 (1957): 1451–1502.

Rubin, Miri. *Emotion and Devotion: The Meaning of Mary in Medieval Religious Cultures*. Budapest and New York: Central European University Press, 2009.

Saenger, Paul. "Books of Hours and the Reading Habits of the Later Middle Ages." *Scrittura e civiltà* 9 (1985): 239–69.

Schadt, Hermann. *Die Darstellungen der Arbores consanguinitatis und der Arbores affinitatis: Bildschemata in juristischen Handschriften.* Tübingen: Wasmuth, 1982.

Schiller, Gertrud. *Ikonographie der christliche Kunst.* 5 vols. Gütersloh: Gütersloher Verlagshaus G. Mohn, 1966–1991.

_____. *Iconography of Christian Art.* 2 vols. Trans. J. Seligman. Greenwich, CT: New York Graphic Society, 1971.

Schmidt, Gerhard. "'Andreas me pinsit': Frühe Miniaturen von Nicolò di Giacomo und Andrea de' Bartoli in dem Bologneser Offiziolo der Stiftsbibliothek Kremsmünster." *Wiener Jahrbuch für Kunstgeschichte* 26 (1973): 57–73.

Schork, R. J. *Sacred Song from the Byzantine Pulpit: Romanos the Melodist.* Gainesville: University of Florida Press, 1995.

Schreiner, Klaus. *Maria: Jungfrau, Mutter, Herrscherin.* Munich: Carl Hauser, 1994.

____. " Marienverehrung, Lesekultur, Schriftlichkeit: Bildungs- und frömmigkeitsgeschichtliche Studien zur Auslegung und Darstellung von 'Maria Verkündigung'." *Frühmittelalterliche Studien* 24 (1990): 314–68.

Semizzi, Renata. "Un Brevario francescano miniato tardodugentesco alla Biblioteca Queriniana di Brescia: Presentazione iconografica del MS. A-V-24." In *Il codice miniato: rapporti tra codice, testo e figurazione.* Ed. M. Ceccanti, M.C. Castelli and K. Weitzmann. Florence: L.S. Olschki, 1992. pp. 129–45.

Sheingorn, Pamela. "'The Wise Mother': The Image of St. Anne Teaching the Virgin Mary." *Gesta* 32 (1993): 69–80.

_____. "Joseph the Carpenter's Failure at Familial Discipline." In *Insights and Interpretations: Studies in Celebration of the Eighty-fifth Anniversary of the Index of Christian Art.* Ed. C. Hourhane. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2002. pp. 156–67.

Shorr, Dorothy. "The Iconographic Development of the Presentation in the Temple." *Art Bulletin* 28 (1946): 17–32.

Silber, Evelyn. "The Reconstructed Toledo *Speculum Humanae Salvationis*: The Italian Connection in the Early Fourteenth Century." *JWCI* 43 (1980): 32–51.

Stahl, Harvey. "Narrative Structure and Content in Some Gothic Ivories of the Life of Christ." In *Images in Ivory: Precious Objects of the Gothic Age.* Ed. Peter Barnet. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1997. pp. 95–114.

Stallings-Taney, C. Mary. "The Pseudo Bonaventure *Meditaciones vite Christi: Opus Integrum.*" *Franciscan Studies* 55 (1998): 253–80.

Stanbury Smith, Sarah. "'Game in myn hood': The Traditions of a Comic Proverb." *Studies in Iconography* 9 (1983): 1–12.

Stechow, Wolfgang. "Joseph of Arimathea or Nicodemus?" In *Studien zur Toskanischen Kunst: Festschrift für Ludwig Heinrich Heydenreich.* Ed. W. Lotz and L.L. Moller Munich: Prestel-Verlag, 1963: pp. 289–302

Steinberg, Leo. *The Sexuality of Christ in Renaissance Art and Modern Oblivion*. 2d ed., revised and expanded. Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1996.

_____. "'How Shall This Be?': Reflections on Filippo Lippi's *Annunciation* in London, Part I," *Artibus et Historiae* 8: 16 (1987): 25–44.

Stelling-Michaud, S. "Manuscrits juridiques bolonais des XIIIe et XIVe siècles conservés a Genève." *Genava* n.s. 1 (1953): 117–31.

Stolte, Almut. "Maestro di Gherarduccio kopiert Giotto: Zur Rezeption der Arena Fresken in der oberitalienischen Buchmalerei zu Beginn des 14. Jahrhunderts." *Mitteilungen des Kunsthistorischen Institutes in Florenz* 40 (1996): 2–41.

Strehlke, Carl Brandon. "A Celibate Marriage and Franciscan Poverty Reflected in a Neapolitan Trecento Diptych." *The J. Paul Getty Museum Journal* 15 (1987): 79–96.

Stuard, Susan Mosher. "Burdens of Matrimony: Husbanding and Gender in Medieval Italy." In *Medieval Masculinities: Regarding Men in the Middle Ages*." Ed. C. A. Lees. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1994. pp. 61–71.

_____. "Gravitas and Consumption." In *Conflicted Identities and Multiple Masculinities: Men in the Medieval West.* Ed. Jacqueline Murray. New York: Garland, 1999. pp. 215–42.

Sullivan, Ruth Wilkins. "The Anointing at Bethany and Other Affirmations of Christ's Divinity on Duccio's Back Predella." *Art Bulletin* 67:1 (March 1985): 32–50.

Sutton, Kay. " The lost 'Officiolum' of Francesco da Barberino rediscovered." *Burlington Magazine* 147 (March 2005): 152–64.

Thompson, Augustine. *Cities of God: The Religion of the Italian Communes, 1125–1325*. University Park: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2005.

Tóth, Péter. "Pseudo-Apocryphal Dialogue as a Tool for the Memorization of Scholastic Wisdom: The Farewell of Christ to Mary and the *Liber de vita Christi* by Jacobus." In *The Making of Memory in the Middle Ages*. Ed. Lucie Dolezalová. Leiden: Brill, 2010. pp. 176–82.

_____."'Give me another death! The Apocryphal Vision of Christ in the Garden of Gethsemane." In *Retelling the Bible: Literary, Historical, and Social Contexts*. Ed. Lucie Dolezalova and Tamás Visy. Bern: Peter Lang, 2011. pp. 85–115.

Tóth, Peter and Dávid Falvay. "New Light on the Date and Authorship of the *Meditationes vitae Christi*." In *Devotional Culture in Late Medieval England and Europe: Diverse Imaginations of Christ's Life*. Ed. Stephen Kelly and Ryan Perry. Turnhout: Brepols, 2014. pp. 17–105.

Trexler, Richard C. *The Journey of the Magi: Meanings in History of a Christian Story.* Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1997.

Udry, Susan. "'Putting on the Girls': Mary's Girlhood and the Performance of Monarchical Authority in Philippe de Méziéres's Dramatic Office for the *Presentation of the Virgin in the Temple.*" *European Medieval Drama* 8 (2004): 1–18.

Underwood, Paul A. *The Kariye Djami.* 4 vols. New York: Bollingen Foundation, 1966–1975.

Urbach, Zsuzsa. "'Dominus possedit me . . .' (Prov. 8, 22): Beitrag zur Ikonographie des Josephszweifels." *Acta Historiae Artium* 20 (1974): 199–266.

_____."Die *Heimsuchung Mariä*, ein Tafelbild des Meisters M S (Beiträge zur mittelalterlichen Entwicklungsgeschichte des Heimsuchungsthemas)." *Acta historiae artium* 10 (1964): 69–123.

Vaccari, Alberto. "Le 'Meditazioni della vita di Cristo' in volgare." In his *Scritti di erudizione e di filologia.* Vol. I, *Filologia biblica e patristica.* Rome, 1952. pp. 341–78.

Vallerani, Massimo. *Medieval Public Justice.* Trans. Sarah Rubin Blanshei. Washington, D.C.: Catholic University Press, 2012.

Vassilaki, Maria and Niki Tsironis, "Representations of the Virgin and Their Association with the Passion of Christ." In *Mother of God: Representations of the Virgin in Byzantine Art.* Ed. Maria Vassilaki. Milan: Skira, 2000. pp. 453–63.

Vauchez, André. *The Laity in the Middle Ages: Religious Beliefs and Devotional Practices.* Ed. Daniel E. Bornstein. Trans. Margery J. Schneider. Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 1993.

Veer-Langezaal, Jacky de. "A Cutting Illuminated by the Illustratore (Ms. 13) and Bolognese Miniature Painting of the Middle of the Fourteenth Century." *J. Paul Getty Museum Journal* 20 (1992): 121–38.

Verger, Jacques. *Men of Learning in Europe at the End of the Middle Ages.* Trans. Lisa Neal and Steven Rendall. Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 2000.

Volpe, Alessandro. *Mezzaratta: Vitale e altri pittori per una confraternita bolognese.* Bologna: Bononia University Press, 2005.

Volpe, Carlo. *La pittura riminese del trecento.* Milan: M. Spagnol, 1965.

Wentzel, Hans. "Maria mit dem Jesusknaben an der Hand: Ein seltenes deutsches Bildmotiv." *Zeitschrift des deutschen Vereins für Kunst wissesnschaft* 9 (1942): 203–250.

Wieck, Roger S. *Time Sanctified: The Book of Hours in Medieval Art and Life.* New York: Braziller, 1988.

Wilson, Carolyn C. *St. Joseph in Italian Renaissance Society and Art: New Directions and Interpretations*. Philadelphia: St. Joseph's University Press, 2001.

Wyss, R. L. "Die Handarbeiten der Maria: Eine ikonographische Studie unter Berücksichtigung der Textilen Techniken." In *Artes Minores: Dank an Werner Abegg.* Ed. Michael Stettler and Mechtild Lemberg. Bern: Stämpfli, 1973. pp. 114-54.

Young, Karl. "Philippe de Mézières' Dramatic Office for the Presentation of the Virgin," *PMLA* 26 (1911): 181–234.

Plate 1. Christ Enthroned with patrons

(Notre Dame, Indiana, Snite Museum of Art, University of Notre Dame, 85.25, f. 1r)

Plate 2. God the Father enthroned in Heaven

(Notre Dame, Indiana, Snite Museum of Art, University of Notre Dame, 85.25, f. 37r; this originally was the second miniature in the manuscript but at some point the folio was detached and reinserted incorrectly)

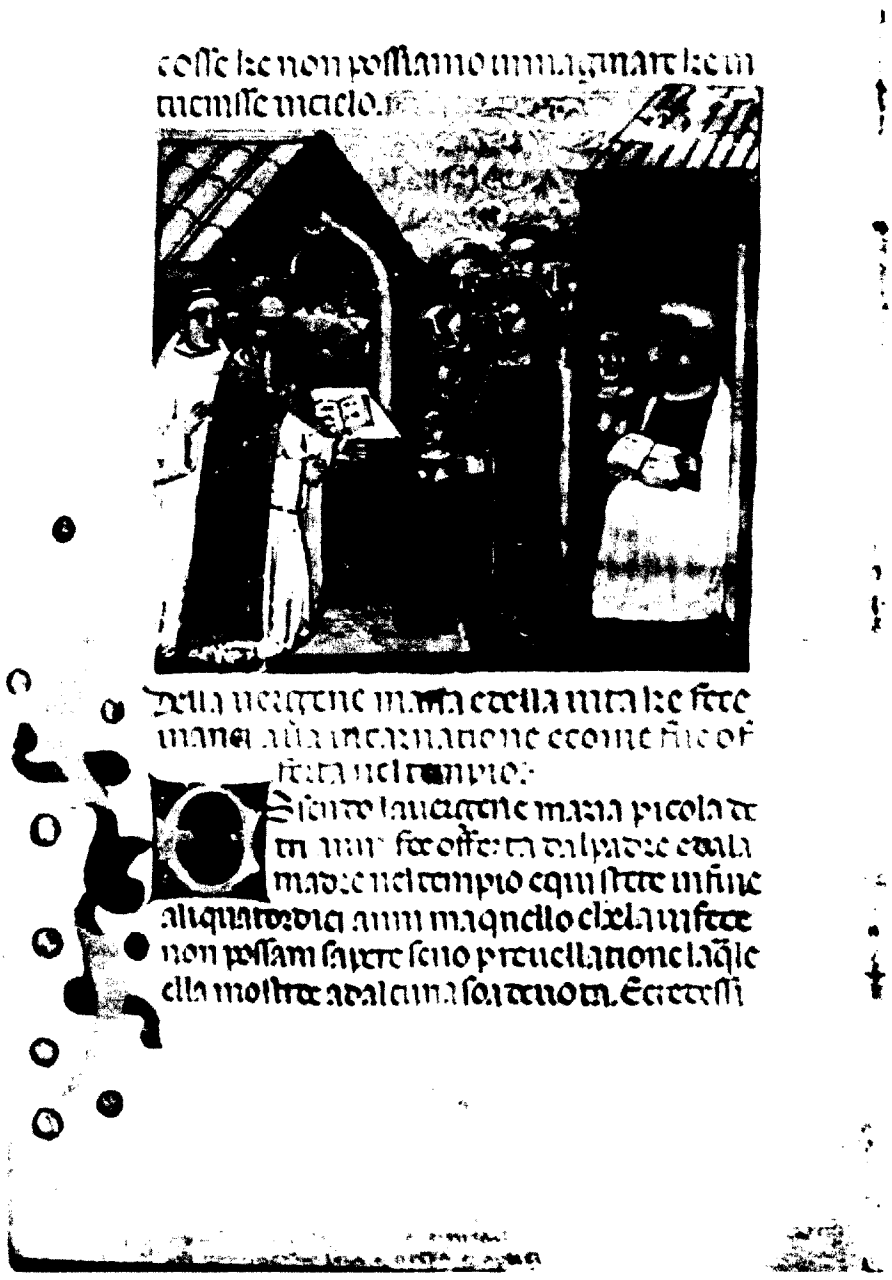


Plate 3. Presentation of the Virgin Mary to the Temple

(Notre Dame, Indiana, Snite Museum of Art, University of Notre Dame, 85.25, f. 5v)

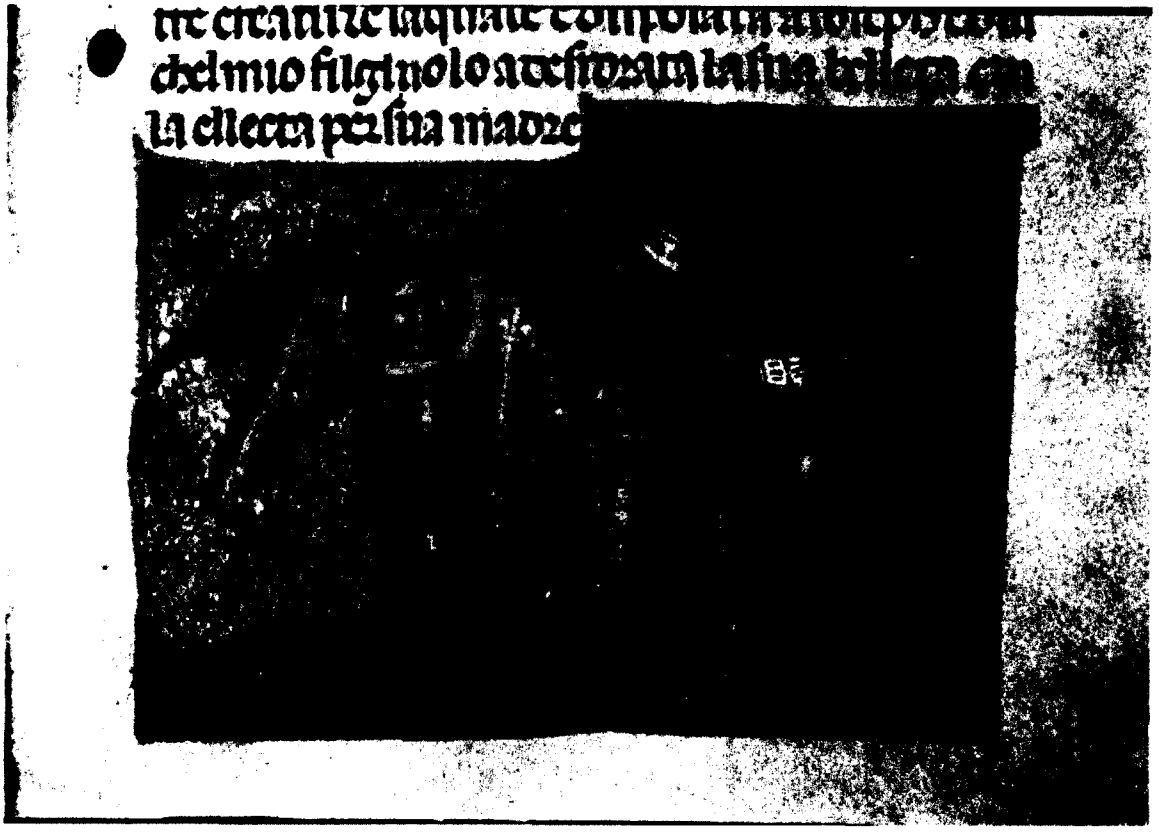


Plate 4. Annunciation

(Notre Dame, Indiana, Snite Museum of Art, University of Notre Dame, 85.25, f. 8r)

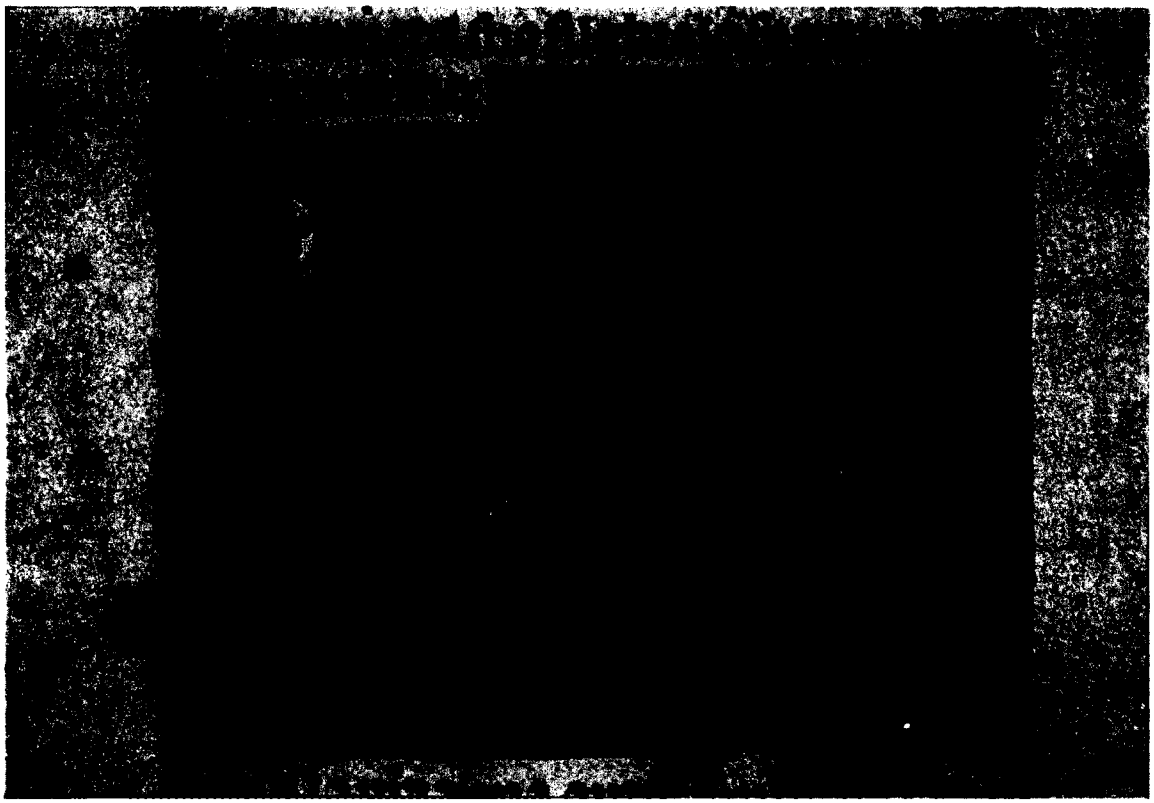


Plate 5. Visitation

(Notre Dame, Indiana, Snite Museum of Art, University of Notre Dame, 85.25, f. 10v)

Plate 6. Joseph's Doubts

(Notre Dame, Indiana, Snite Museum of Art, University of Notre Dame, 85.25, f. 12r)

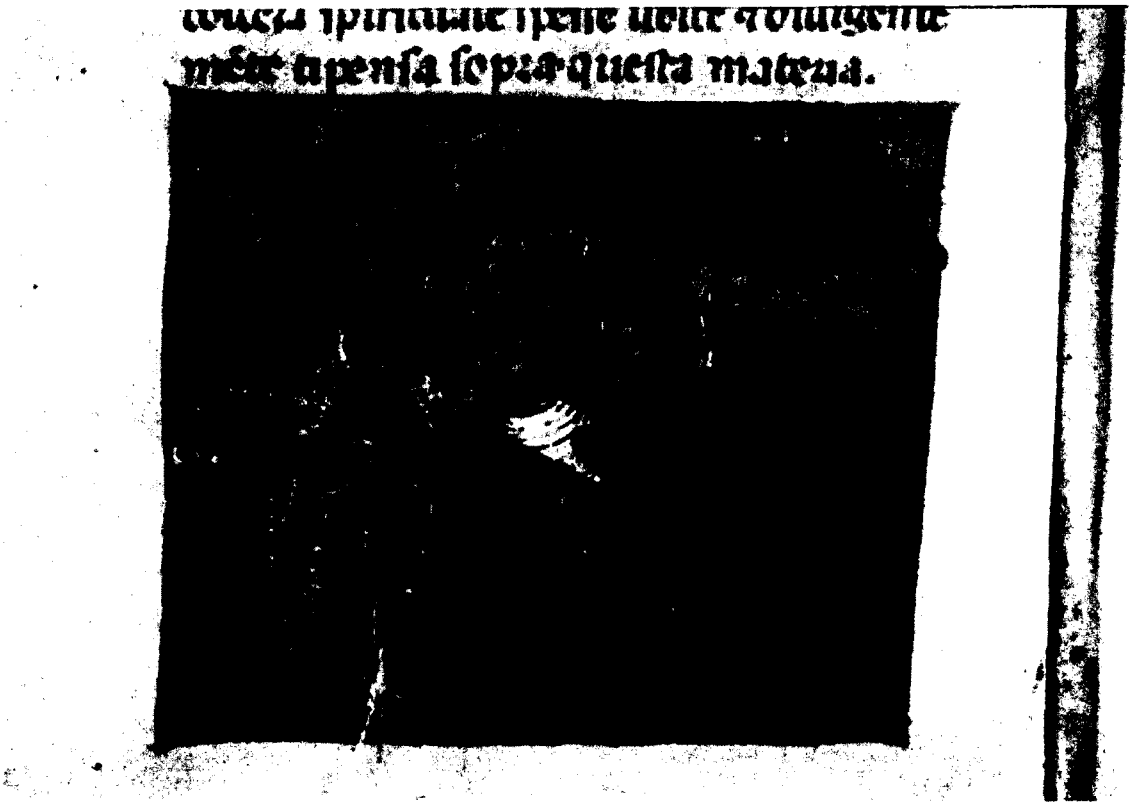


Plate 7. Nativity of Christ

(Notre Dame, Indiana, Snite Museum of Art, University of Notre Dame, 85.25, f. 13v)

Plate 8. First Bath of the Christ Child

(Notre Dame, Indiana, Snite Museum of Art, University of Notre Dame, 85.25, f. 15r)

Plate 9. Annunciation to the Shepherds

(Notre Dame, Indiana, Snite Museum of Art, University of Notre Dame, 85.25, f. 16v)

Plate 10. Circumcision of Christ

(Notre Dame, Indiana, Snite Museum of Art, University of Notre Dame, 85.25, f. 18r)

Plate 11. Adoration of the Magi

(Notre Dame, Indiana, Snite Museum of Art, University of Notre Dame, 85.25, f. 20r)

Plate 12. Presentation of Christ in the Temple

(Notre Dame, Indiana, Snite Museum of Art, University of Notre Dame, 85.25, f. 23v)

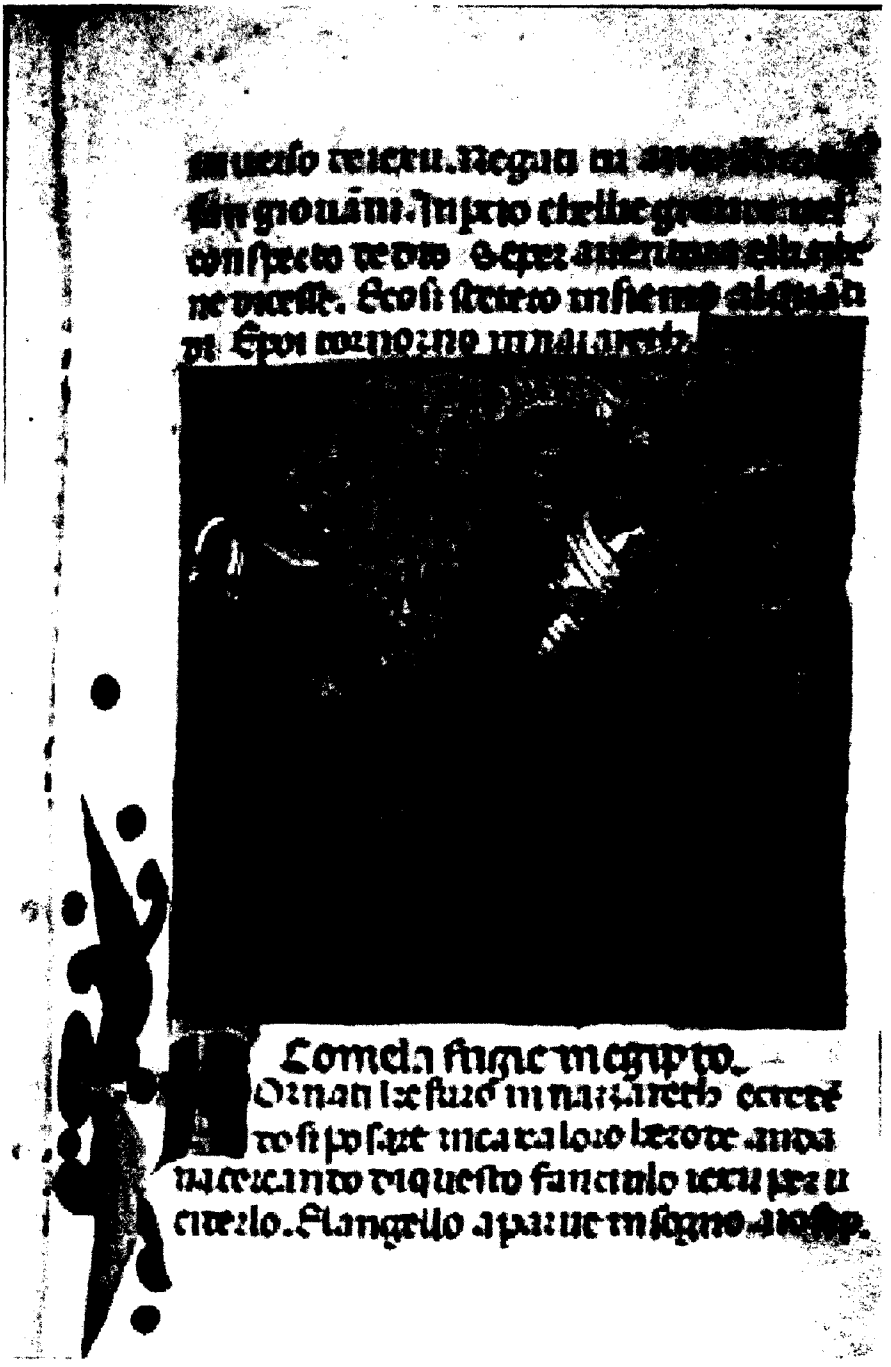


Plate 13. Flight into Egypt

(Notre Dame, Indiana, Snite Museum of Art, University of Notre Dame, 85.25, f. 26r)

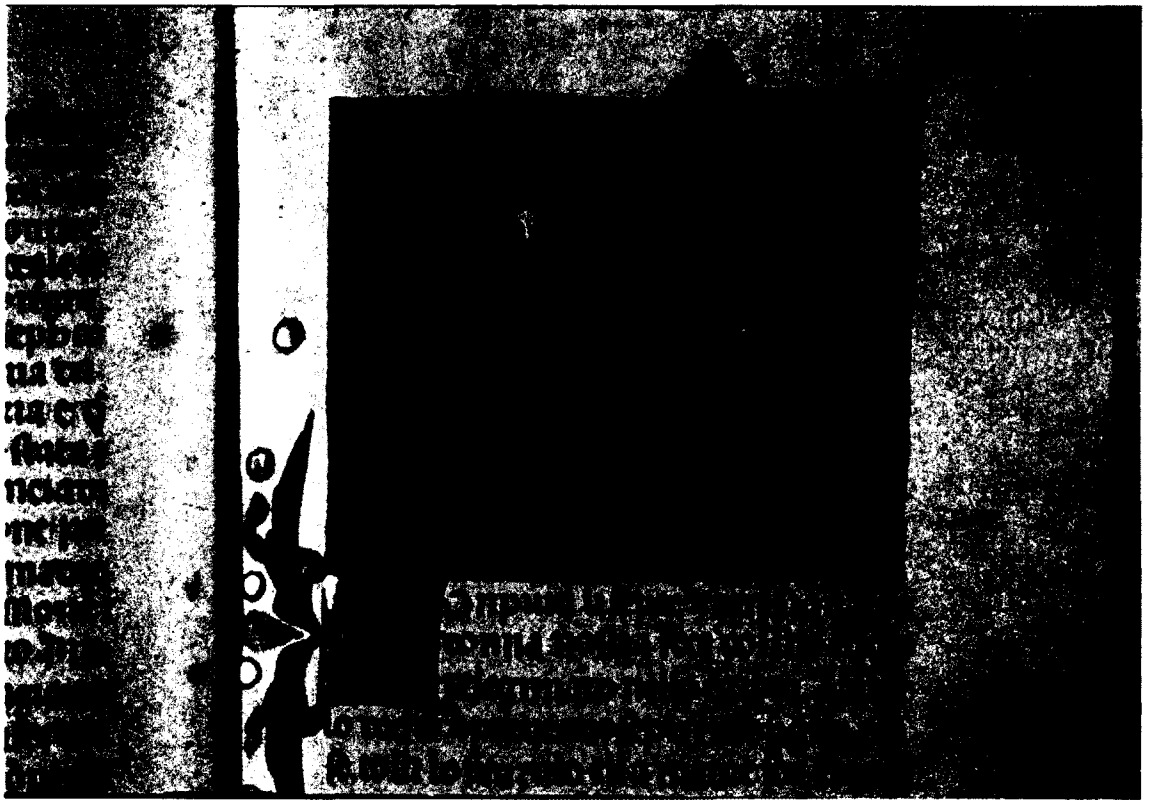


Plate 14. Return from Egypt

(Notre Dame, Indiana, Snite Museum of Art, University of Notre Dame, 85.25, f. 33r)

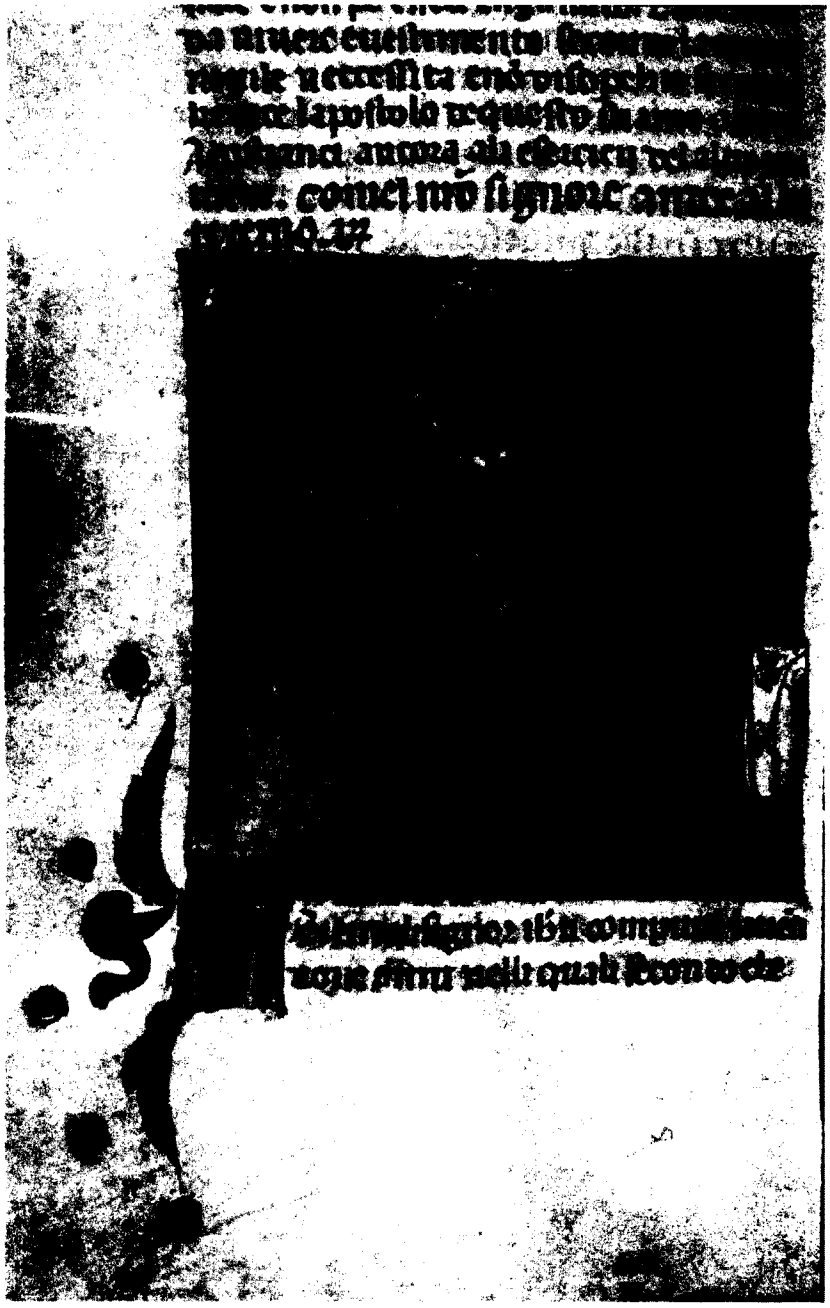


Plate 15. Baptism of Christ

(Notre Dame, Indiana, Snite Museum of Art, University of Notre Dame, 85.25, f. 45v)

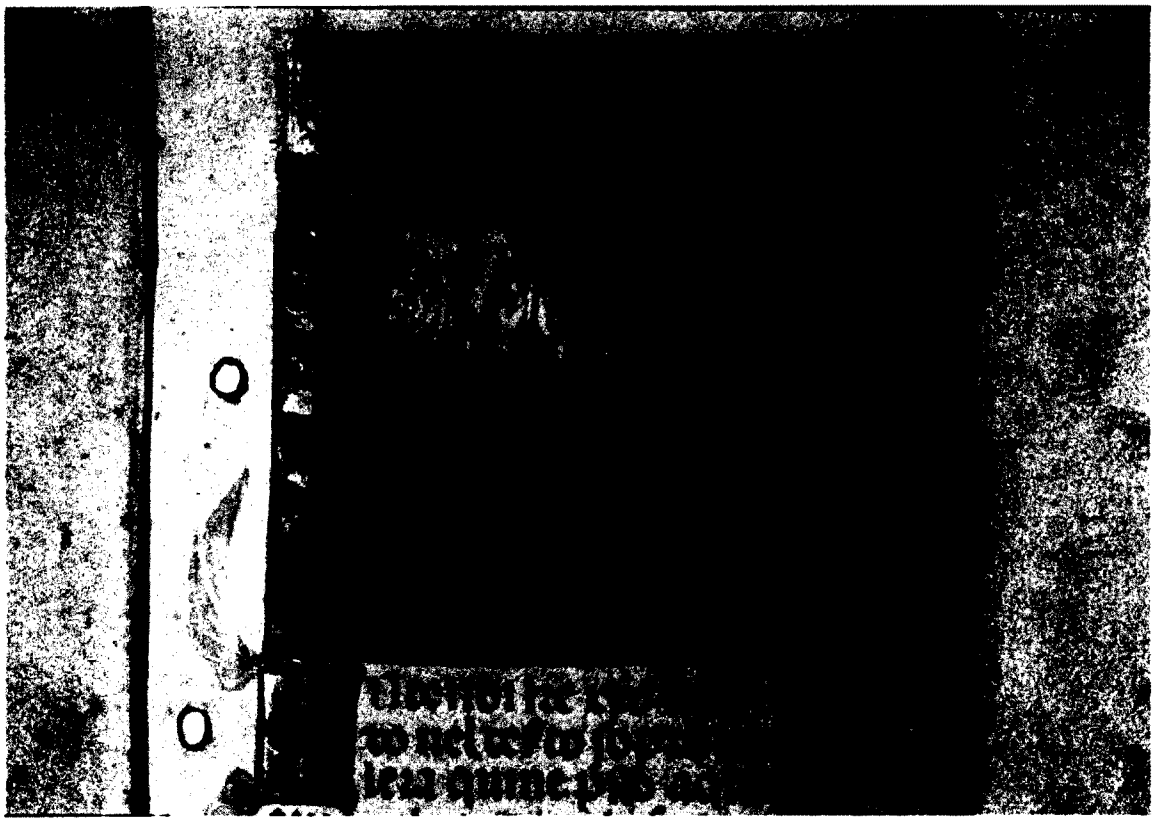


Plate 16. Temptation of Christ

(Notre Dame, Indiana, Snite Museum of Art, University of Notre Dame, 85.25, f. 49r)

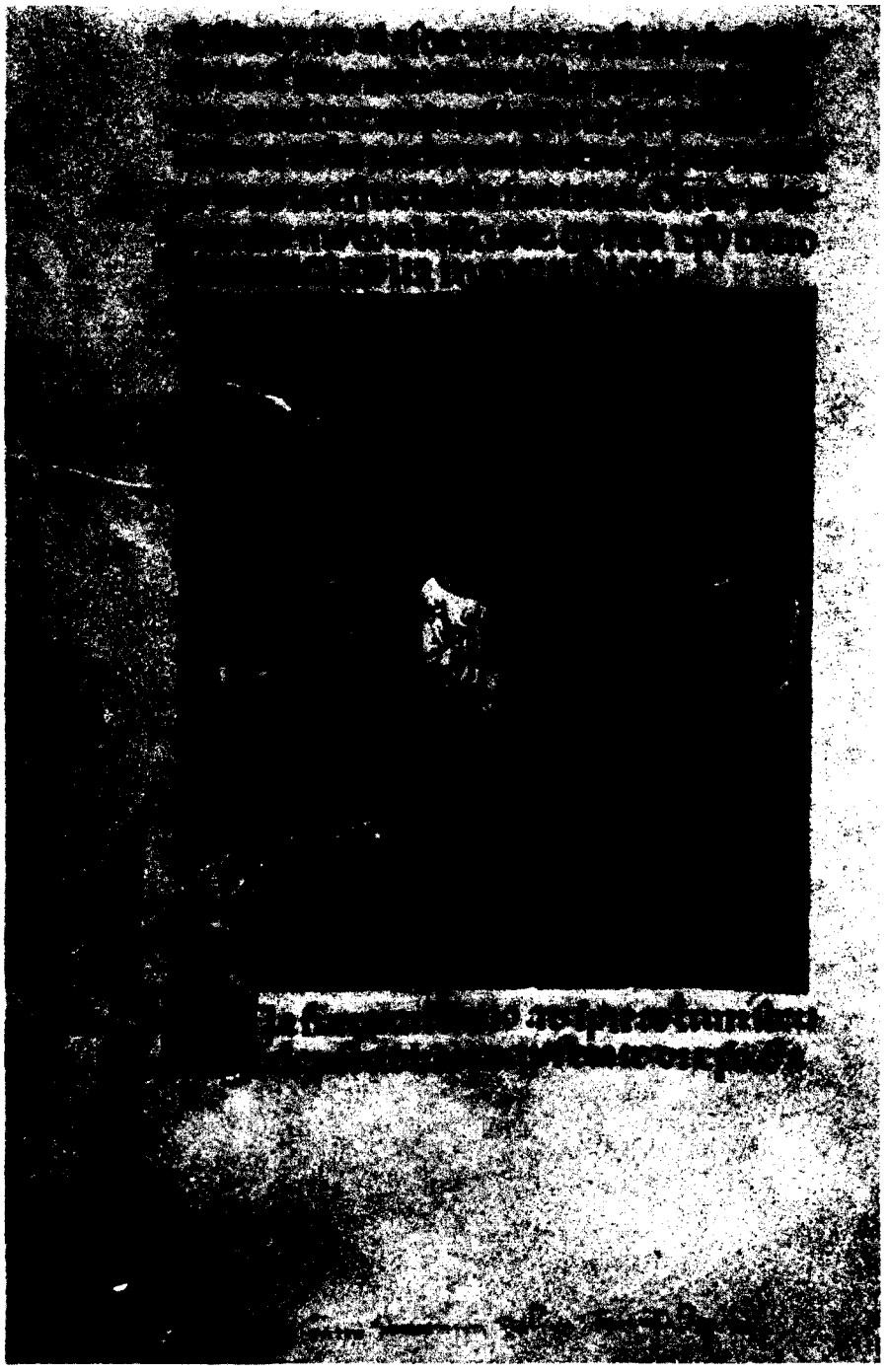


Plate 17. Entry into Jerusalem

(Notre Dame, Indiana, Snite Museum of Art, University of Notre Dame, 85.25, f. 54v)

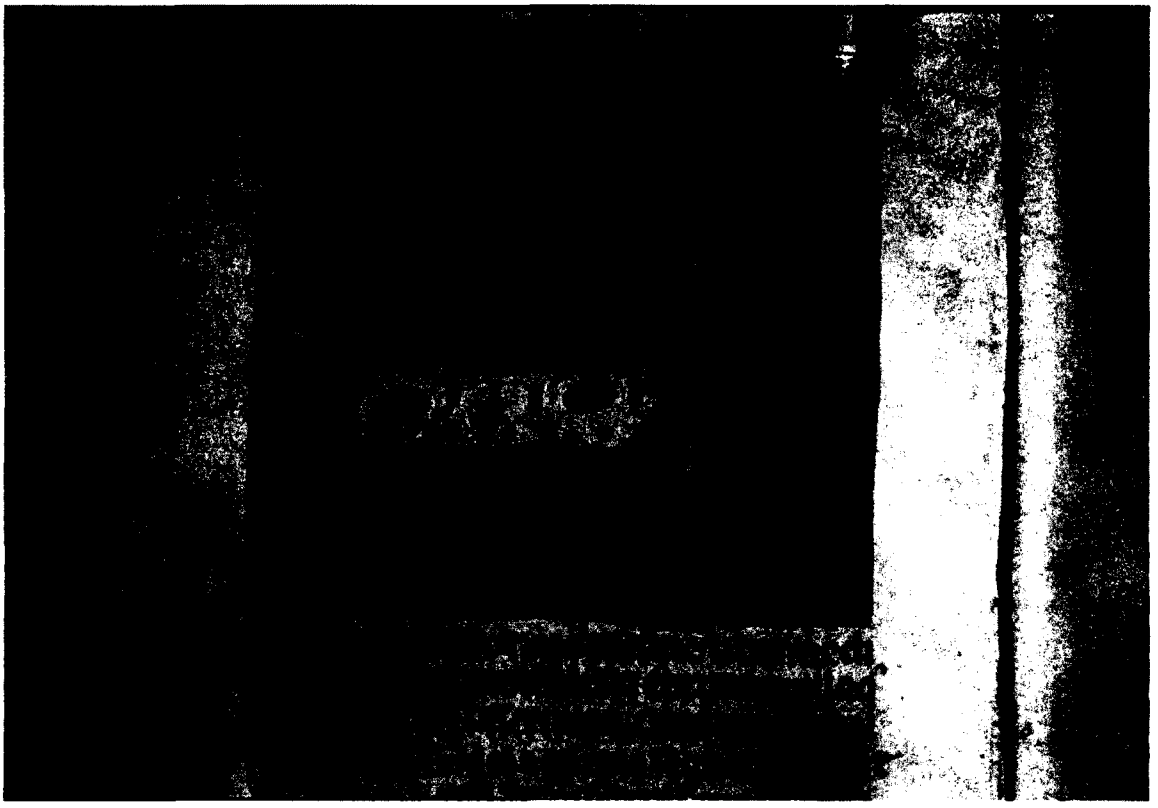


Plate 18. Meal at the House of the Magdalen

(Notre Dame, Indiana, Snite Museum of Art, University of Notre Dame, 85.25, f. 57v)

Plate 19. Christ washes the Disciples' Feet

(Notre Dame, Indiana, Snite Museum of Art, University of Notre Dame, 85.25, f. 59r)

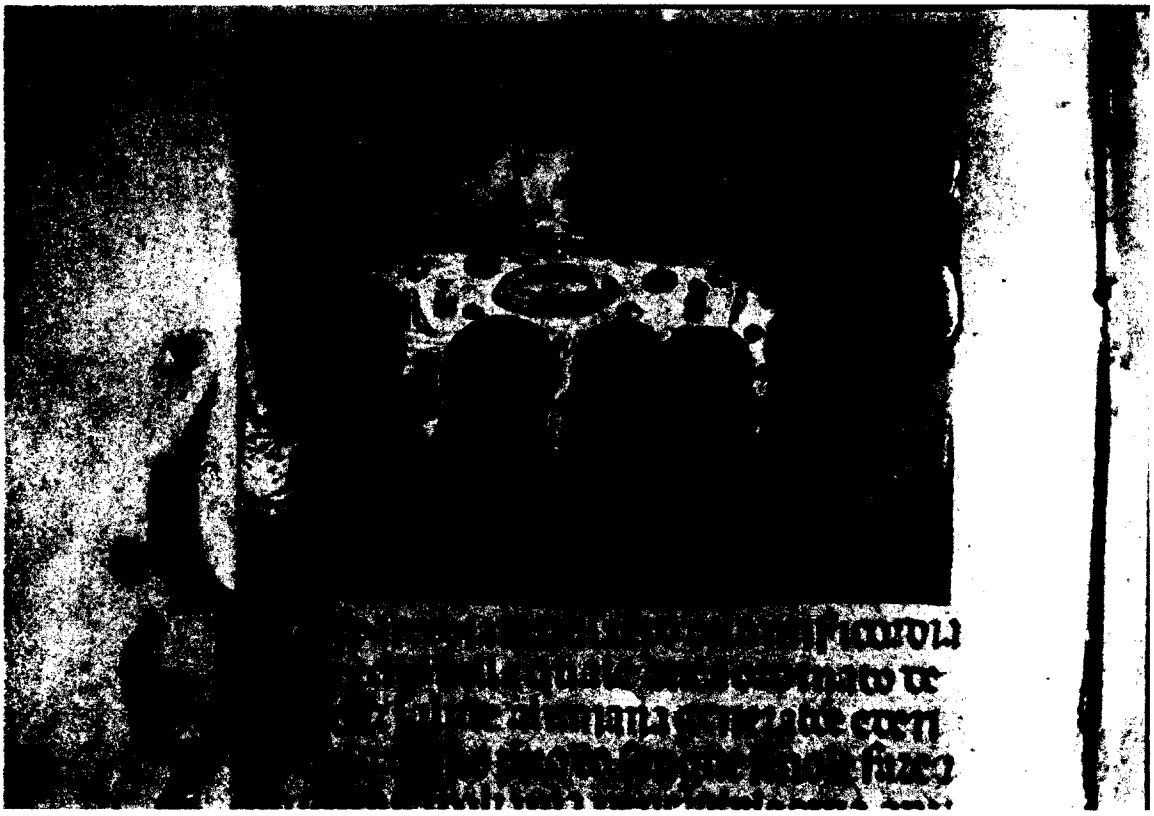


Plate 20. Last Supper

(Notre Dame, Indiana, Snite Museum of Art, University of Notre Dame, 85.25, f. 59v)

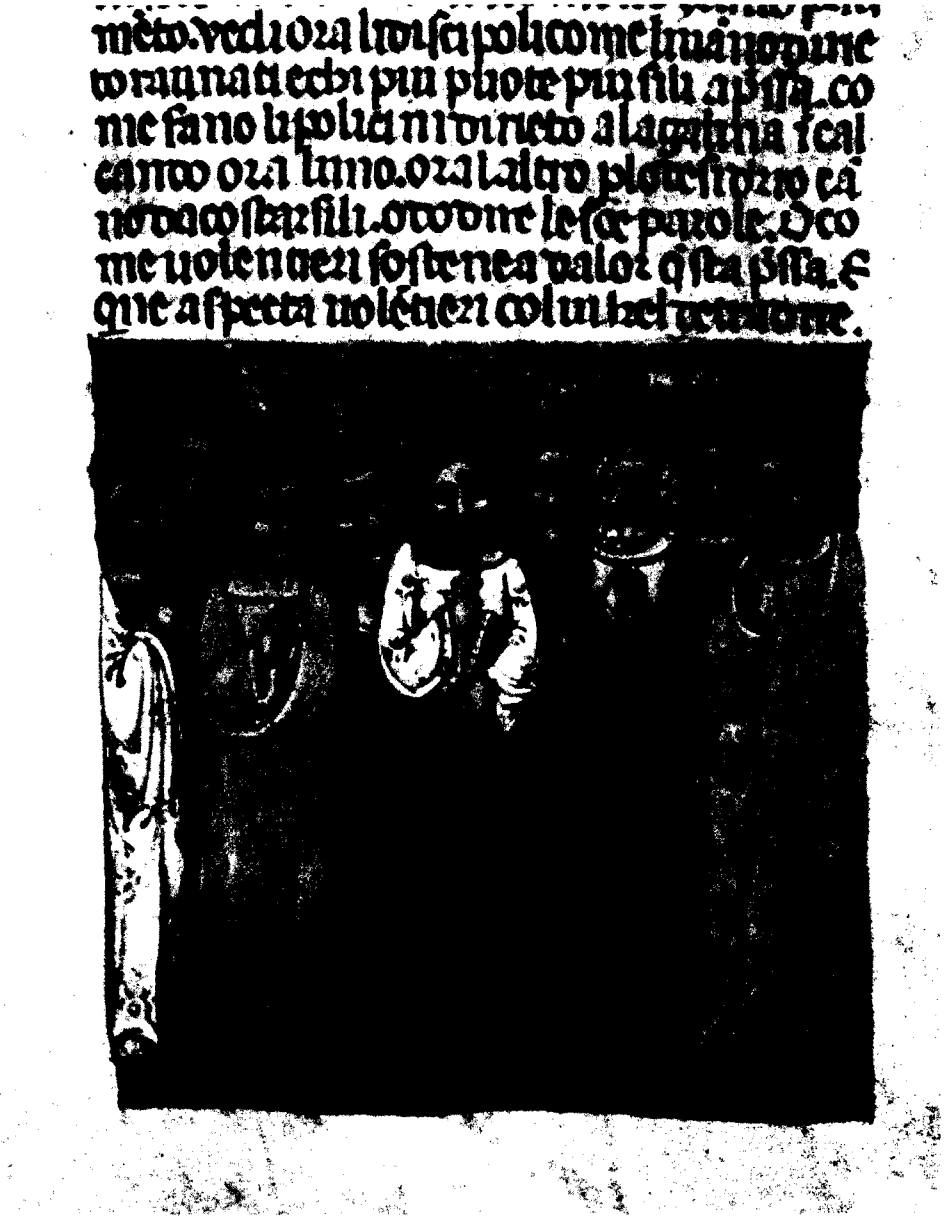


Plate 21. Christ's Sermon to the Disciples

(Notre Dame, Indiana, Snite Museum of Art, University of Notre Dame, 85.25, f. 65r)

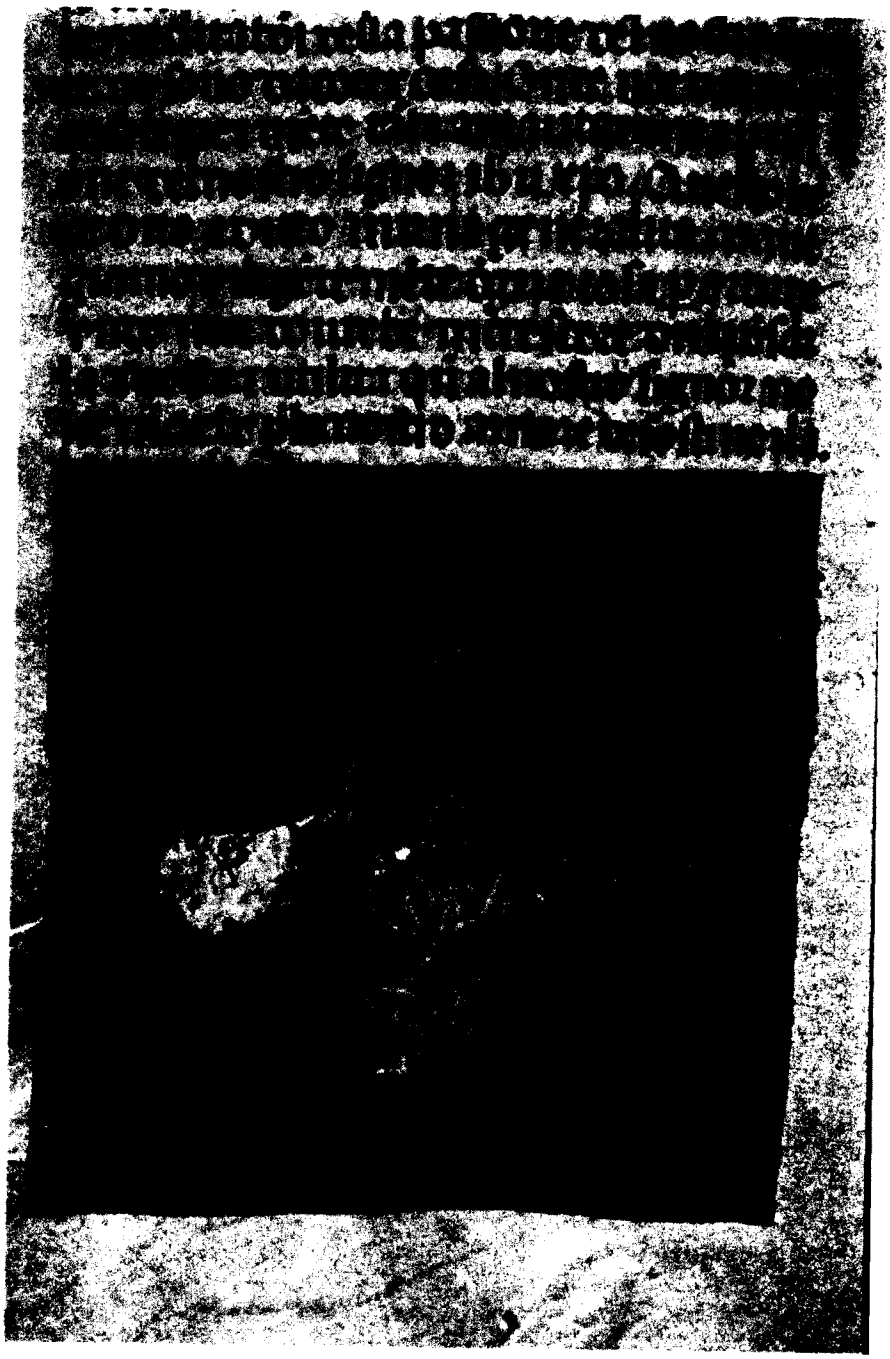


Plate 22. Agony in the Garden

(Notre Dame, Indiana, Snite Museum of Art, University of Notre Dame, 85.25, f. 67v)

Plate 23. First Mocking of Christ

(Notre Dame, Indiana, Snite Museum of Art, University of Notre Dame, 85.25, f. 72v)

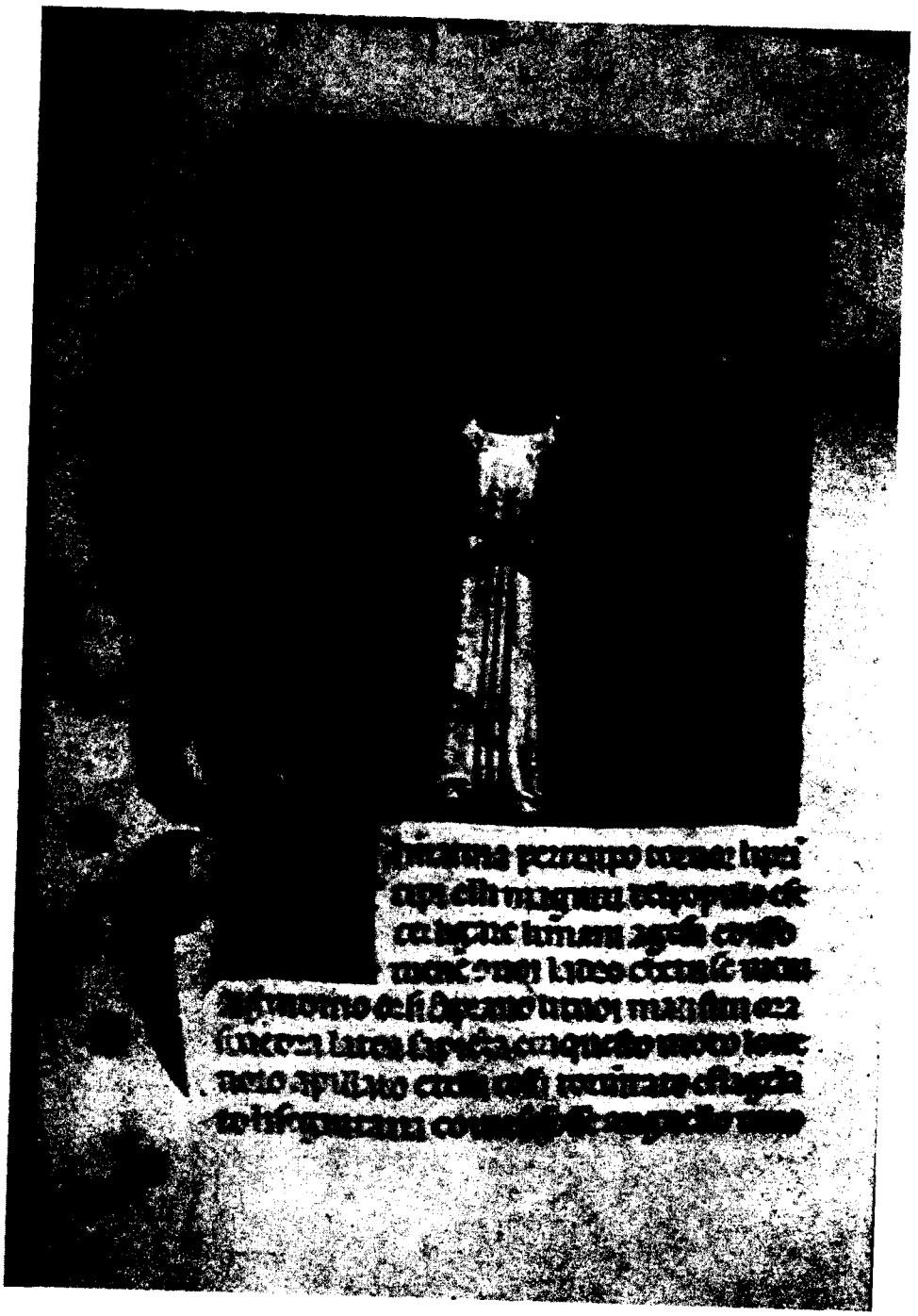


Plate 24. Christ before Pilate

(Notre Dame, Indiana, Snite Museum of Art, University of Notre Dame, 85.25, f. 74v)

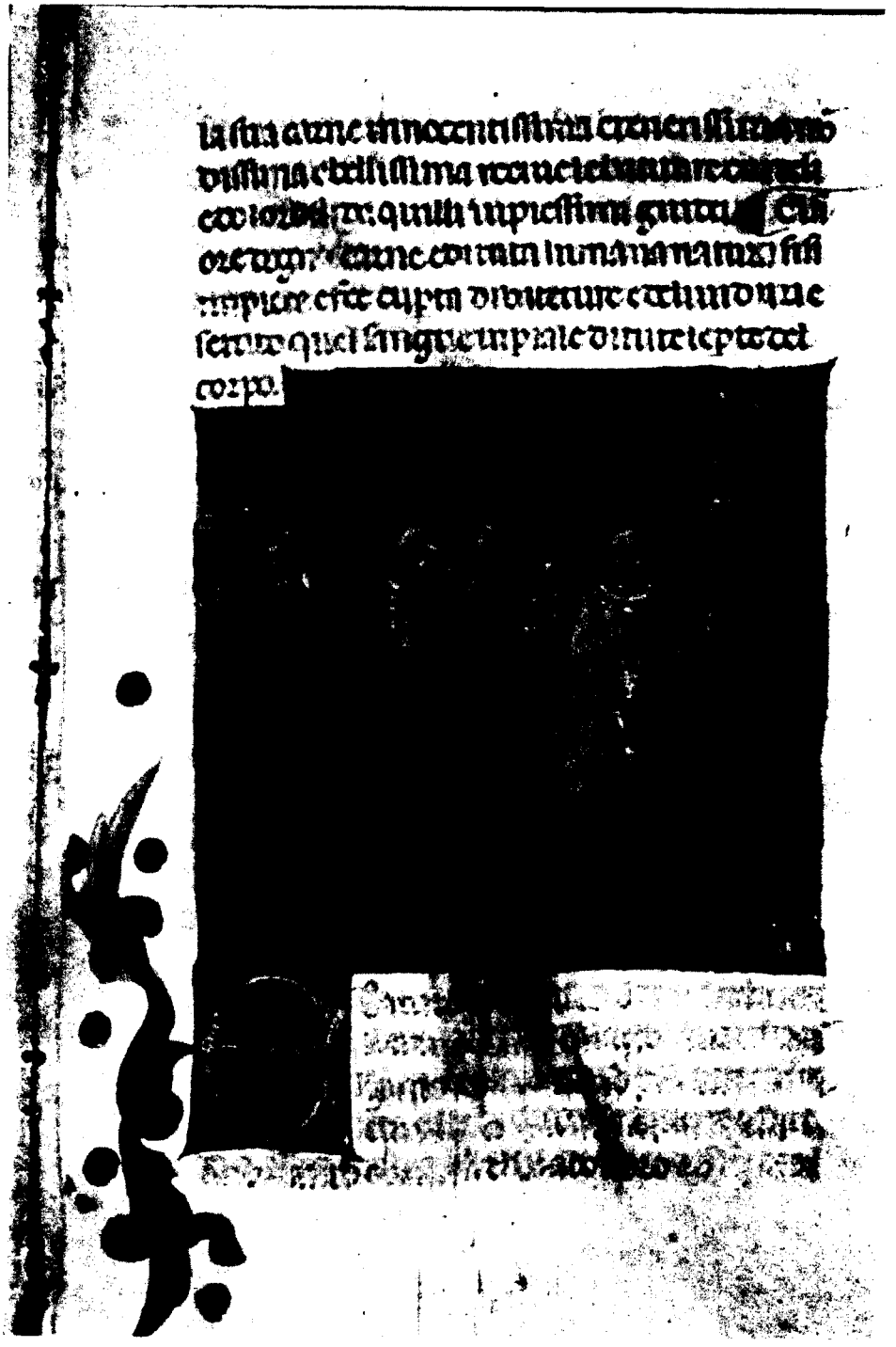


Plate 25. Flagellation of Christ

(Notre Dame, Indiana, Snite Museum of Art, University of Notre Dame, 85.25, f. 76r)

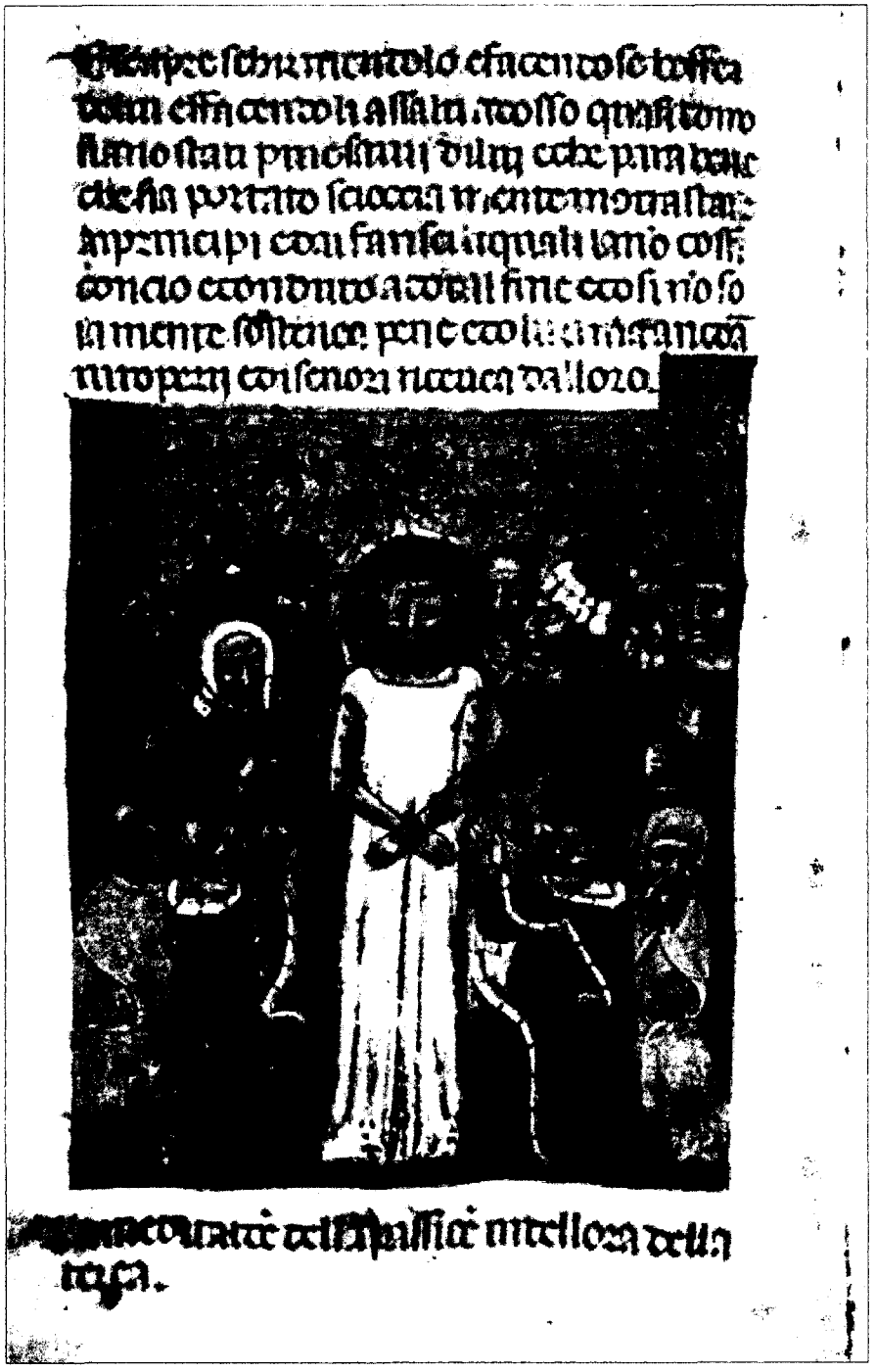


Plate 26. Second Mocking of Christ

(Notre Dame, Indiana, Snite Museum of Art, University of Notre Dame, 85.25, f. 77v)

Plate 27. Way to Calvary

(Notre Dame, Indiana, Snite Museum of Art, University of Notre Dame, 85.25, f. 78r)

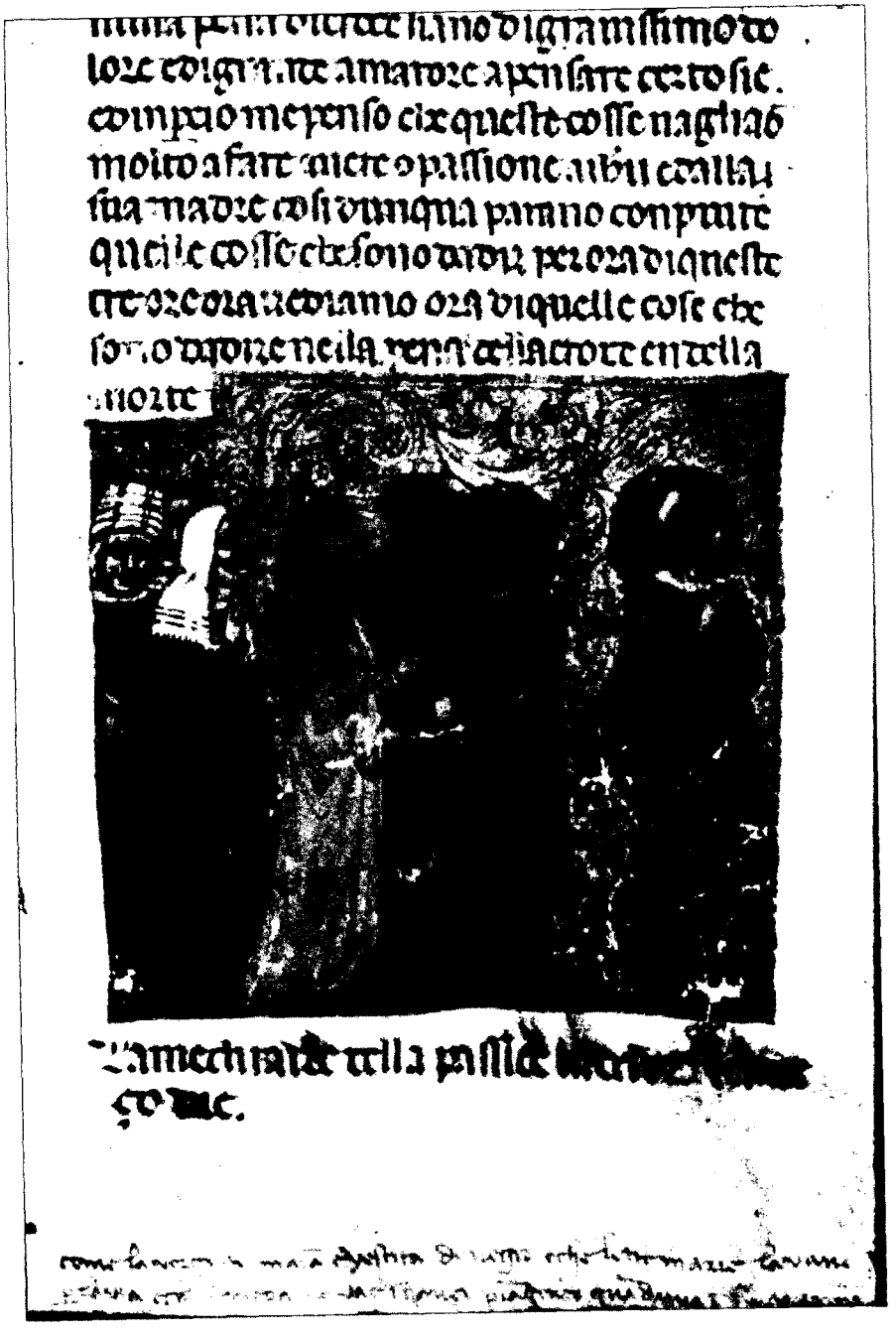


Plate 28. Virgin Mary, Holy Women, and St. John Lamenting

(Notre Dame, Indiana, Snite Museum of Art, University of Notre Dame, 85.25, f. 80r)

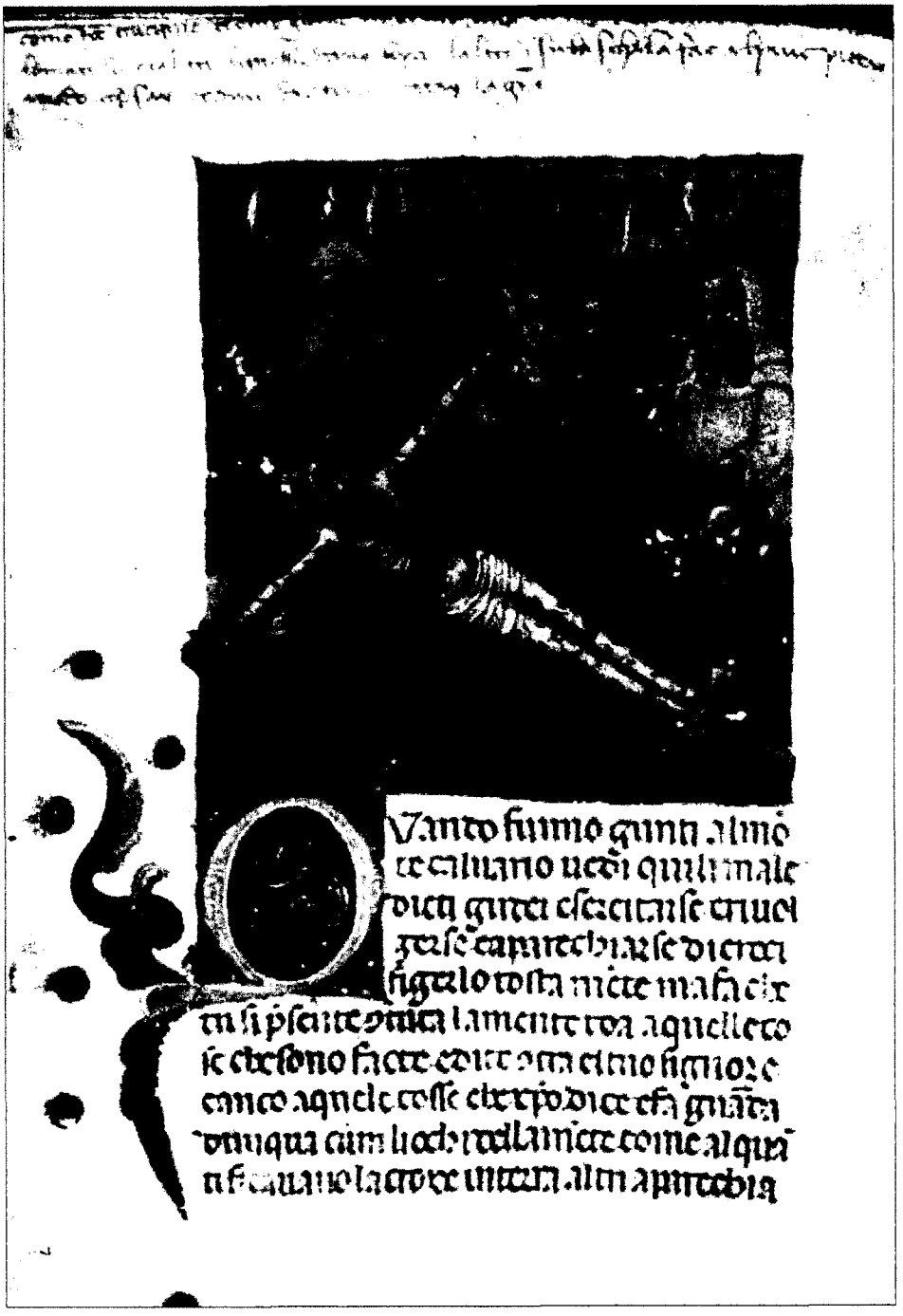


Plate 29. Nailing of Christ to the Cross

(Notre Dame, Indiana, Snite Museum of Art, University of Notre Dame, 85.25, f. 80v)

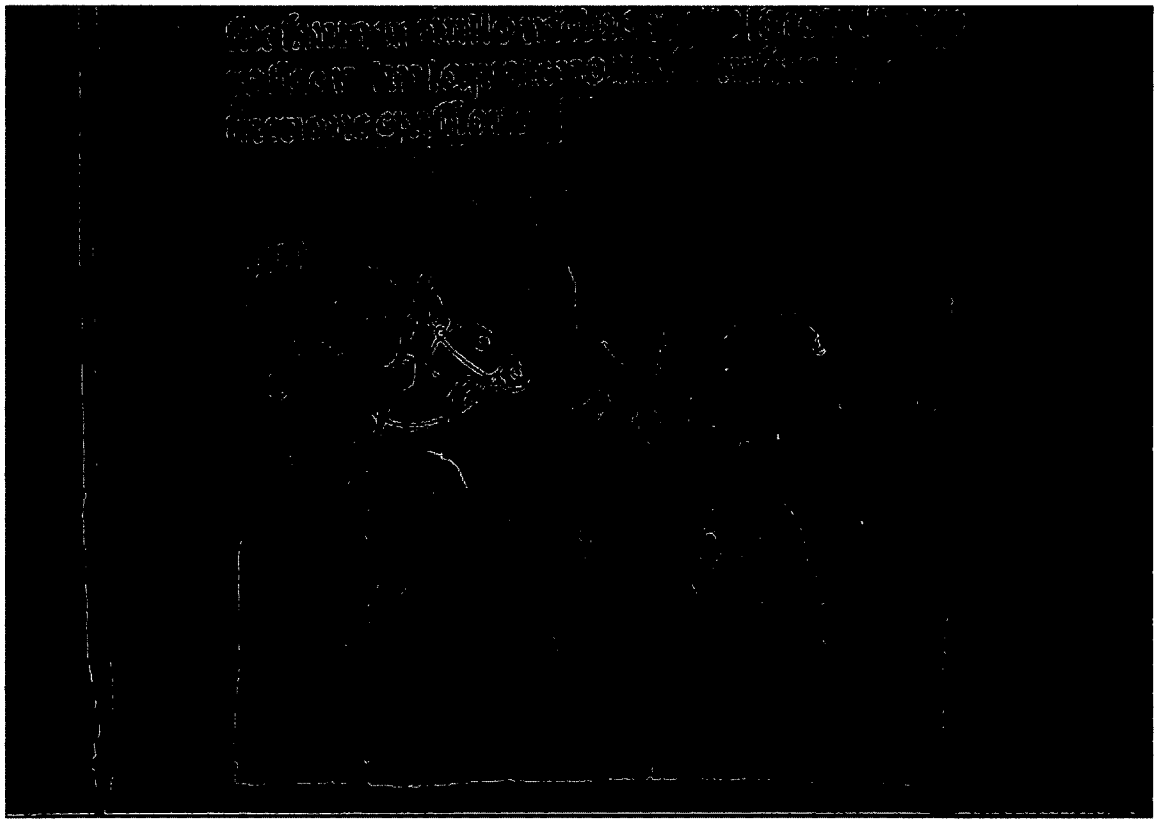


Plate 30. Crucifixion

(Notre Dame, Indiana, Snite Museum of Art, University of Notre Dame, 85.25, f. 85r)

Plate 31. Lamentation/Entombment of Christ

(Notre Dame, Indiana, Snite Museum of Art, University of Notre Dame, 85.25, f. 87r)

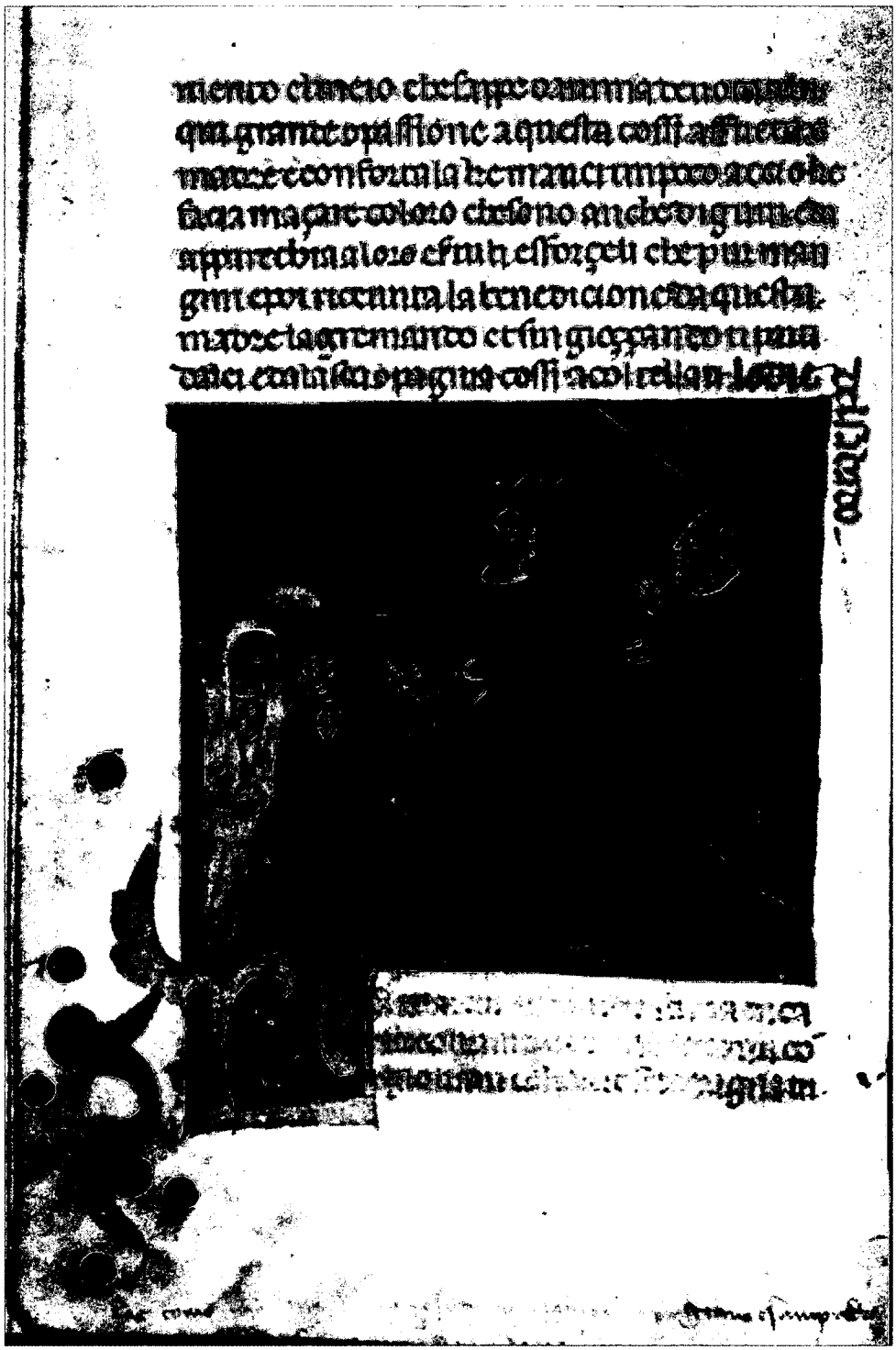


Plate 32. The Virgin, Holy Women, and St. John Lamenting as St. Peter Returns (Notre Dame, Indiana, Snite Museum of Art, University of Notre Dame, 85.25, f. 91v)

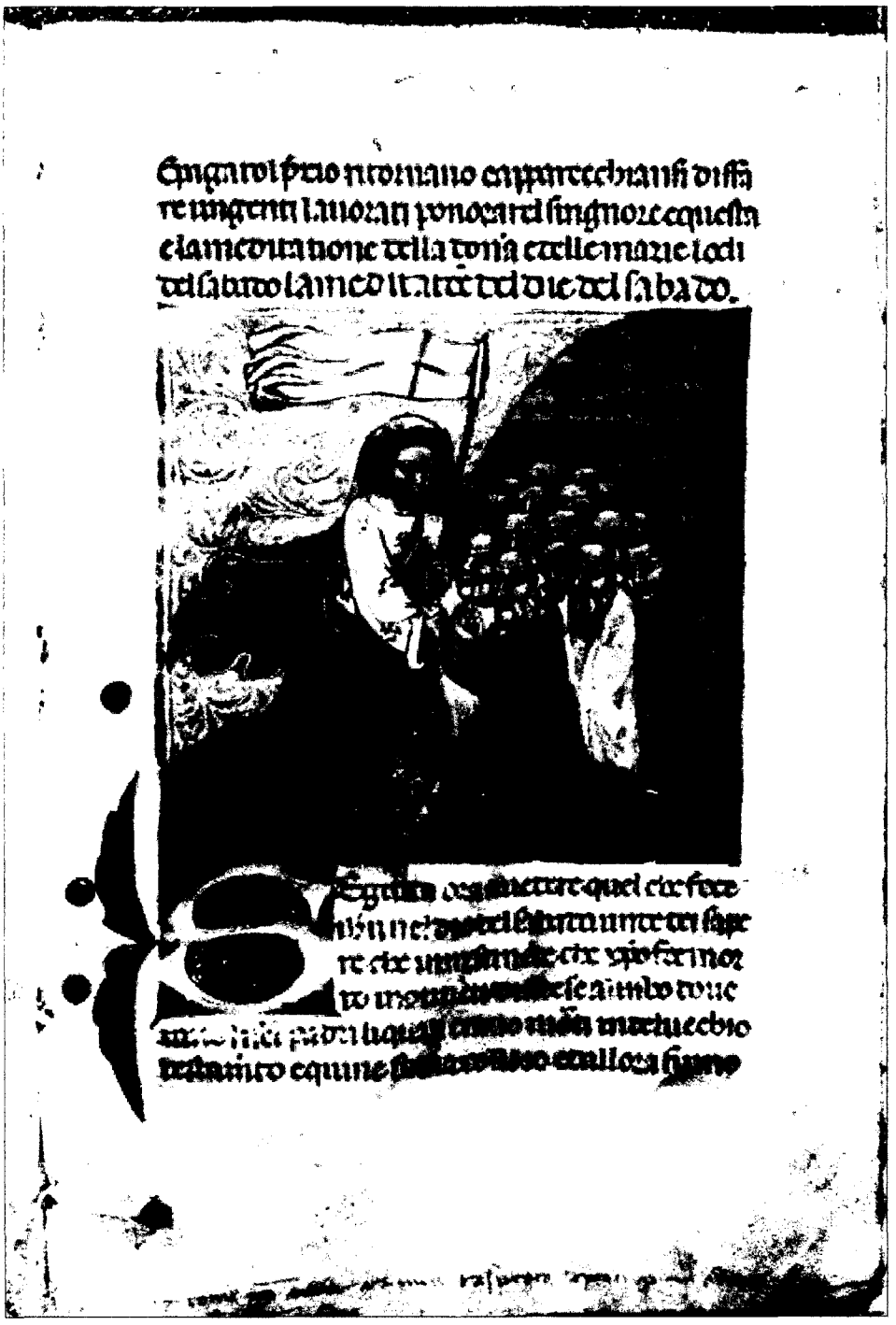


Plate 33. Descent into Limbo

(Notre Dame, Indiana, Snite Museum of Art, University of Notre Dame, 85.25, f. 93r)

Plate 34. Apparition of Christ to the Virgin Mary

(Notre Dame, Indiana, Snite Museum of Art, University of Notre Dame, 85.25, f. 94r)

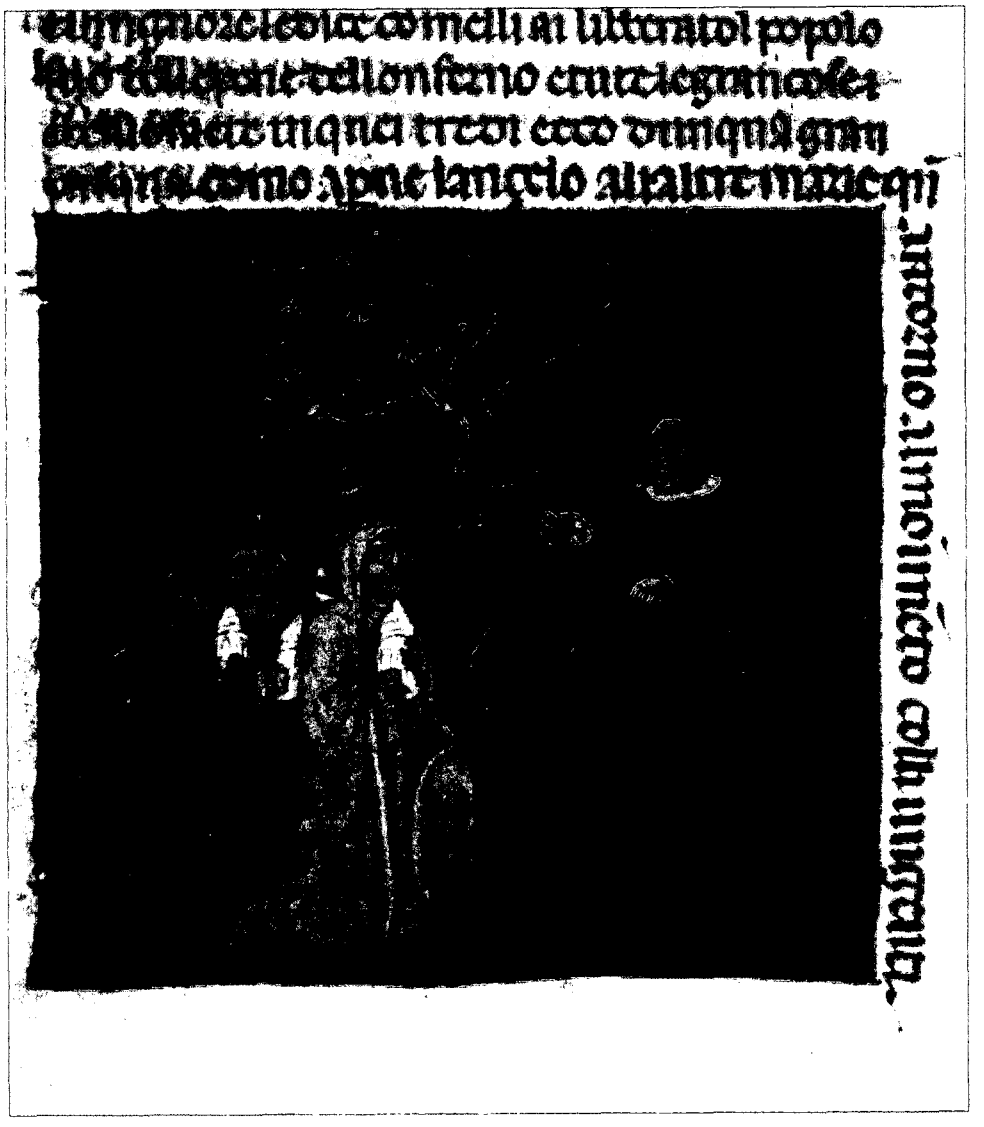


Plate 35. The Maries at the Tomb

(Notre Dame, Indiana, Snite Museum of Art, University of Notre Dame, 85.25, f. 95v)

Plate 36. Noli me tangere

(Notre Dame, Indiana, Snite Museum of Art, University of Notre Dame, 85.25, f. 97v)

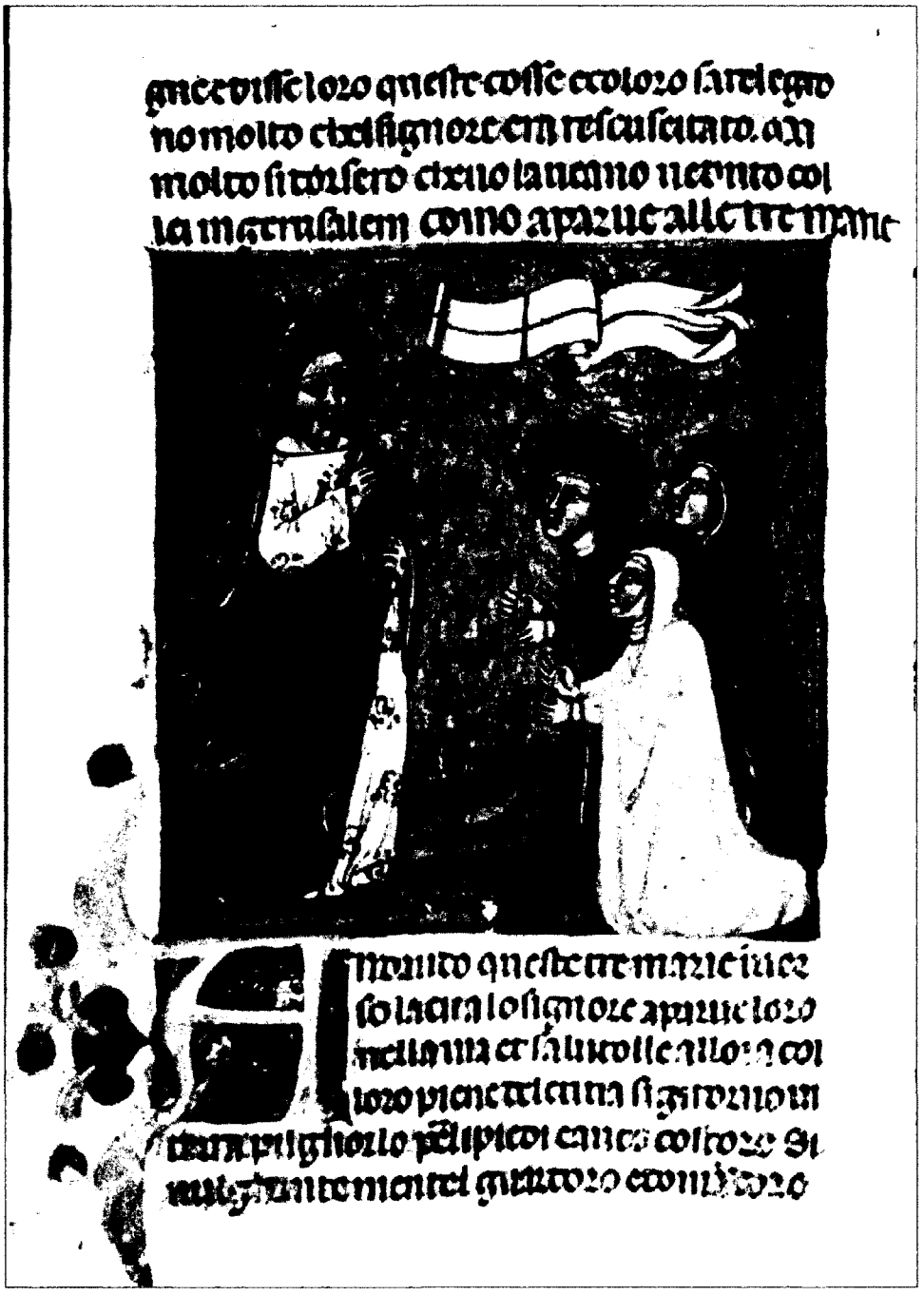


Plate 37. Apparition of Christ to the Three Maries

(Notre Dame, Indiana, Snite Museum of Art, University of Notre Dame, 85.25, f. 99v)

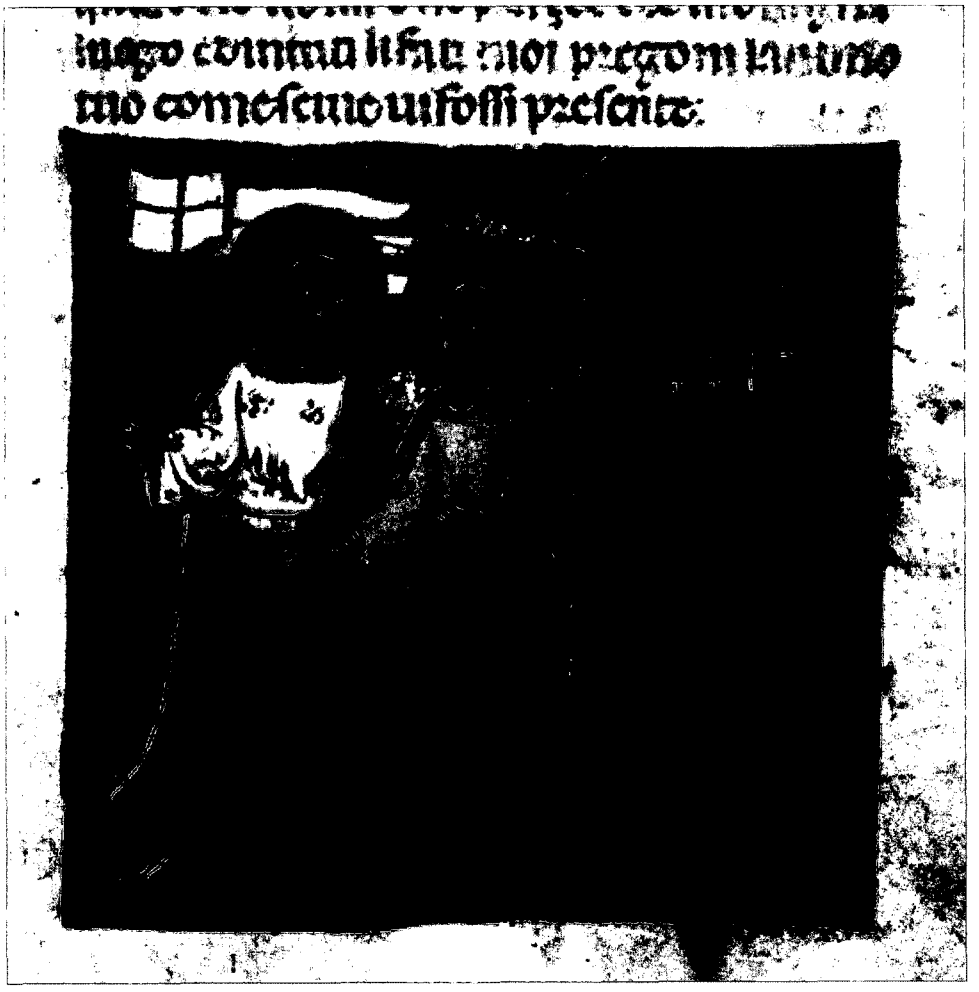


Plate 38. Apparition of Christ to Joseph of Arimathea

(Notre Dame, Indiana, Snite Museum of Art, University of Notre Dame, 85.25, f. 100r)

Plate 39. Apparition of Christ to James Minor

(Notre Dame, Indiana, Snite Museum of Art, University of Notre Dame, 85.25, f. 100v; the text on this page is the chapter on the Apparition of Christ to Joseph of Arimathea, whose illumination is on f. 100r [see plate 38 above])

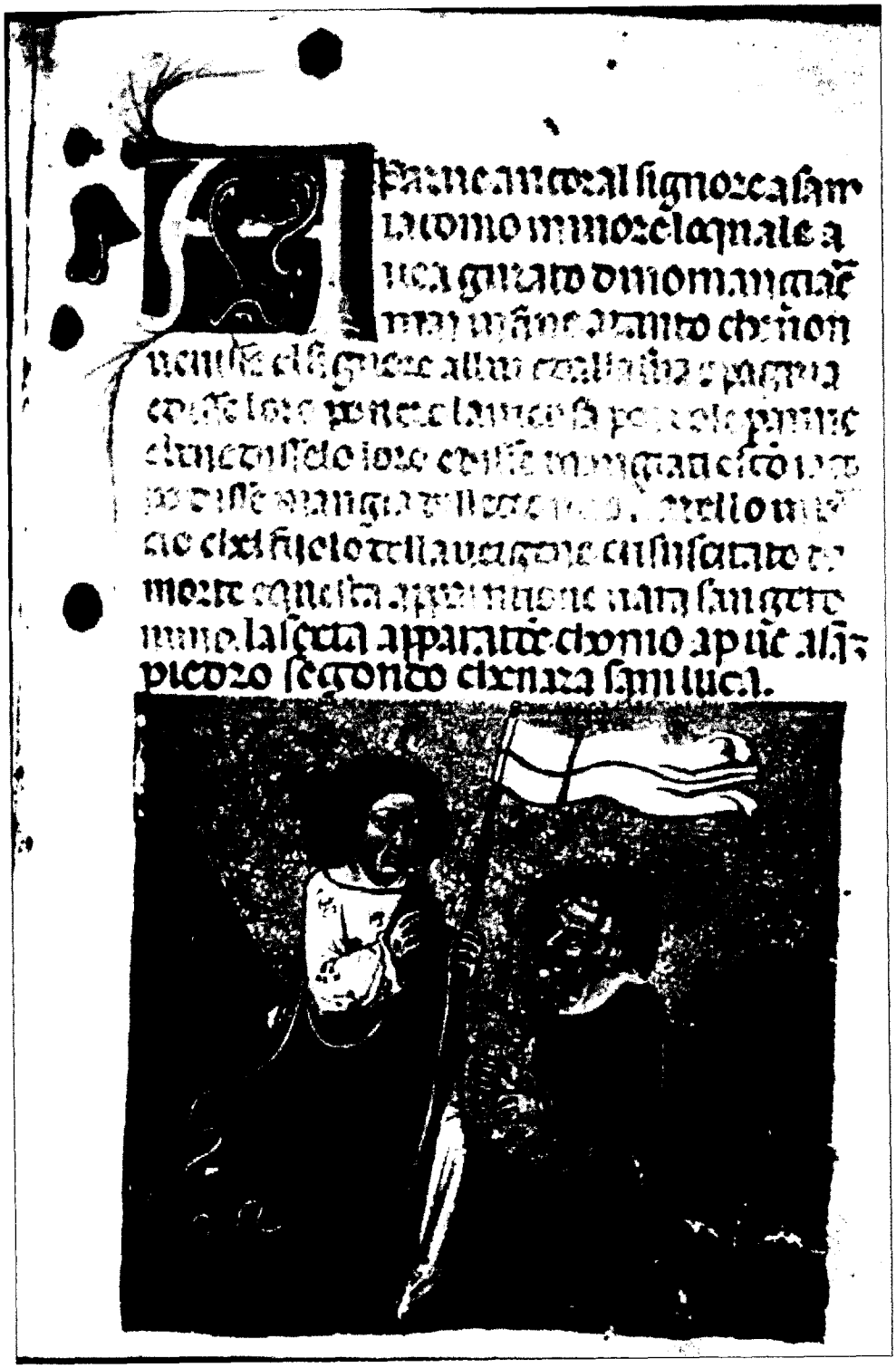


Plate 40. Apparition of Christ to Peter

(Notre Dame, Indiana, Snite Museum of Art, University of Notre Dame, 85.25, f. 101r; the text on this page is the chapter on the Apparition of Christ to James Minor, whose illumination is on f. 100v [see plate 39 above])

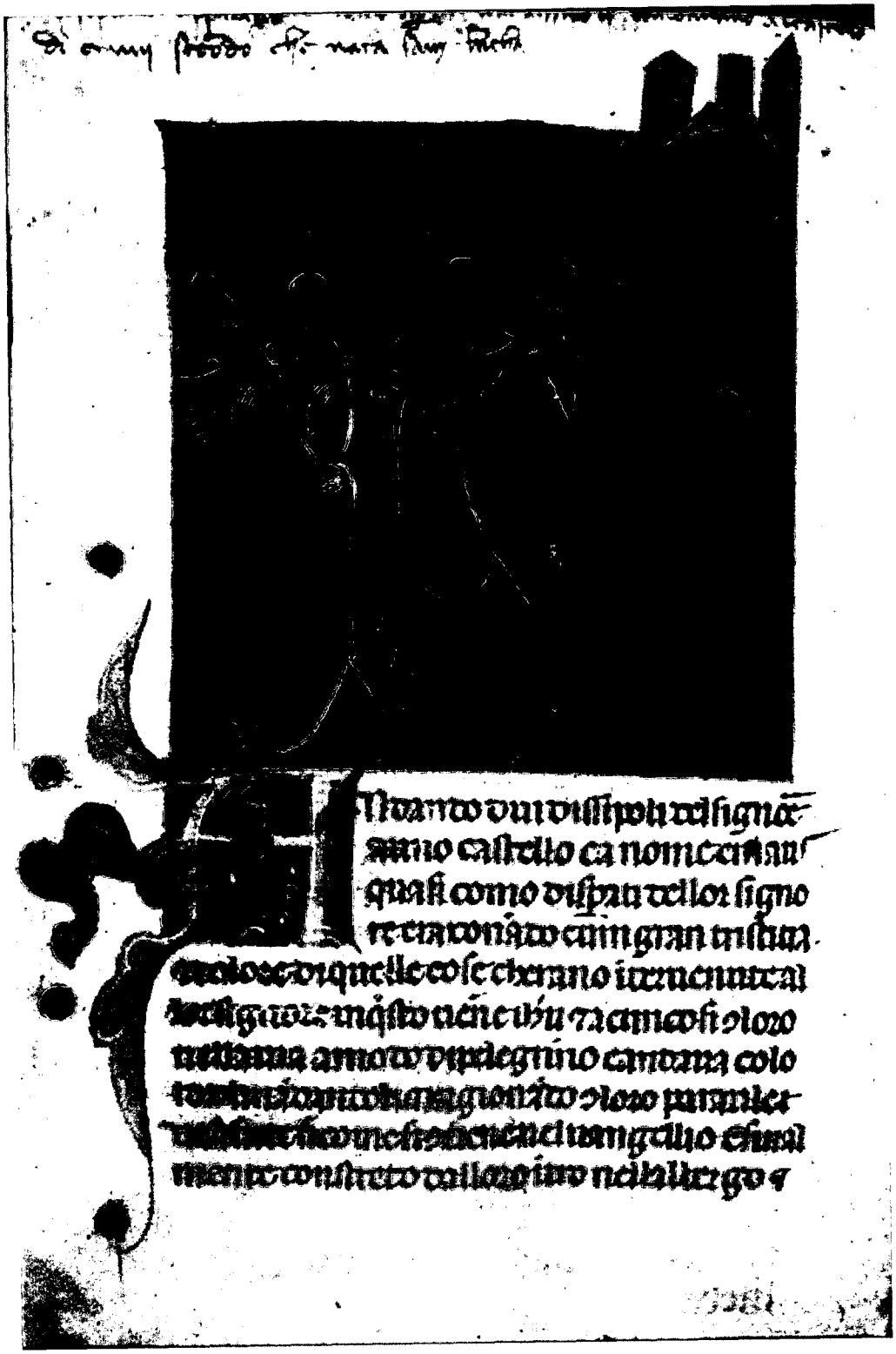


Plate 41. Road to Emmaus

(Notre Dame, Indiana, Snite Museum of Art, University of Notre Dame, 85.25, f. 102v)

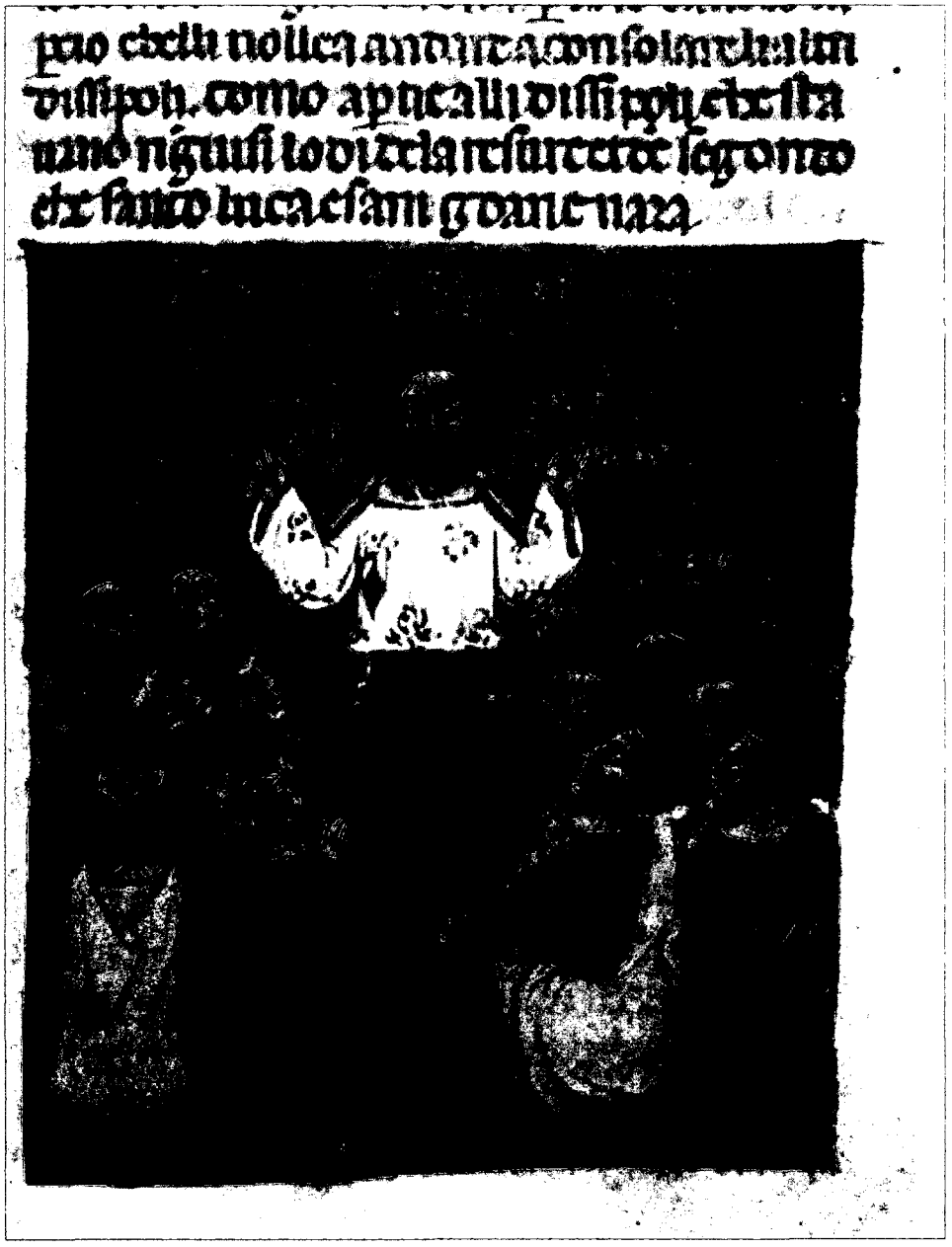


Plate 42. Apparition of Christ to the Disciples on the Day of the Resurrection

(Notre Dame, Indiana, Snite Museum of Art, University of Notre Dame, 85.25, f. 104r)

Plate 43. Doubting Thomas (Apparition of Christ to the Disciples on the Eighth Day)
(Notre Dame, Indiana, Snite Museum of Art, University of Notre Dame, 85.25, f. 106r)

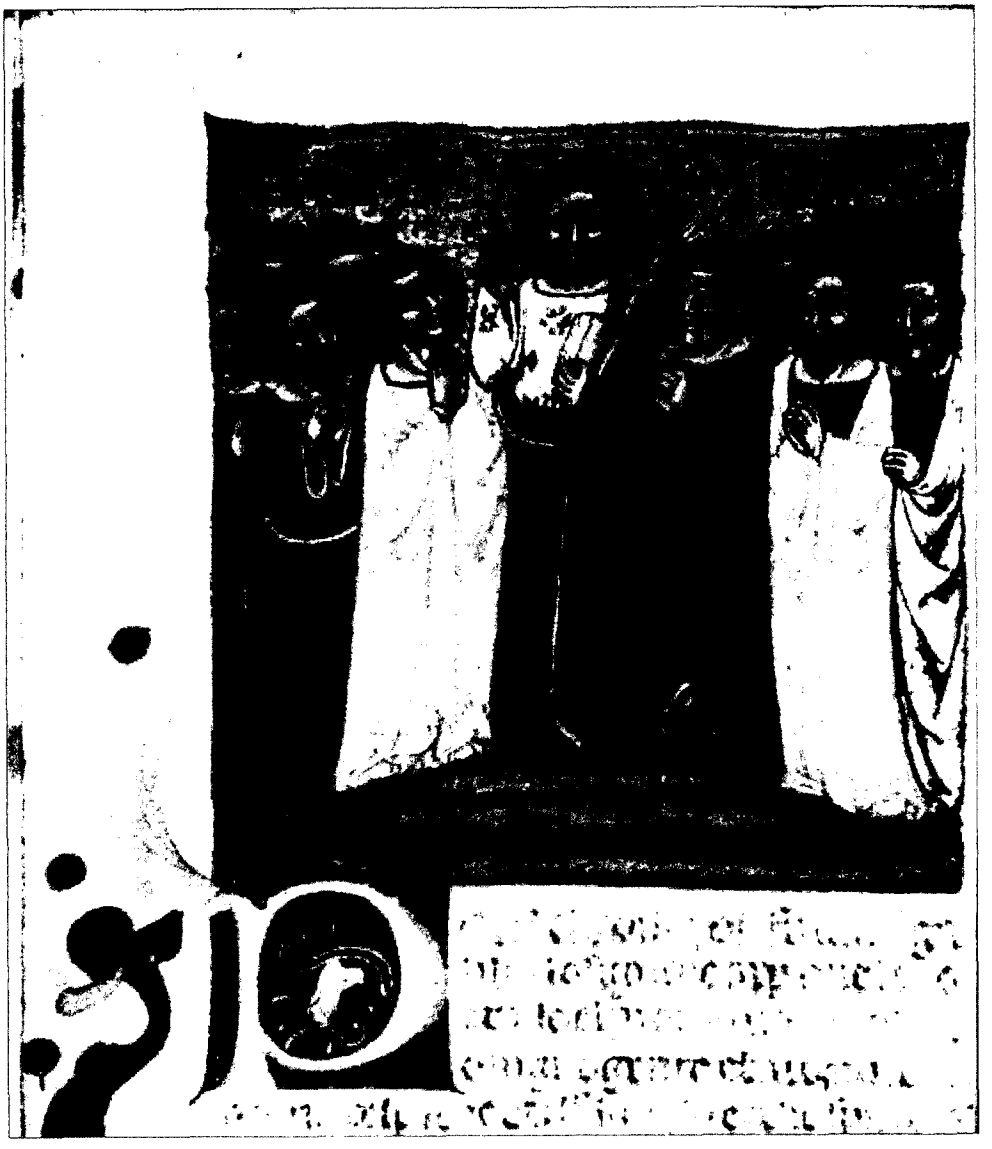


Plate 44. Apparition of Christ to the Disciples in Galilee

(Notre Dame, Indiana, Snite Museum of Art, University of Notre Dame, 85.25, f. 107v)

Plate 45. Apparition of Christ to more than Five Hundred Faithful

(Notre Dame, Indiana, Snite Museum of Art, University of Notre Dame, 85.25, f. 108v)

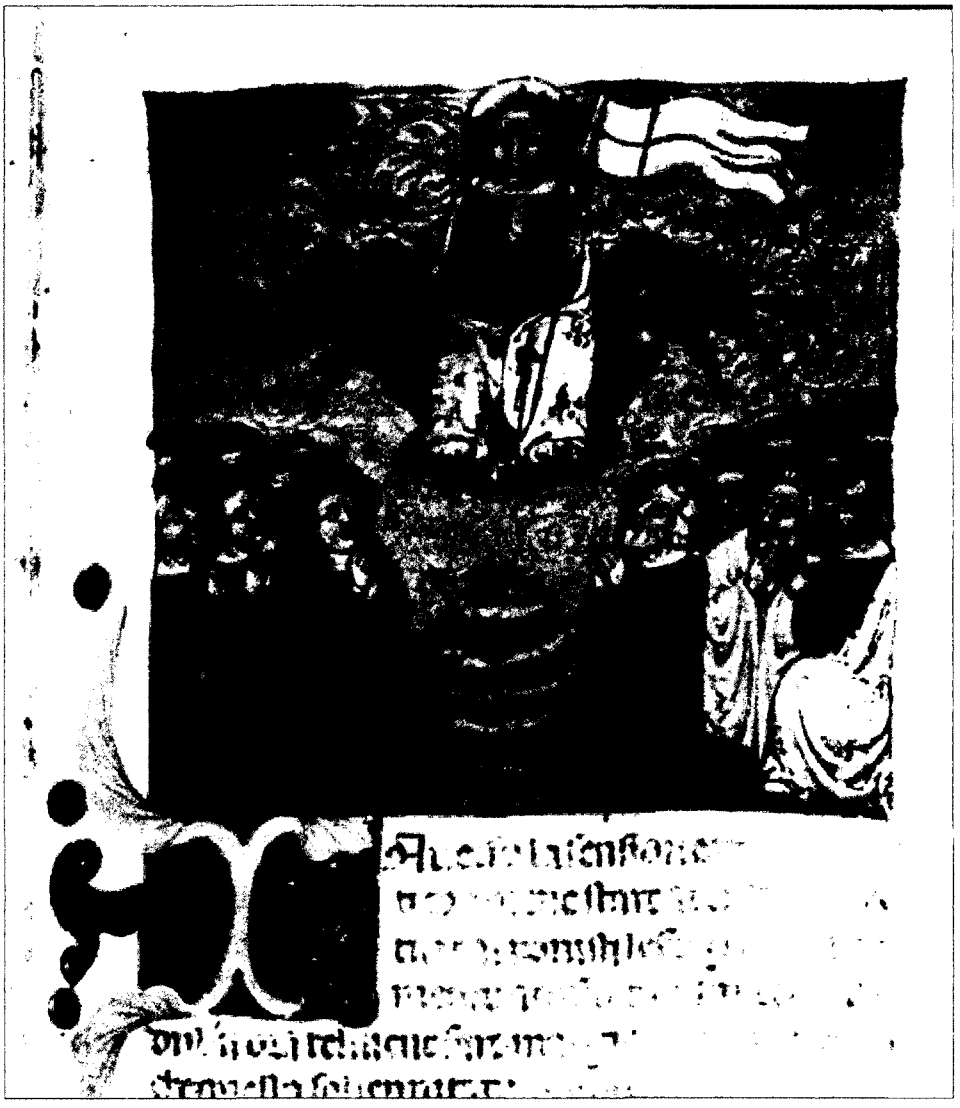


Plate 46. Ascension

(Notre Dame, Indiana, Snite Museum of Art, University of Notre Dame, 85.25, f. 110r)

Plate 47. Ascendant Christ praised by the Saints

(Notre Dame, Indiana, Snite Museum of Art, University of Notre Dame, 85.25, f. 112v)

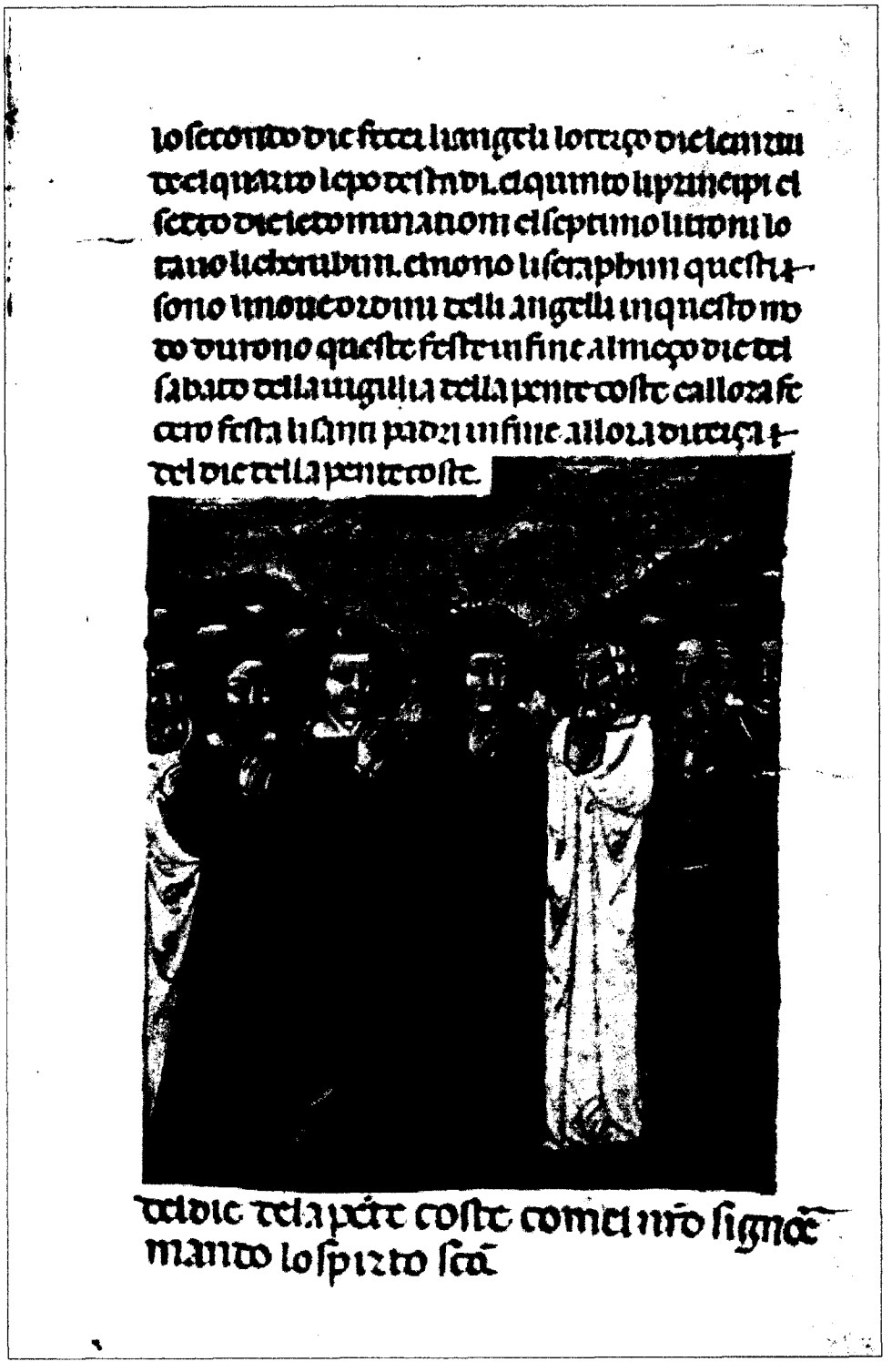


Plate 48. Pentecost

(Notre Dame, Indiana, Snite Museum of Art, University of Notre Dame, 85.25, f. 117r)

Plate 49. The Presentation in the Temple: Joseph buying doves

(Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Ital. 115, f. 32v)

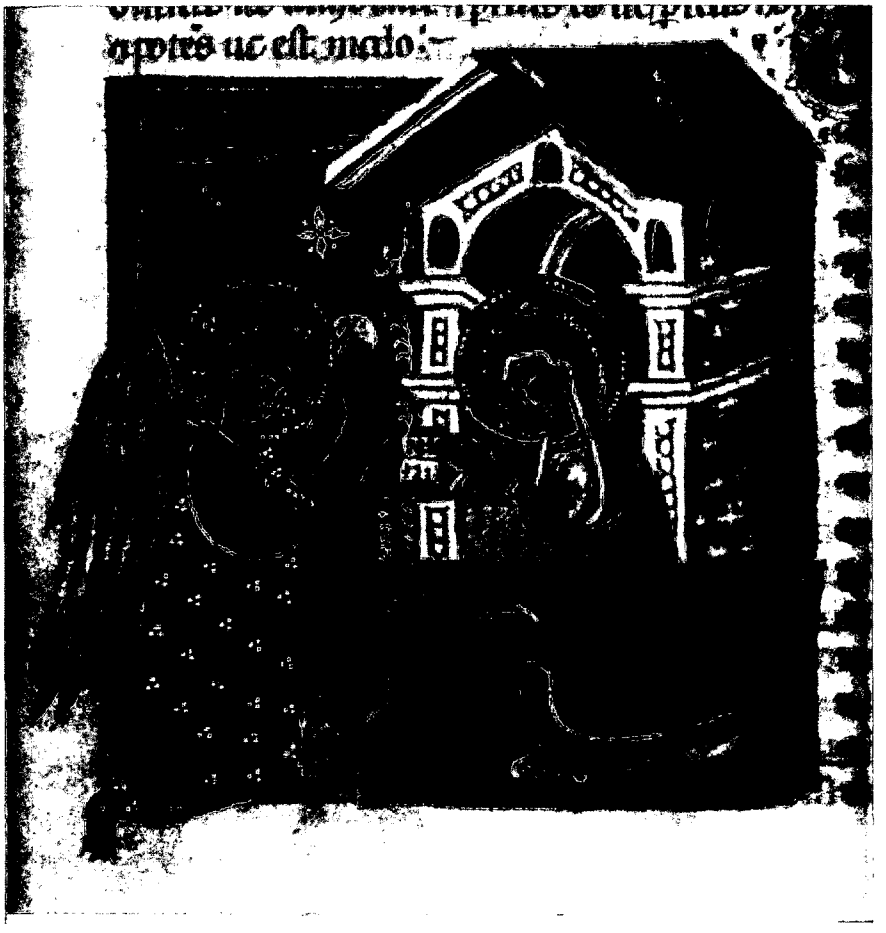


Plate 50. Annunciation

(Oxford, Corpus Christi College Library, Oxford University, Ms. 410, f. 7v)

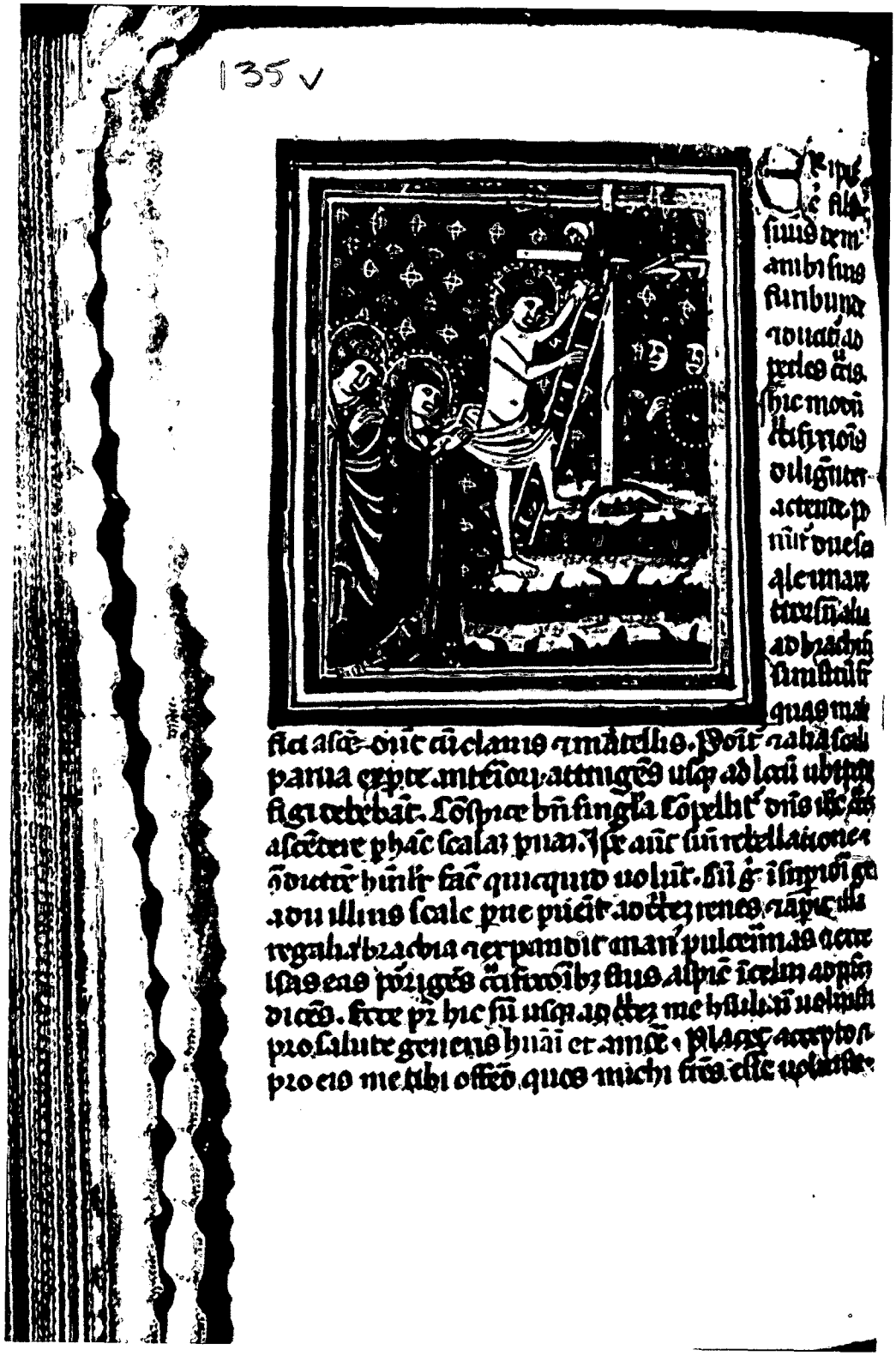


Plate 51. Christ ascends to the Cross

(Oxford, Corpus Christi College Library, Oxford University, Ms. 410, f. 135v)

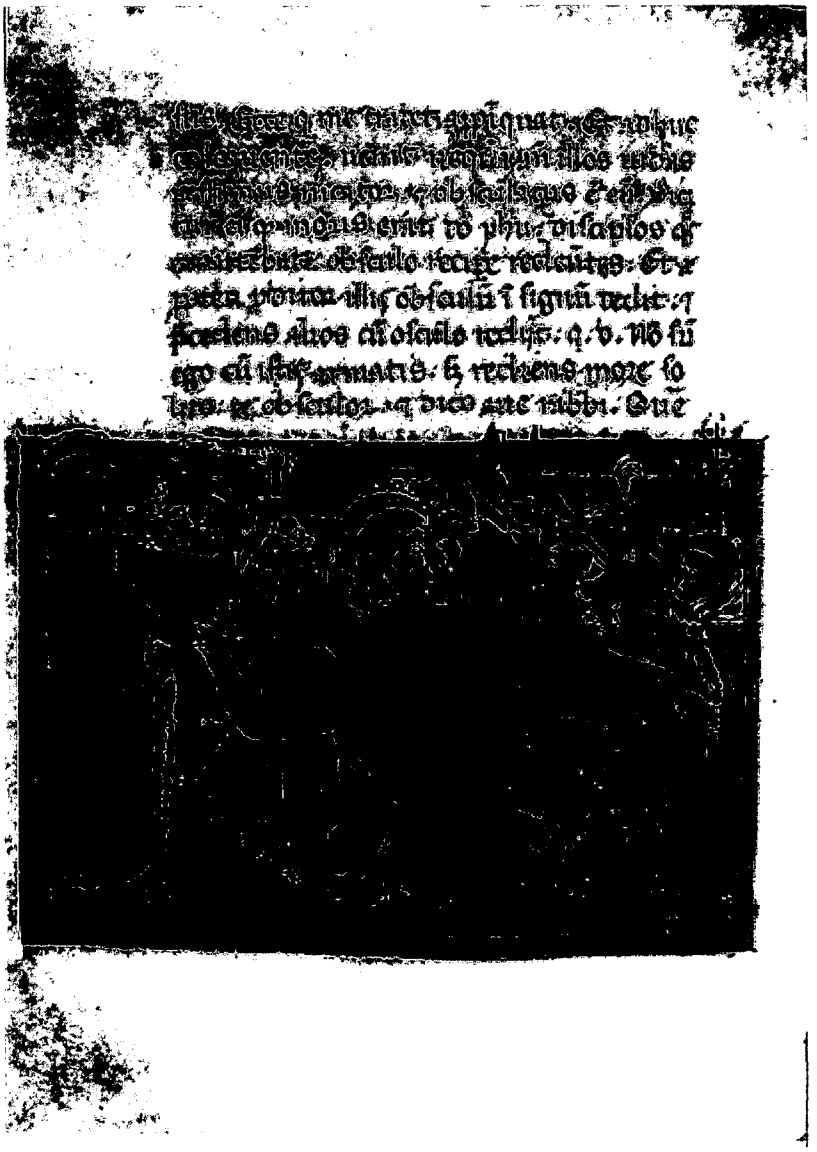


Plate 52. Arrest of Christ

(Ramsen, Switzerland, Antiquariat Bibermühle Heribert Tenschert, *Meditationes Vitae Christi* manuscript, f. 36v)

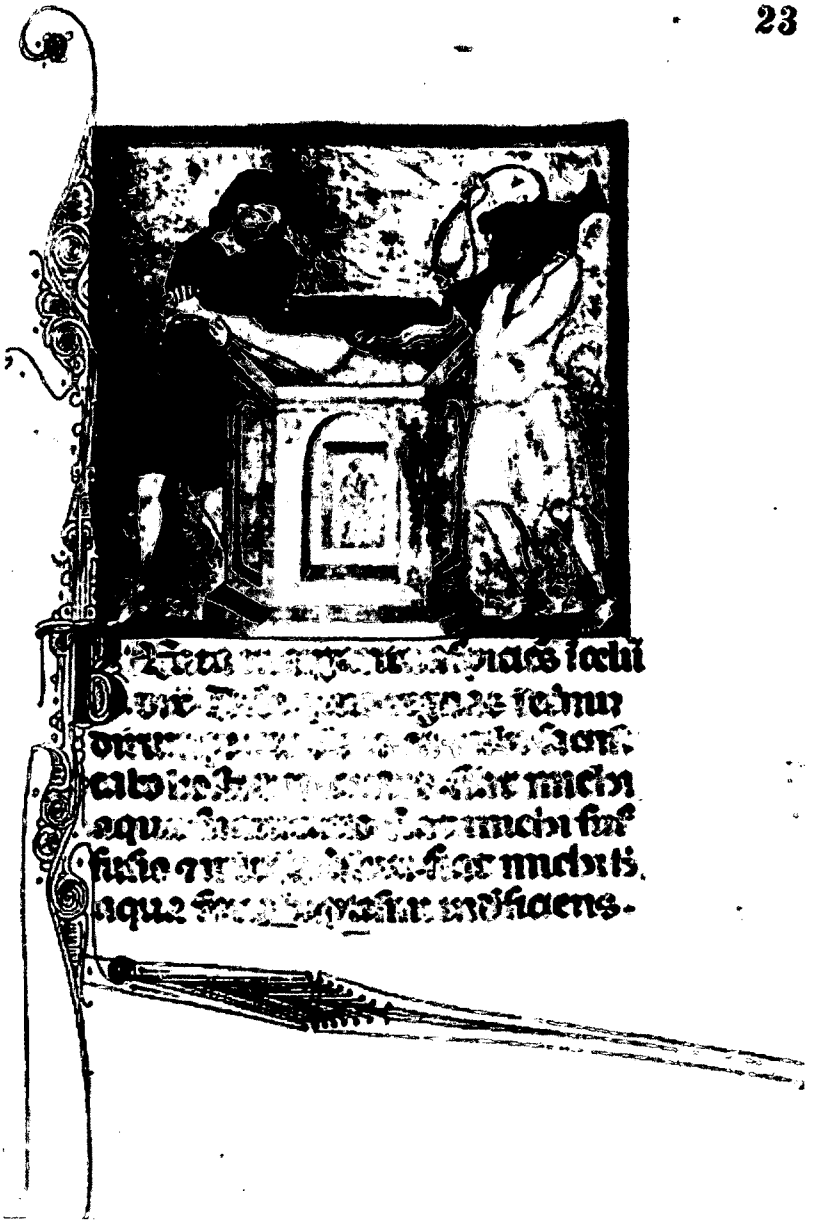


Plate 53. Episode from the Martyrdom of St. Margaret

(Florence, Biblioteca Riccardiana, Ms. 453, f. 23)

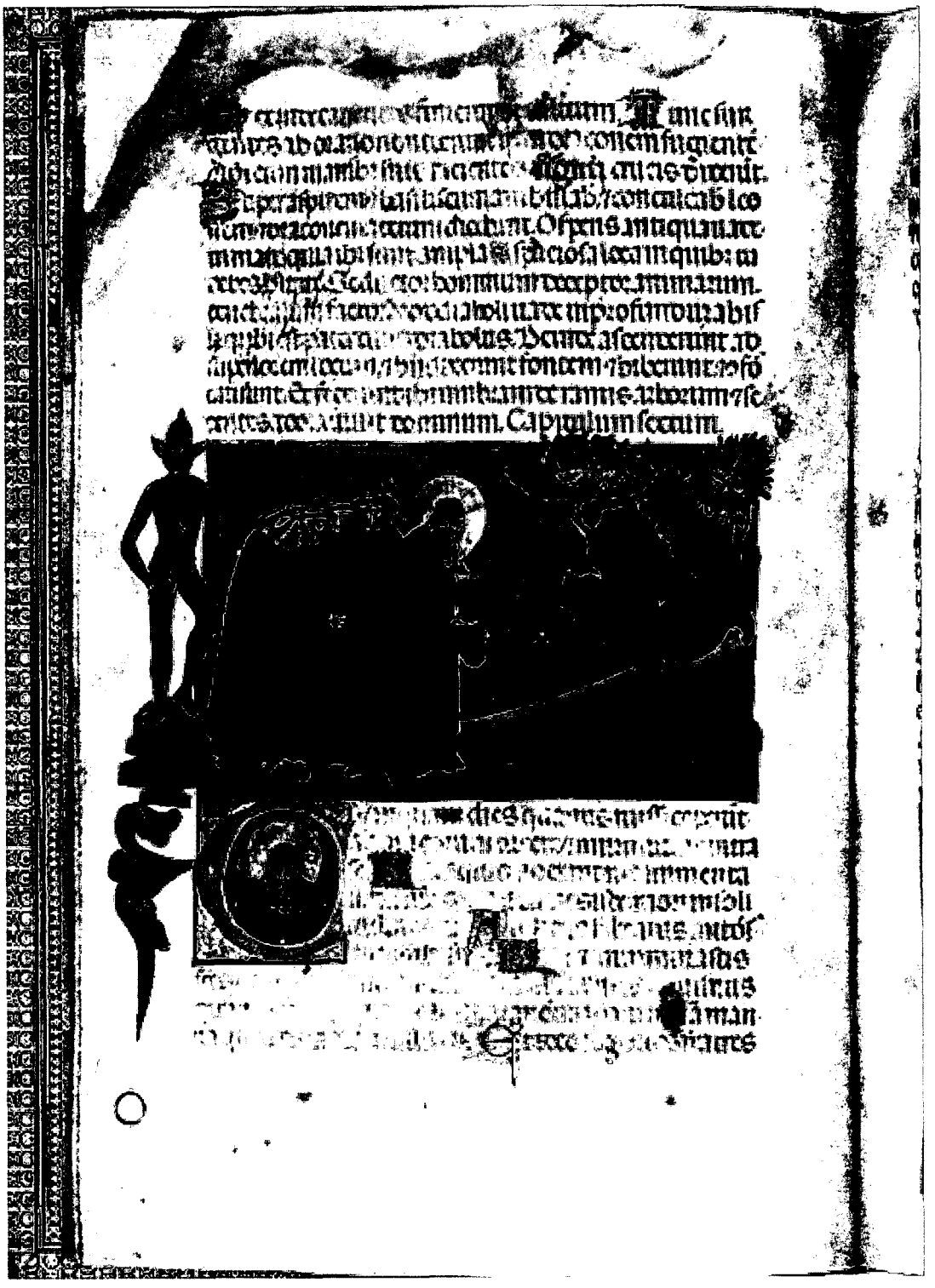


Plate 54. Scene from the Life of St. Anthony Abbot

(Stalden, Switzerland, Dr. Jörn Günther Rare Books AG,
Vita Sancti Antonii Eremitae manuscript, f. 3v)

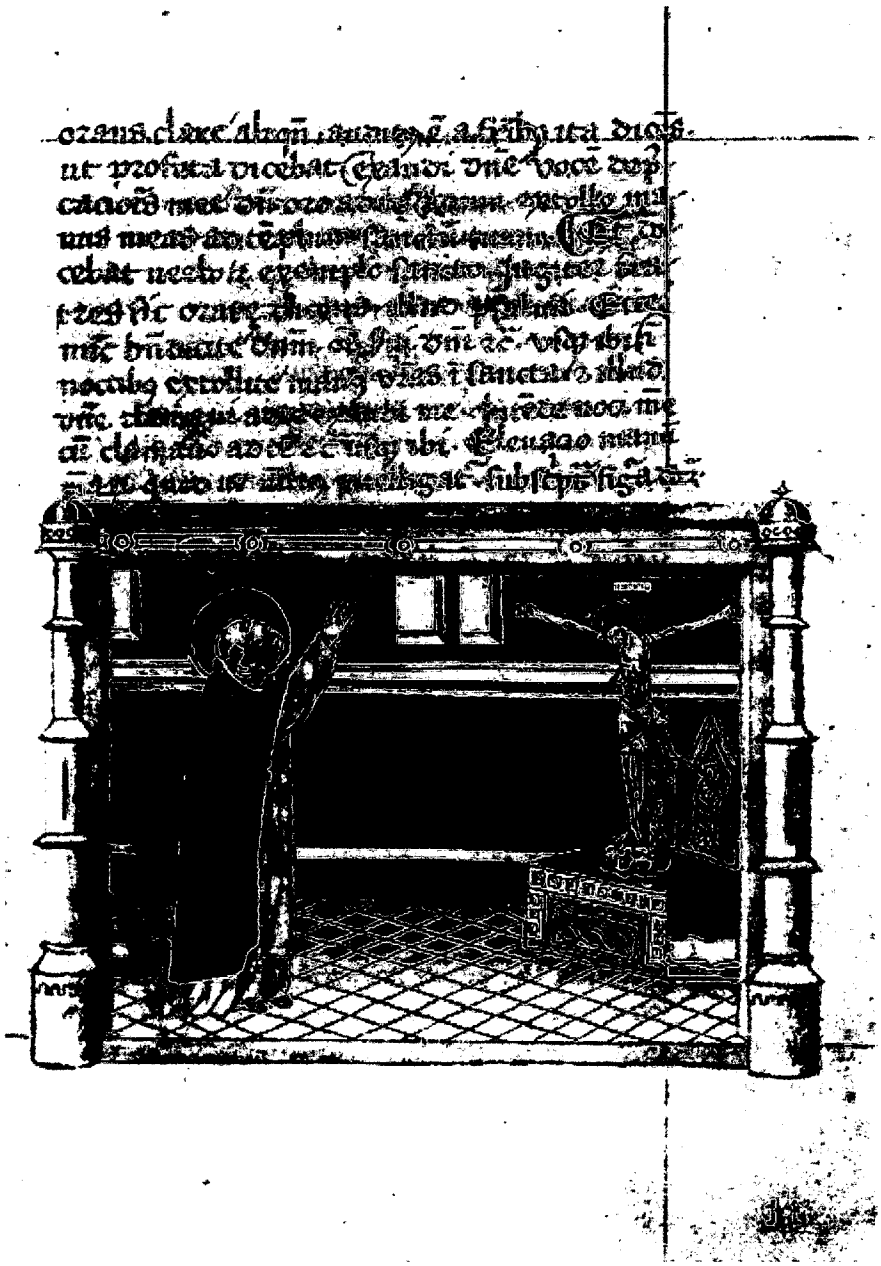


Plate 55. St. Dominic in Prayer

(Vatican City, Biblioteca Vaticana, Ms. Rossi 3, f. 11r)

Plate 56. Office of the Virgin Mary

(Francesco da Barberino, 'Officiolum', Private collection)

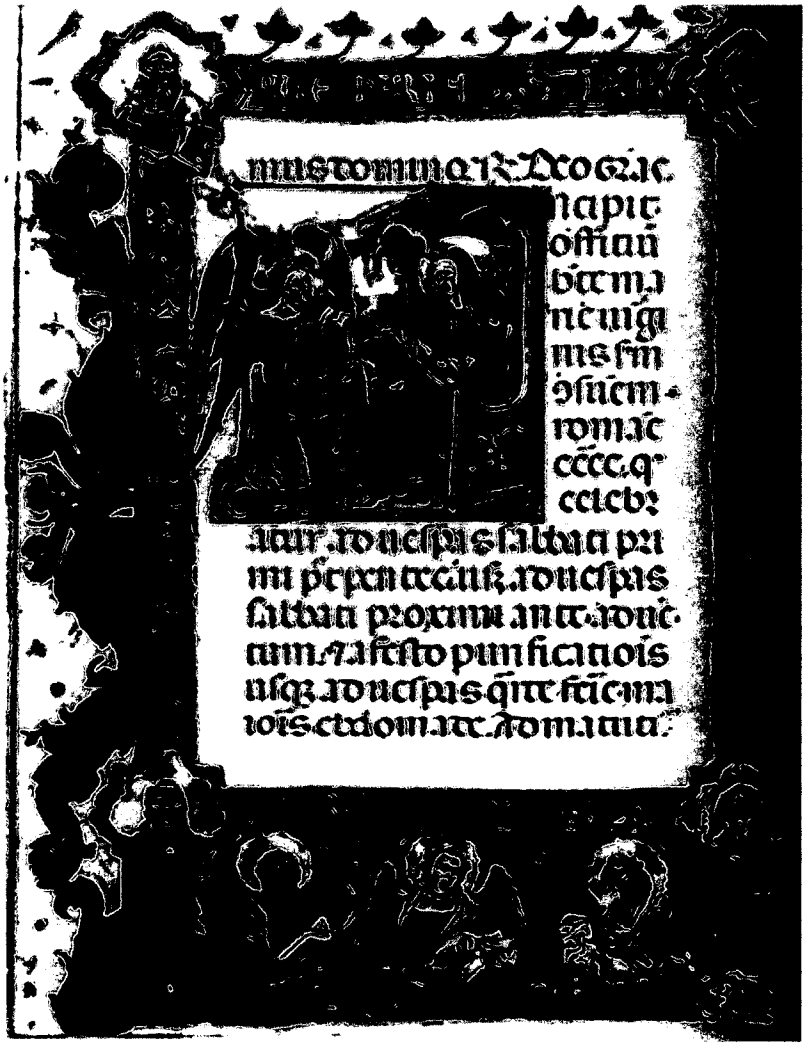


Plate 57. Nicolò da Bologna, Annunciation

(Kremsmüster, Benediktiner Stift, Ms. CC Cim 4, f. 10v)

Plate 58. Nailing of Christ to the Cross and the Raising of the Cross

(Oxford, Bodleian Library, Ms. Canonici 476, fol. 85v)

Plate 59. Master of 1328, Market scene, *Digestum vetus*

(Turin, Biblioteca Nazionale, Ms. E I. 1, f. 91r)

Plate 60. Illustratore, Martyrdom of St. Stephen, *Liber Sextus*

(St. Florian, Stiftsbibliothek, Ms. CSF III 7, f. 1r)

Plate 61. Master of 1346, Market Scene, *Digestum vetus*

(Paris, BnF, Ms. lat. 14339, f. 183r)

Plate 62. Nicolò da Bologna, Ascension and Pentecost,

Giovanni da Legnano *Treatises*, 1376

(Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. lat. 2639, f. 4r)

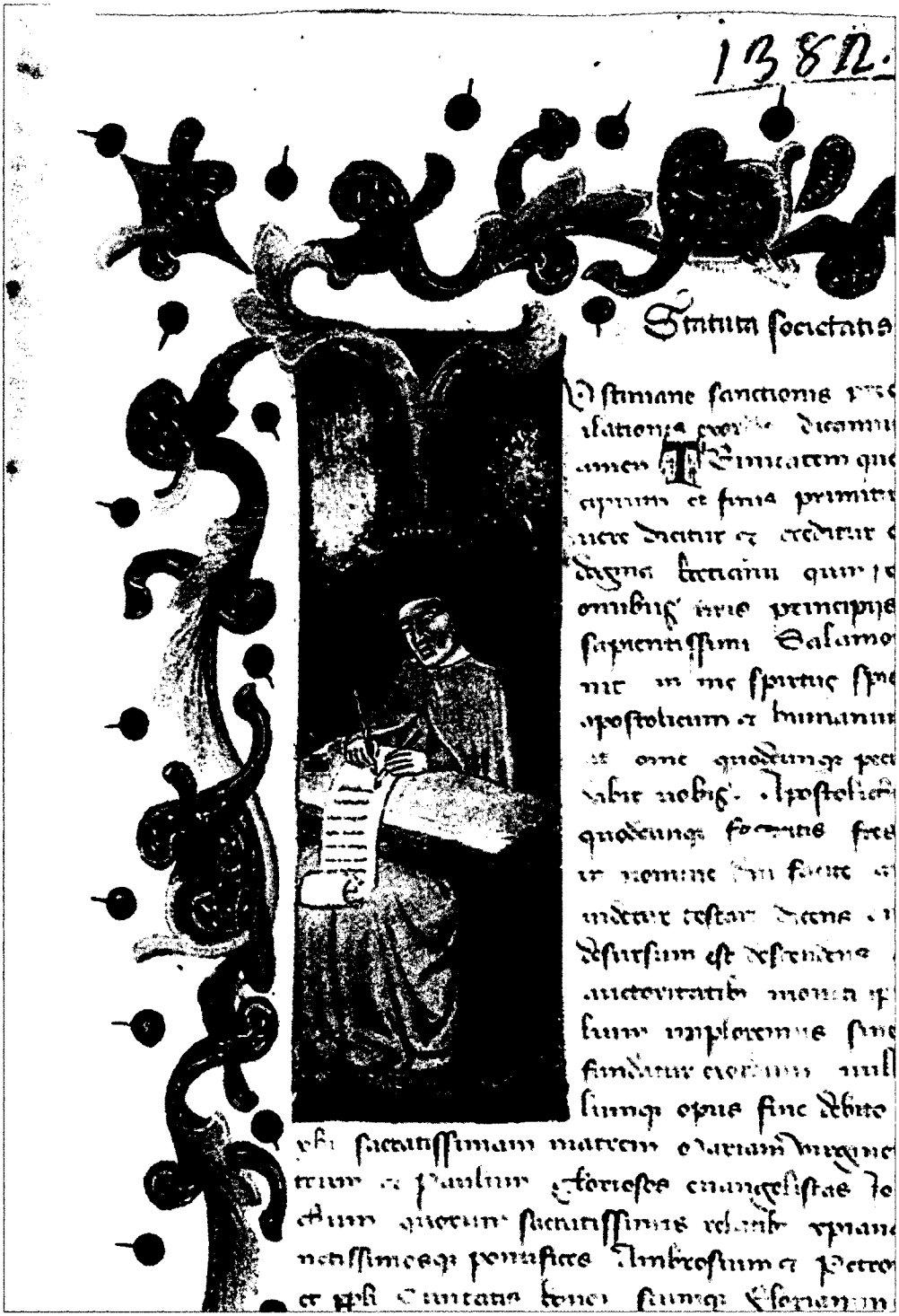


Plate 63. Stefano Azzi, Notaries' Guild Statutes, 1382

(Bologna, Archivio di Stato, cod. min. 22)

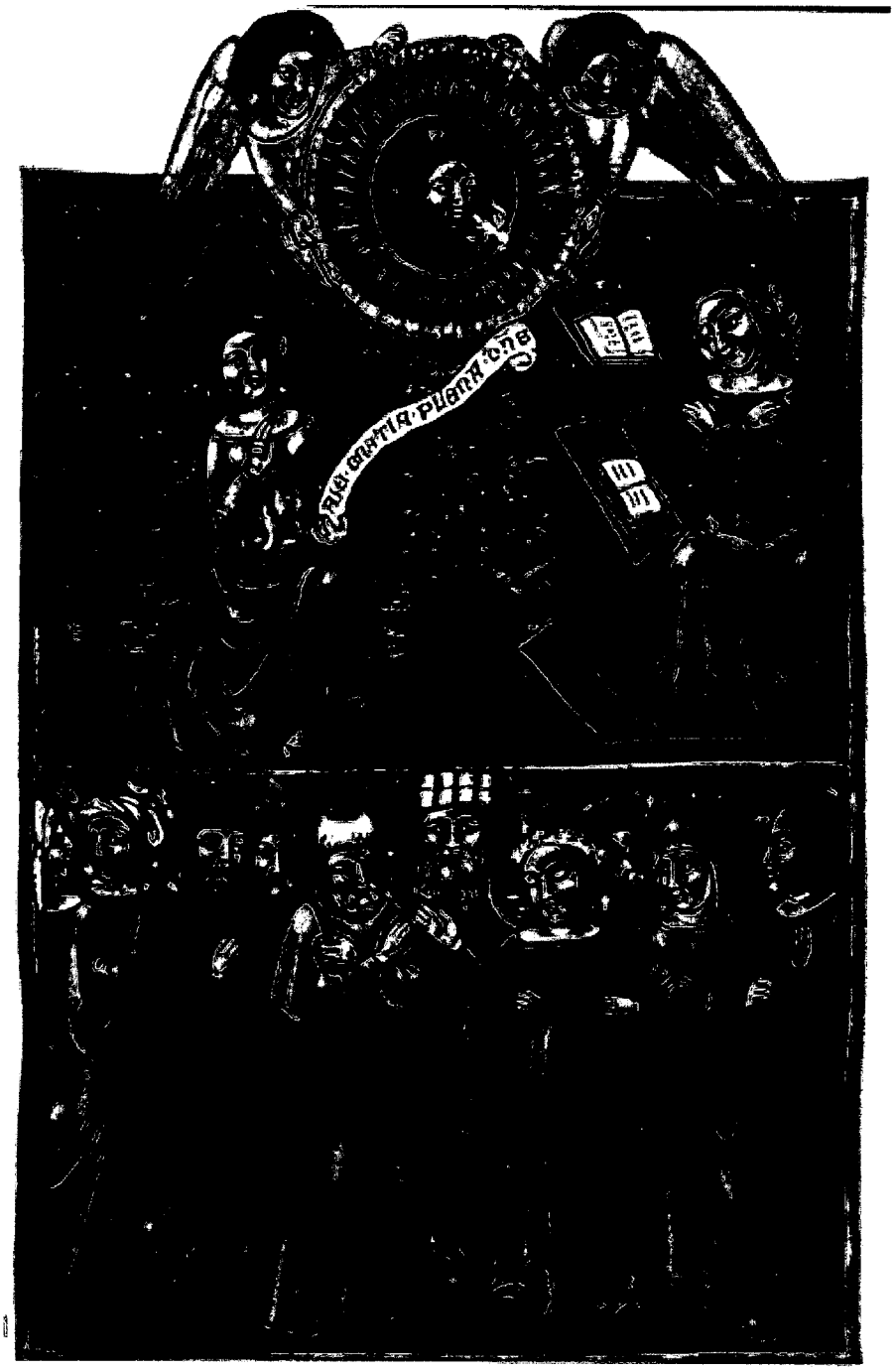


Plate 64. Stefano Azzi (attr.), Annunciation and Marriage of the Virgin, *Novella* (Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, Ms. B 42 inf, f. 159r)

Plate 65. Stefano Azzi (attr.), Christ and the Woman accused of Adultery, *Novella* (Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, Ms. B 42 inf, f. 205r)

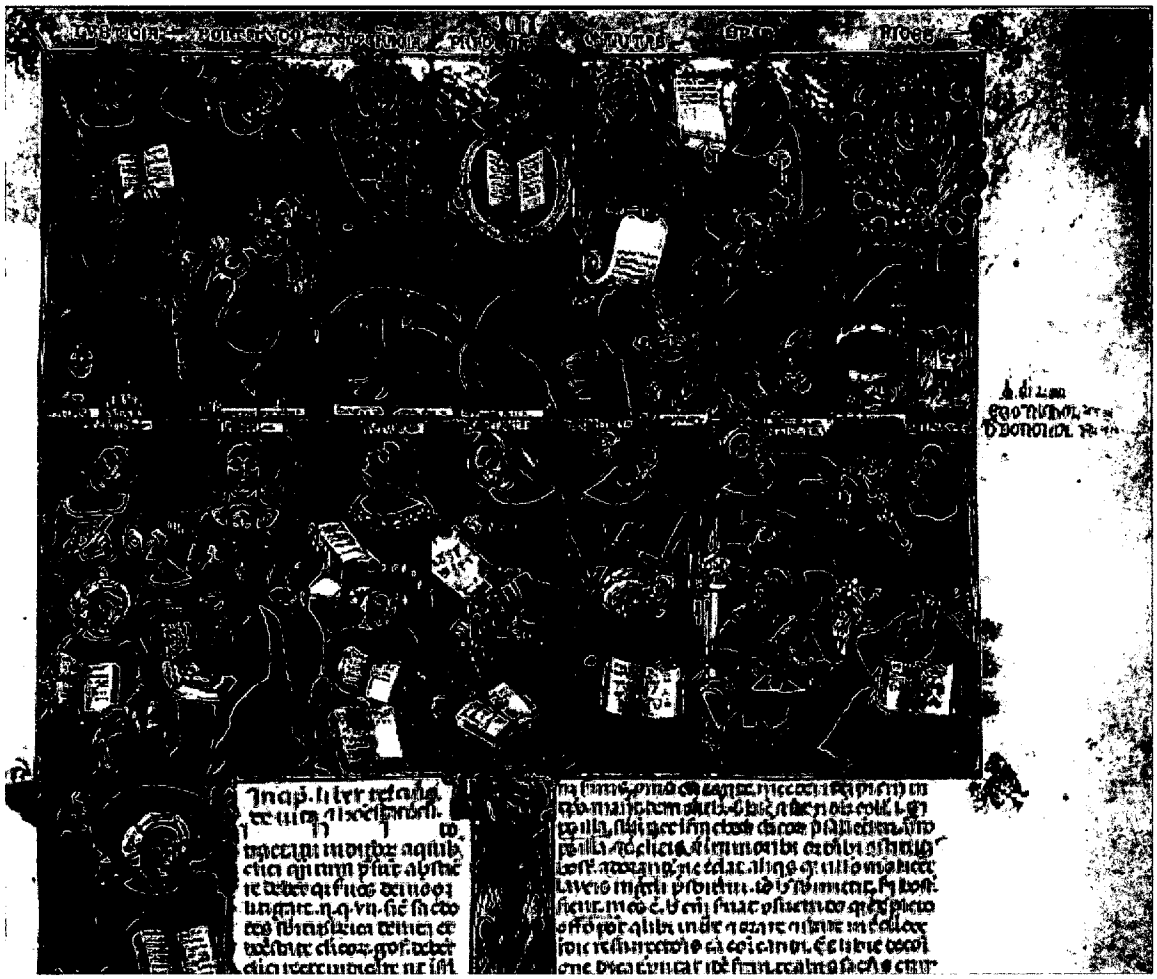


Plate 66. Nicolò da Bologna, Virtues and Vices and Liberal Arts, *Novella*, 1354

(Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, Ms. B 42 inf, f. 1r)

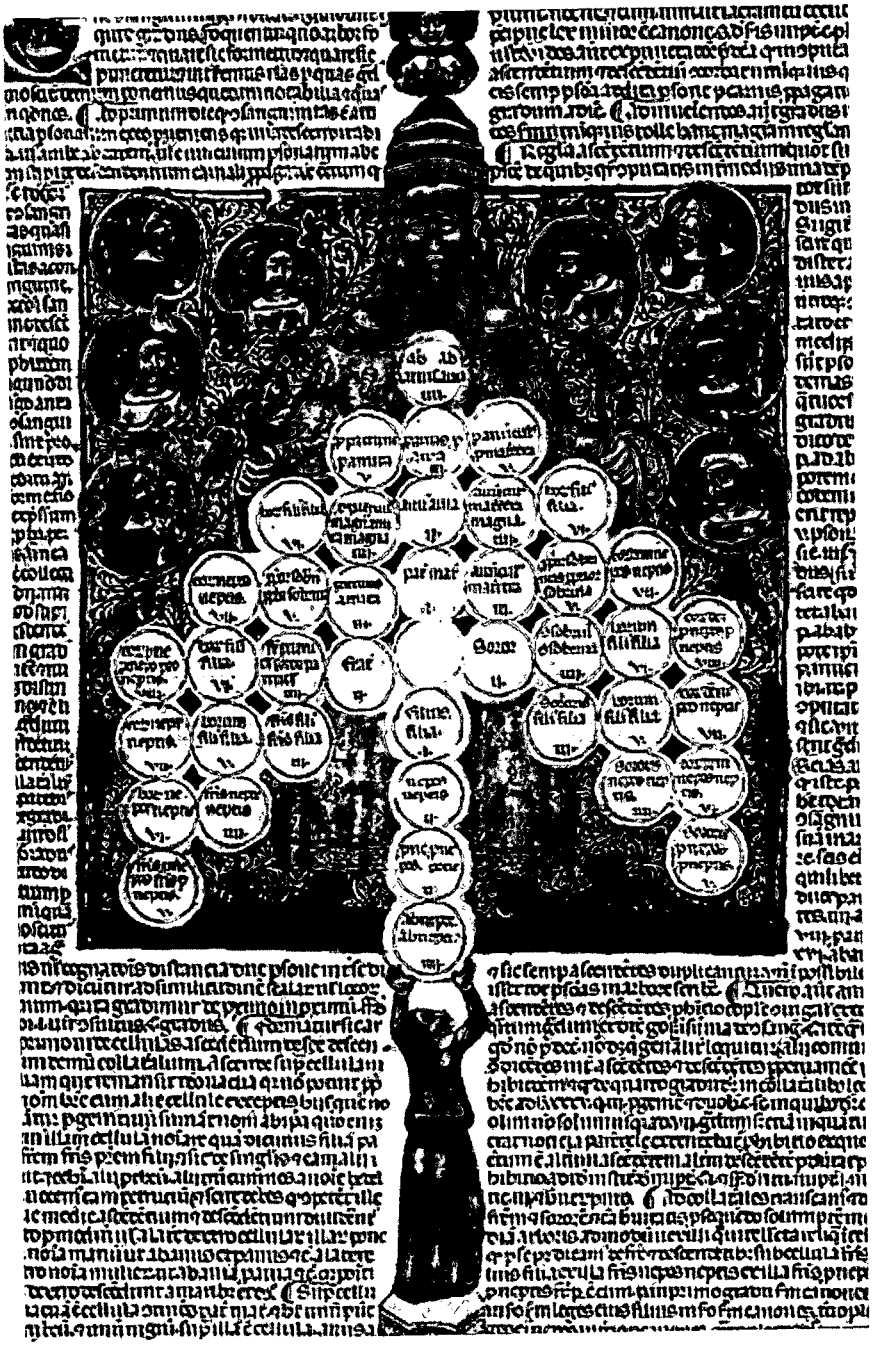


Plate 67. Stefano Azzi (attr.), Tree of Consanguinity, *Liber Sextus Decretalium*

(Vienna, ÖNB, Cod. 3042, f. 116v)

Plate 68. Stefano Azzi (attr.), Tree of Affinity, *Liber Sextus Decretalium*

(Vienna, ÖNB, Cod. 3042, f. 117r)

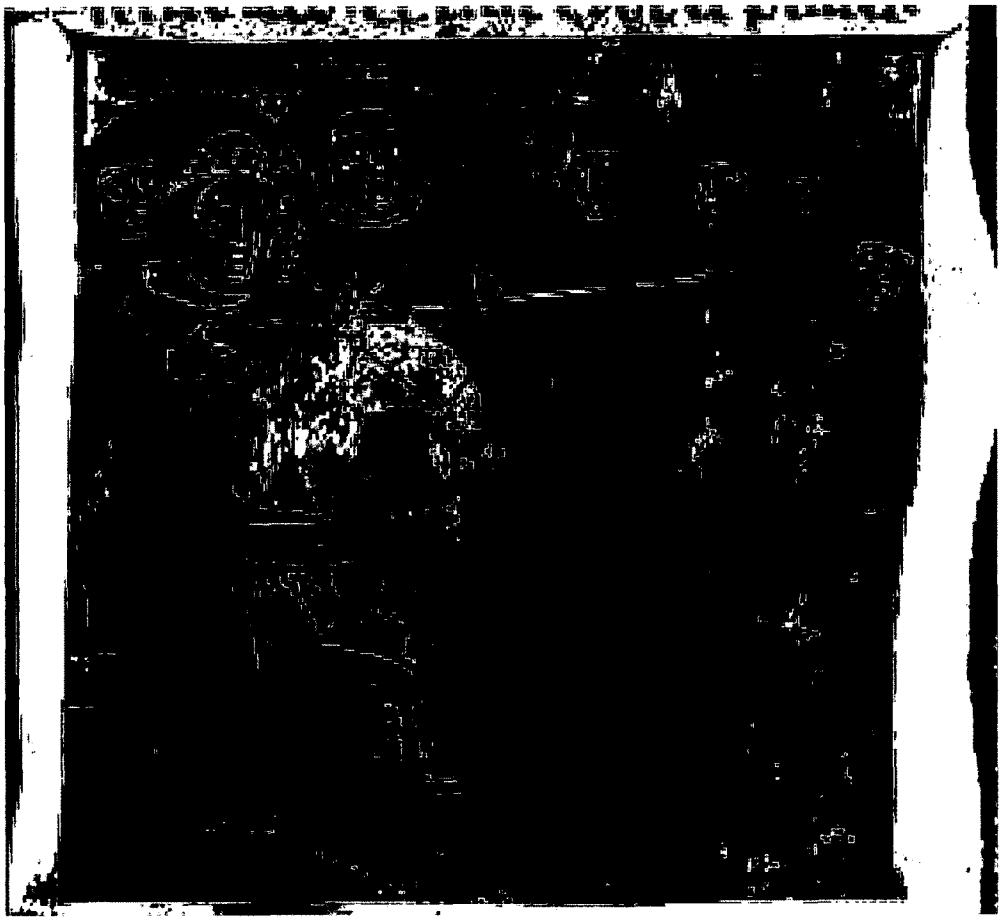


Plate 69. Snite Illuminator, *Histoire ancienne jusqu'à César*
(Paris, BnF, Ms. fr. 168, f. 108)

Plate 70. Snite Illuminator, *Histoire ancienne jusqu'à César*
(Paris, BnF, Ms. fr. 168, f. 17r)

Plate 71. Stefano Azzi (attr.), (left) Mary Magdalen in prayer, (right) Communion and Death of Mary Magdalen

(Padua, Biblioteca Antoniana, Ms. Q, f. 24)

Plate 72. Stefano Azzi (attr.), Preaching penance and hearing confessions (*Decretum Gratiani* manuscript, *De Poenitentia*)

(Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm. 13003, f. 346)

Plate 73. Stefano Azzi (attr.), Blacksmiths' Guild Matricola, 1366

(Rome, Biblioteca del Senato della Repubblica, Statuti mss 26, f. 17r)

Plate 74. Snite Illuminator, Noah and family exiting the Ark

(Bologna, Museo Civico Medievale, Ms. 4110, f. 142v)

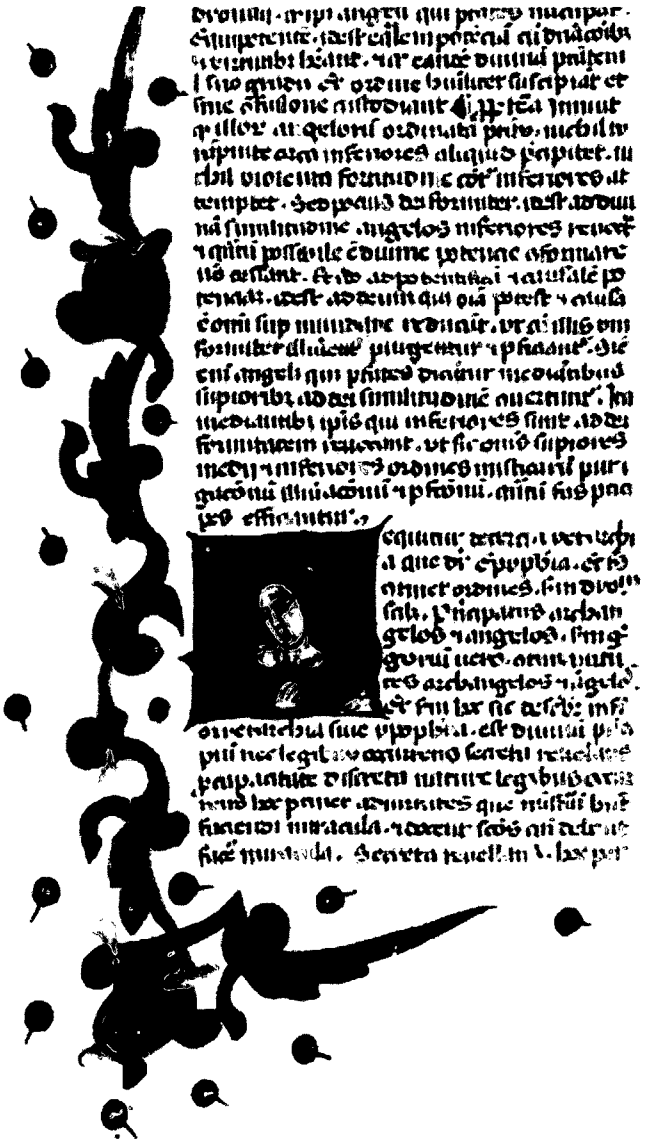


Plate 75. Stefano Azzi (attr.), historiated initial, Giovanni da Legnano *Treatises*, 1376

(Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. Lat. 2639, f. 80v)

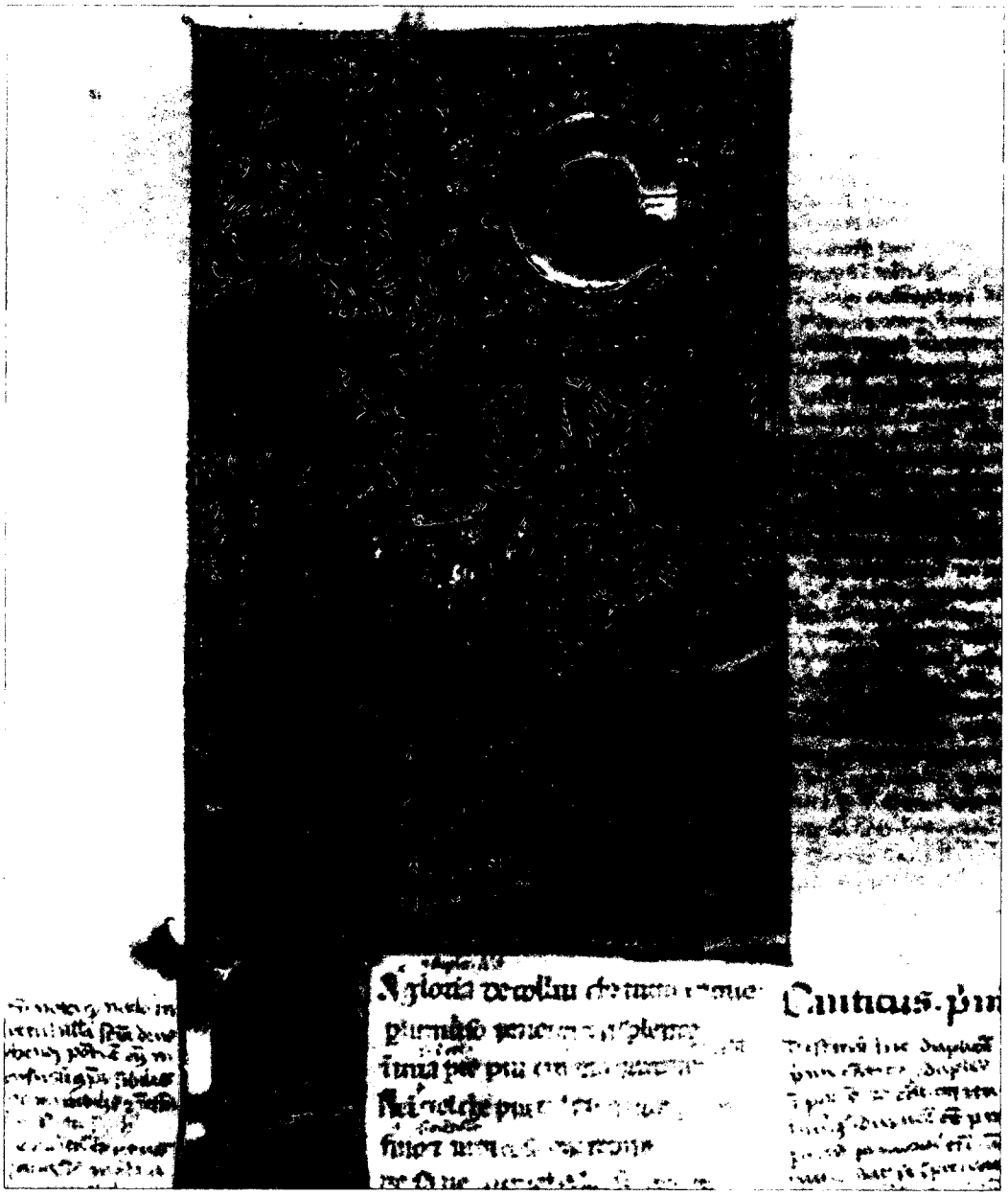


Plate 76. Stefano Azzi (attr.), Dante and Beatrice, Divine Comedy

(Perugia, Biblioteca Augusta, Ms. B.25, f. 113r)

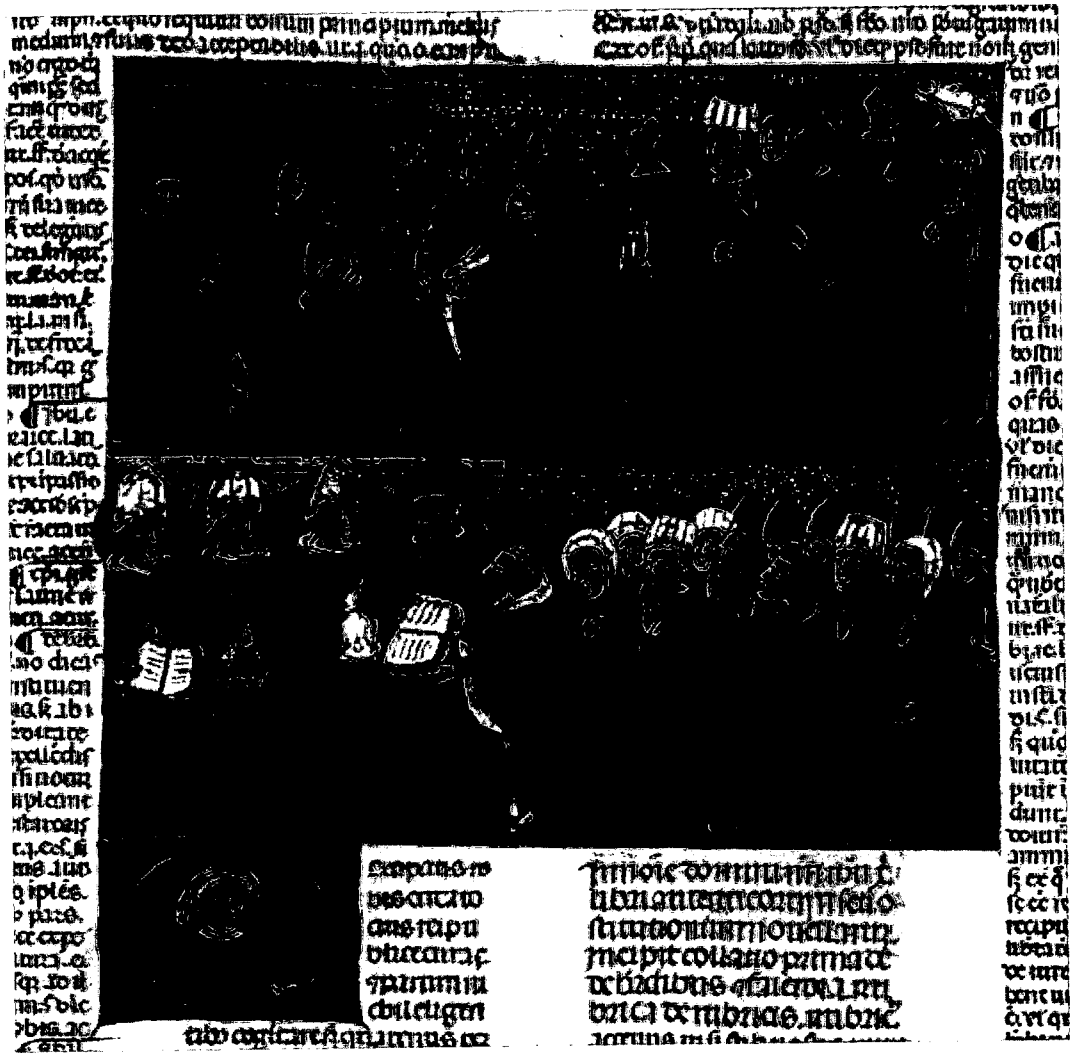


Plate 77. Stefano Azzi (attr.), Adoration of the Magi and the Presentation of Justinian's *Institutiones* to the Pope

(Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Urb. lat. 164, f. 77r)

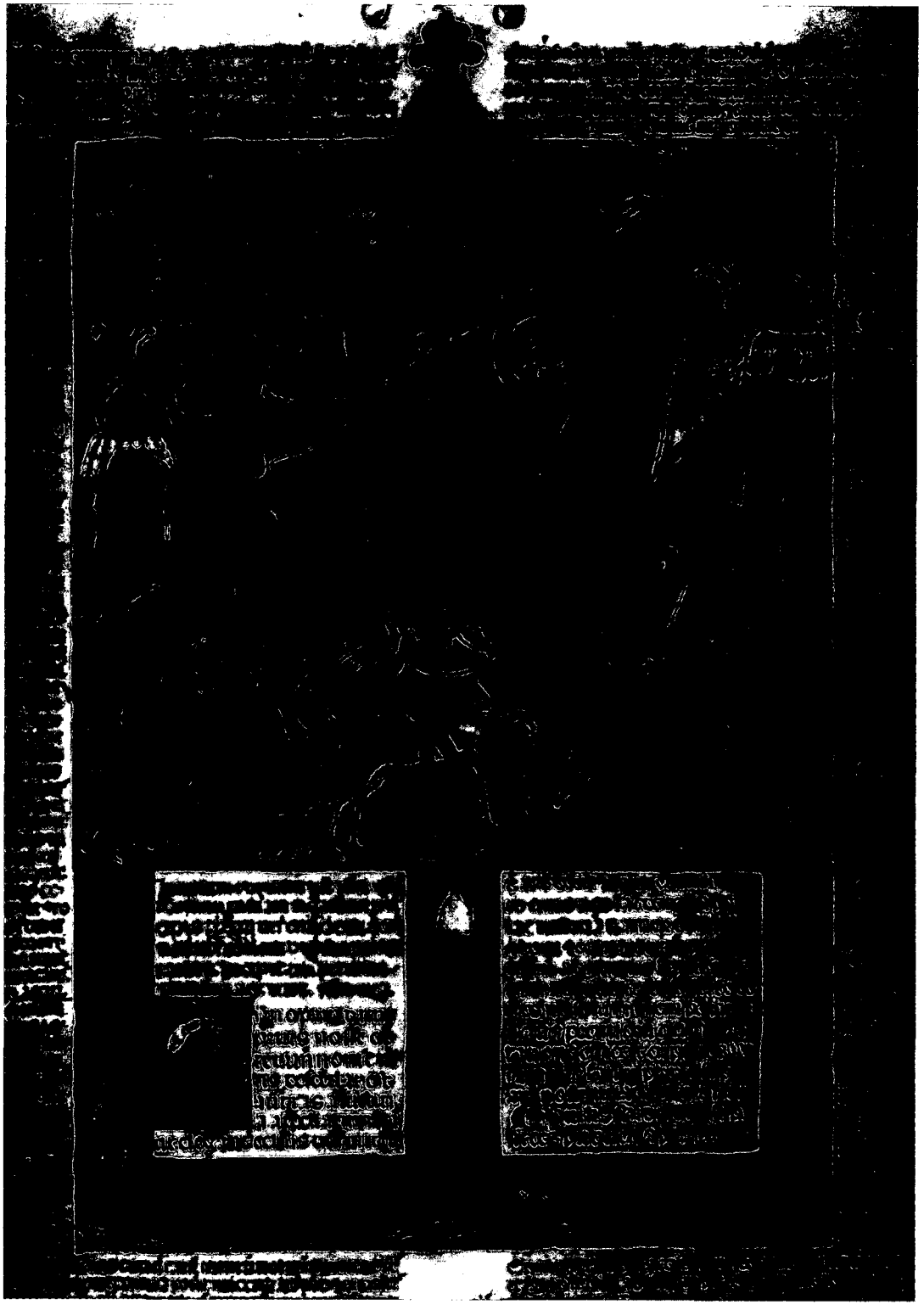


Plate 78. Azzi Workshop, Allegory of Justice, *Digestum vetus*

(Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm. 3503, f. 3r

Plate 79. Stefano Azzi (attr.), Market Scene, *Digestum vetus*, Bk. 12

(Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm. 3503, f. 171r)

Plate 80. Snite Illuminator, Harvesting Scene, *Digestum vetus*, Bk. 7

(Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm. 3503, f. 115v)

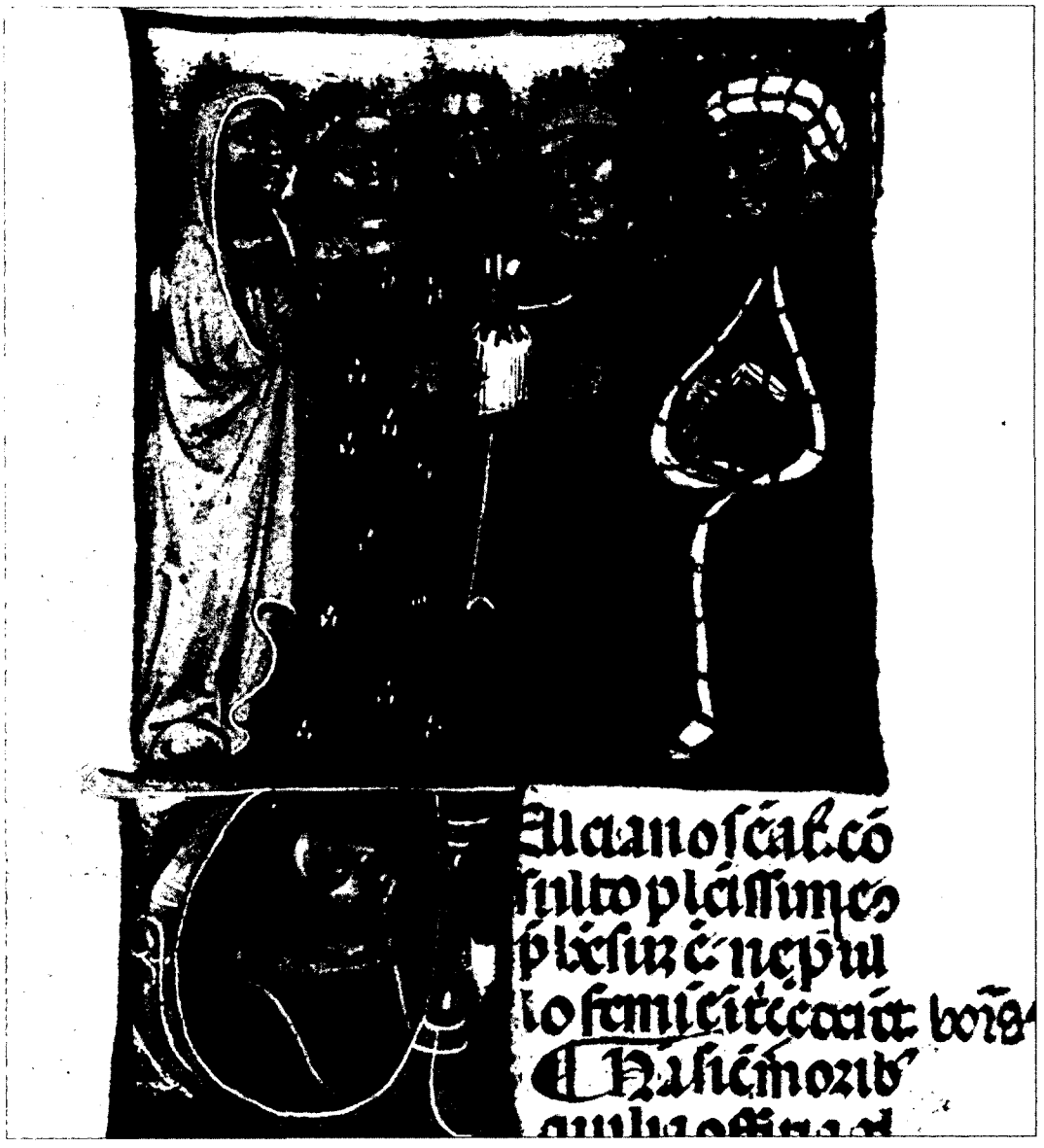


Plate 81. Snite Illuminator, Woman's (In)ability to stand surety, *Digestum vetus,* Bk. 16, Senatusconsultum Velleianum

(Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 2503, f. 219v)

Plate 82. Snite Illuminator, Pawnbroking Scene, *Digestum vetus*, Book 22

(Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm. 3503, f. 277v)

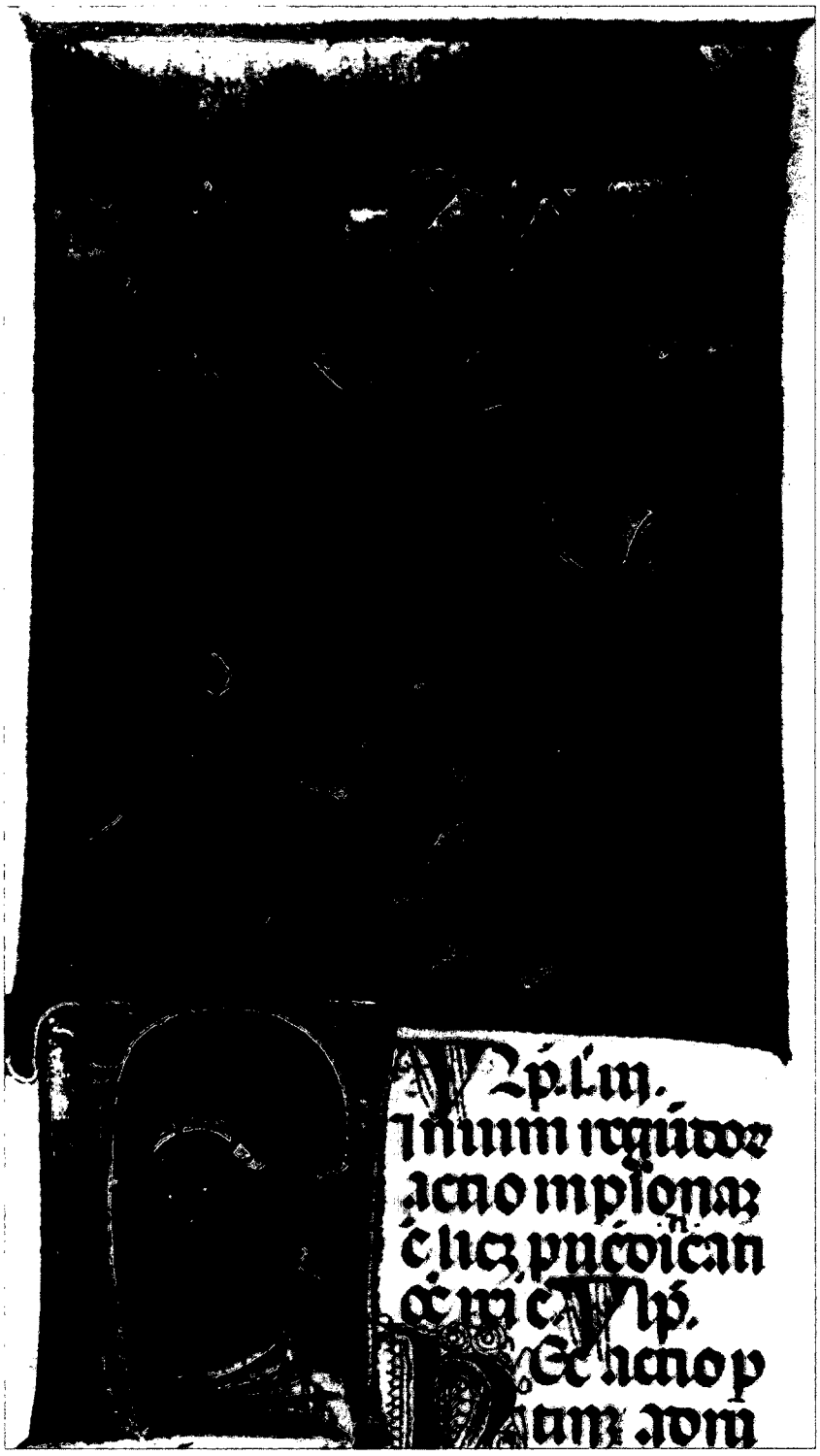


Plate 83. 1346 Master/Nicolò da Bologna (?), Setting a property marker, *Digestum vetus*, Bk. 10

(Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm. 3503, f. 152v)

Plate 84. Interrogation before the Magistrate, *Digestum vetus,* Bk. 11

(Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm. 3503, f. 163v)

Plate 85. Harvesting scene, *Digestum Vetus*, (Bk. 7: on usufruct and how one may exercise it)

(Vatican City, Biblioteca Vaticana Apostolica, Vat. Lat. 1411, f. 136v)

Plate 86. Illustratore, harvesting scene, cutting from a *Digestum vetus*
(Bk. 7: on usufruct and how one may exercise it)

(Los Angeles, J. Paul Getty Museum, Ms. 13)

Plate 87. Snite Illuminator, Orpheus attacked by Maenads,
Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, Book IX

(Venice, Biblioteca Marciana, Ms. Z. L. 449a)

Plate 88. Snite Illuminator, Cipus refuses the Crown of Rome,
Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, Book XV

(Venice, Biblioteca Marciana, Ms. Z. L. 449a)

Plate 89. Snite Illuminator, Eurydice bitten by a Snake,
Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, Book X

(Venice, Biblioteca Marciana, Ms. Z. L. 449a)

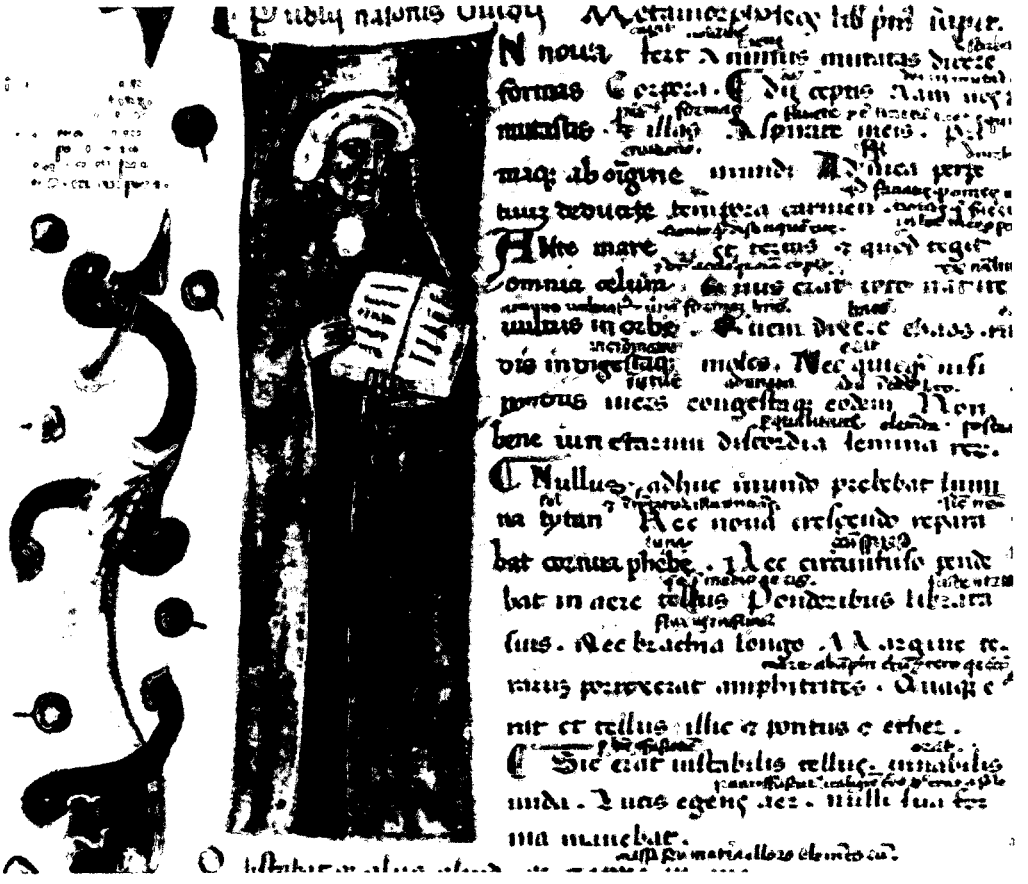


Plate 90. Stefano Azzi (attr.), Ovid initial, Ovid's *Metamorphoses*

(Cesena, Biblioteca Malatestiana, Ms. S. XXV.6, f. 2r)

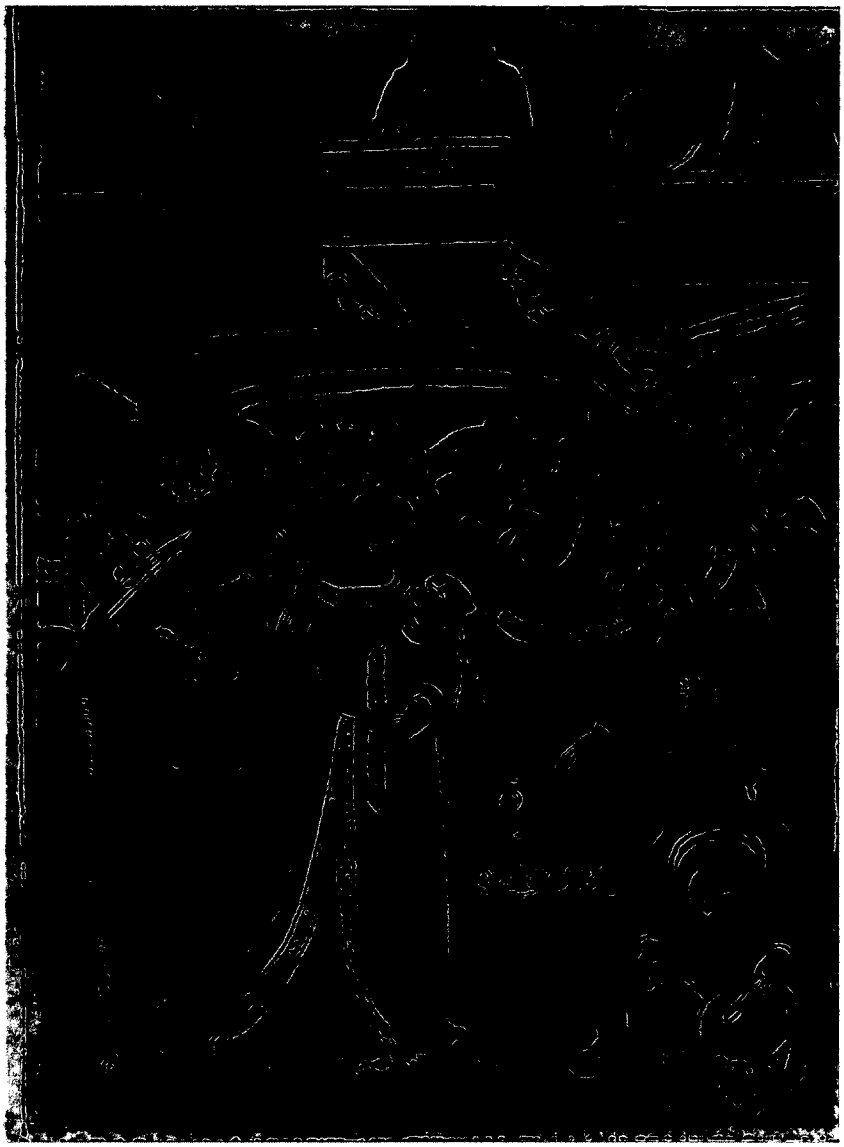


Plate 91. Nicolò da Bologna, Marriage scene from a canon law manuscript (Giovanni d'Andrea, *Novella*)

Washington, DC, National Gallery, B-22,225

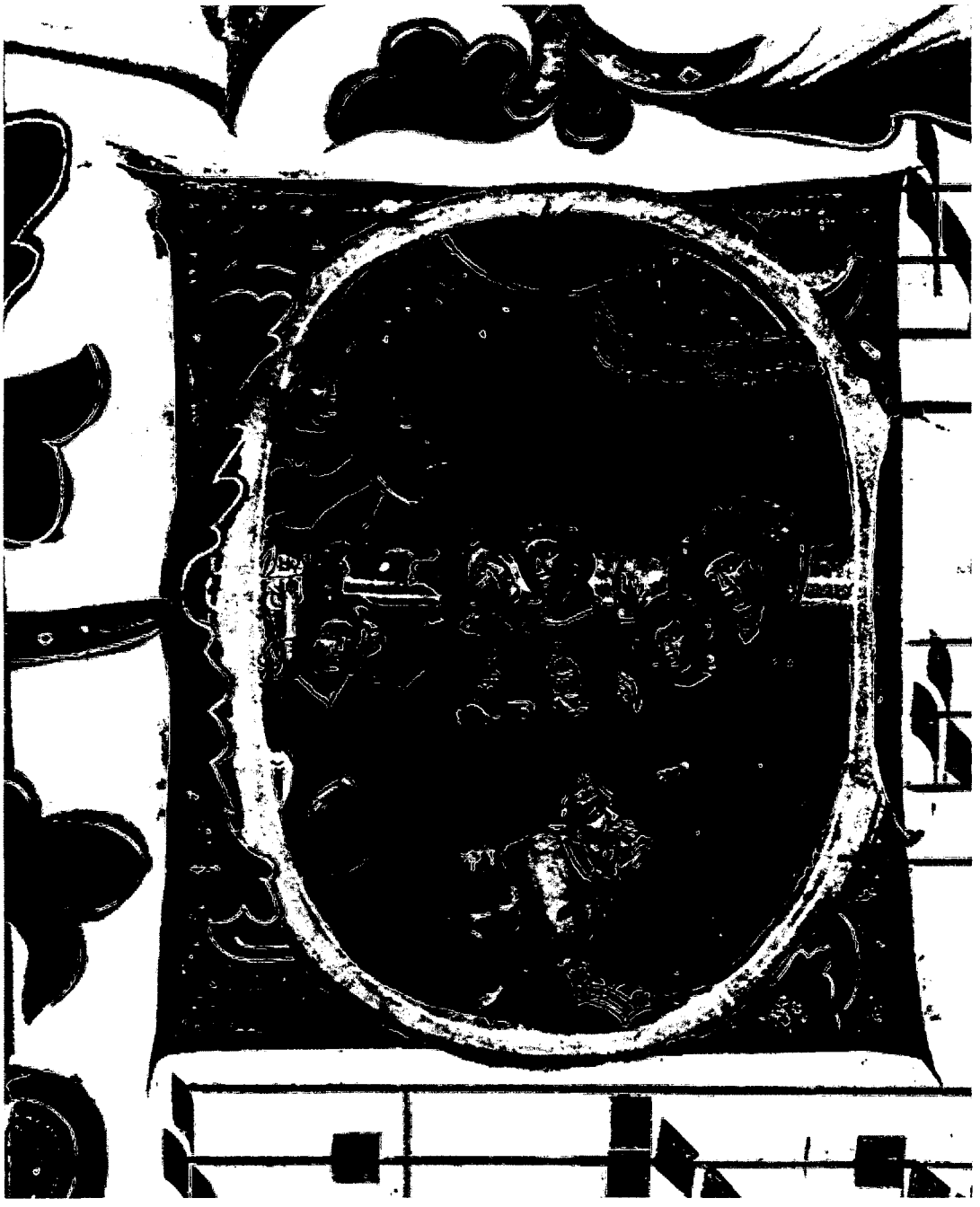


Plate 92. Master of the Crucifixion D, Adoration of the Magi

(historiated initial in a Gradual)

(Bologna, Museo Civico Medievale, Ms. 544, f. 44v)

Plate 93. Master of the Crucifixion D, Crucifixion (historiated initial in an Antiphonary)
(Bologna, Santa Maria dei Servi, corale D, f. 45r)

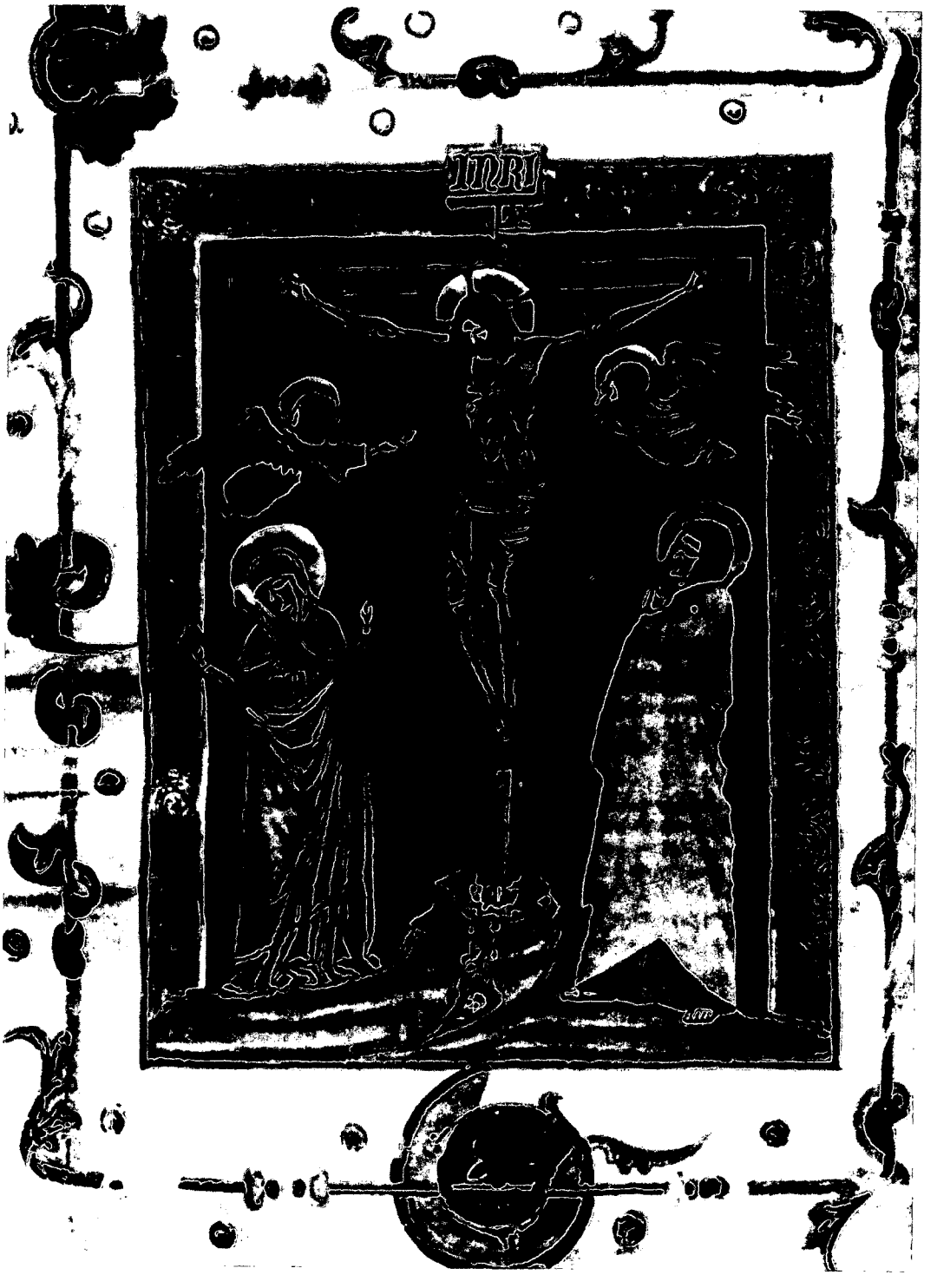


Plate 94. Master of the Crucifixion D, Crucifixion (illumination in a Missal)
(Zagabria, Arhiv Hrvatske Akademije Znanosti i Umjetnosti, Ms. II d 250, f. 135v)

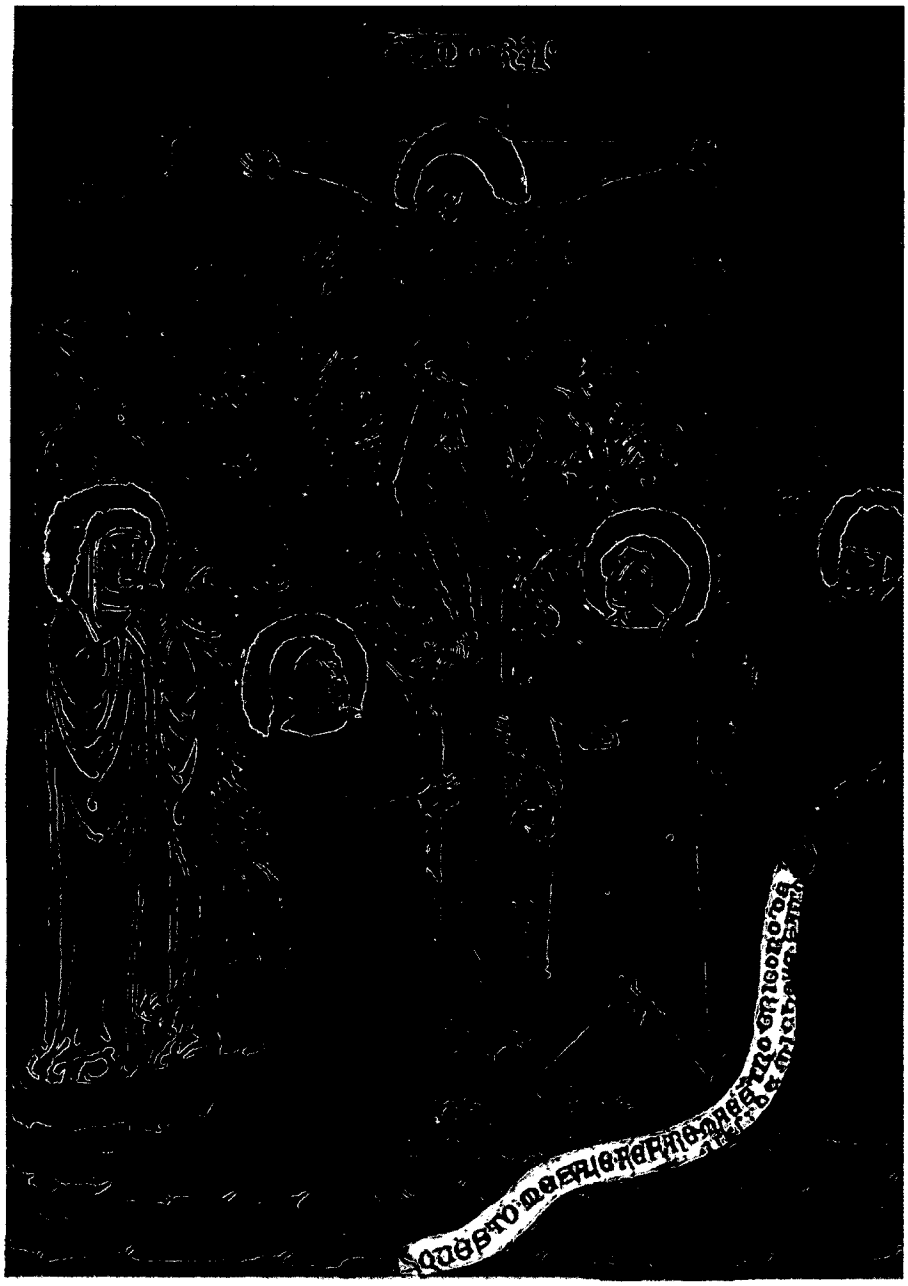


Plate 95. Stefano Azzi (attr.), Crucifixion with Saints Mary Magdalen, Homobonus, and Donor (frontispiece for Tailors' Guild Missal)

(New York, Metropolitan Museum)

Plate 96. Master of the Crucifixion D, Virgin Mary, St. Joseph, and angels (historiated initial in a Gradual)

(Bologna, Museo Civico Medievale, Ms. 544, f. 31r)

Plate 97. Vitale da Bologna, Nativity: First Bath
(detached fresco from S. Maria di Mezzaratta)

(Bologna, Pinacoteca Nazionale)

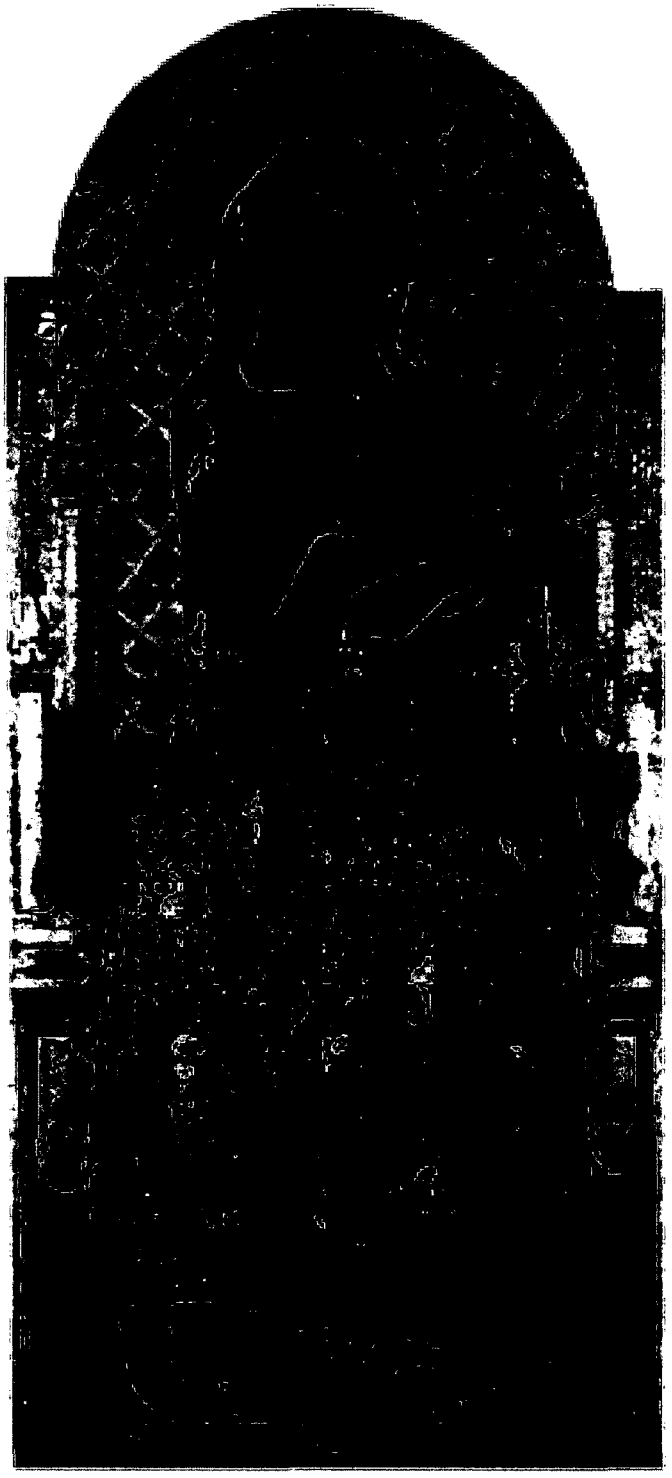


Plate 98. Vitale da Bologna, Madonna dei Denti

(Bologna, Museo Davia Bargellini)

Plate 99. The Author and St. Cecilia

(Paris, BnF, Ms. ital. 115, f. 1r)

Plate 100. Master of the Crucifixion D, *Ad te levavi* (God enthroned above with King David below)

(Bologna, Museo Civico Medievale, Ms. 544, f. 5r)

Plate 101. Dispute between the Virtues before God in Heaven

(Paris, BnF, Ms. ital. 115, f. 4r)

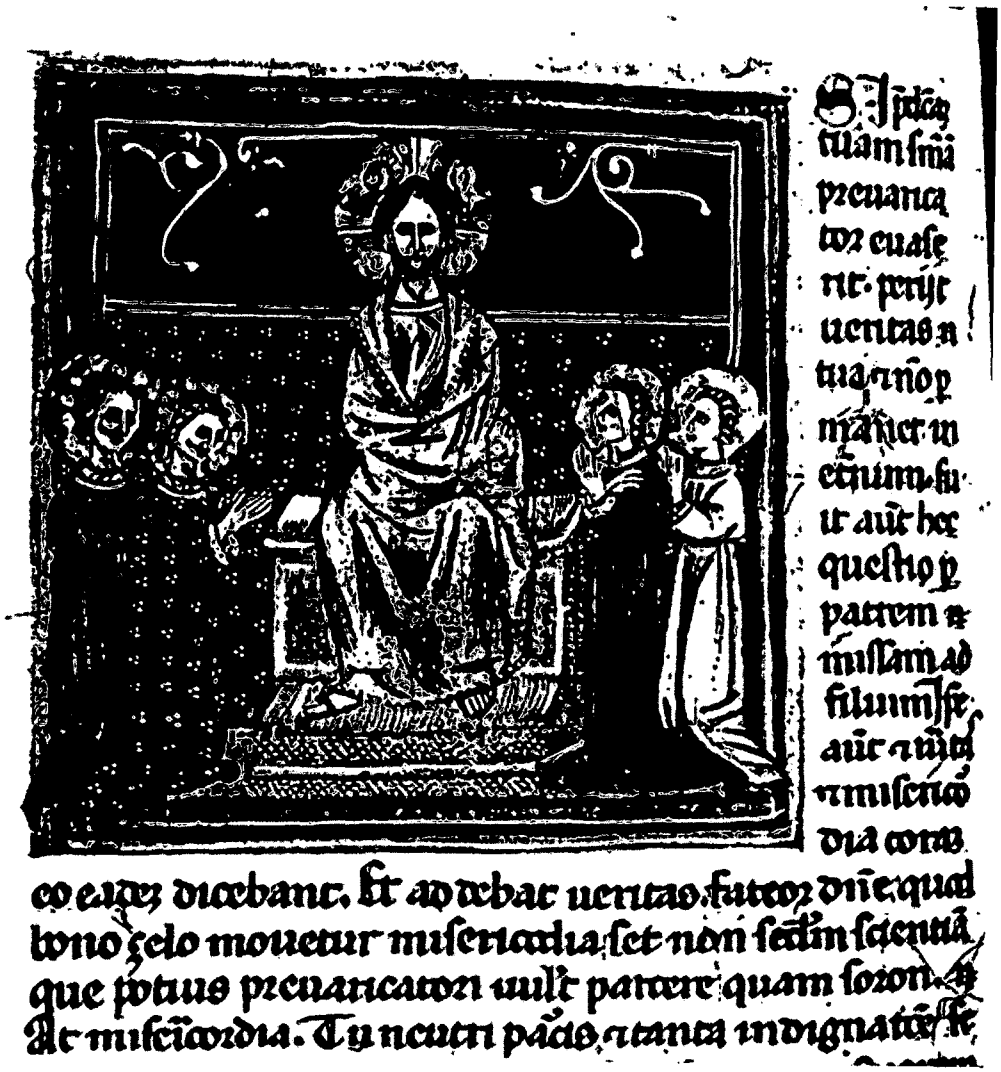


Plate 102. Dispute between the Virtues before God in Heaven

(Oxford, Corpus Christi College, Ms. 410, f. 3v)

Plate 103. Enthroned Christ flanked by Pope and Emperor, opening illumination of *Decretum Gratiani*

(Nürnberg, Stadtbibliothek, Cent. I. 15, f. 1r)

Plate 104. Opening illumination of *Constitutiones Clementinae*

(Nürnberg, Stadtbibliothek, Cent. II. 45, f. 4r)

Plate 105. "Maestro Daddesco," Madonna and Child

(Ottawa, National Gallery of Canada)

Plate 106. Jacopo Lanfrani (attr.), relief from the tomb of Taddeo Pepoli, 1347

(Bologna, San Domenico)

Plate 107. Master of 1346, Bishop preaches penance and patron kneels before knightly saints
(*De Poenitentia* illumination in *Decretum Gratiani* manuscript)

(Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Urb. lat. 161, f. 297)

Plate 108. Presentation of the Virgin Mary to the Temple, Menologion of Basil II

(Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. gr. 1613, f. 198)

Plate 109. Taddeo Gaddi, Presentation of the Virgin Mary to the Temple, Baroncelli Chapel

(Florence, Santa Croce)

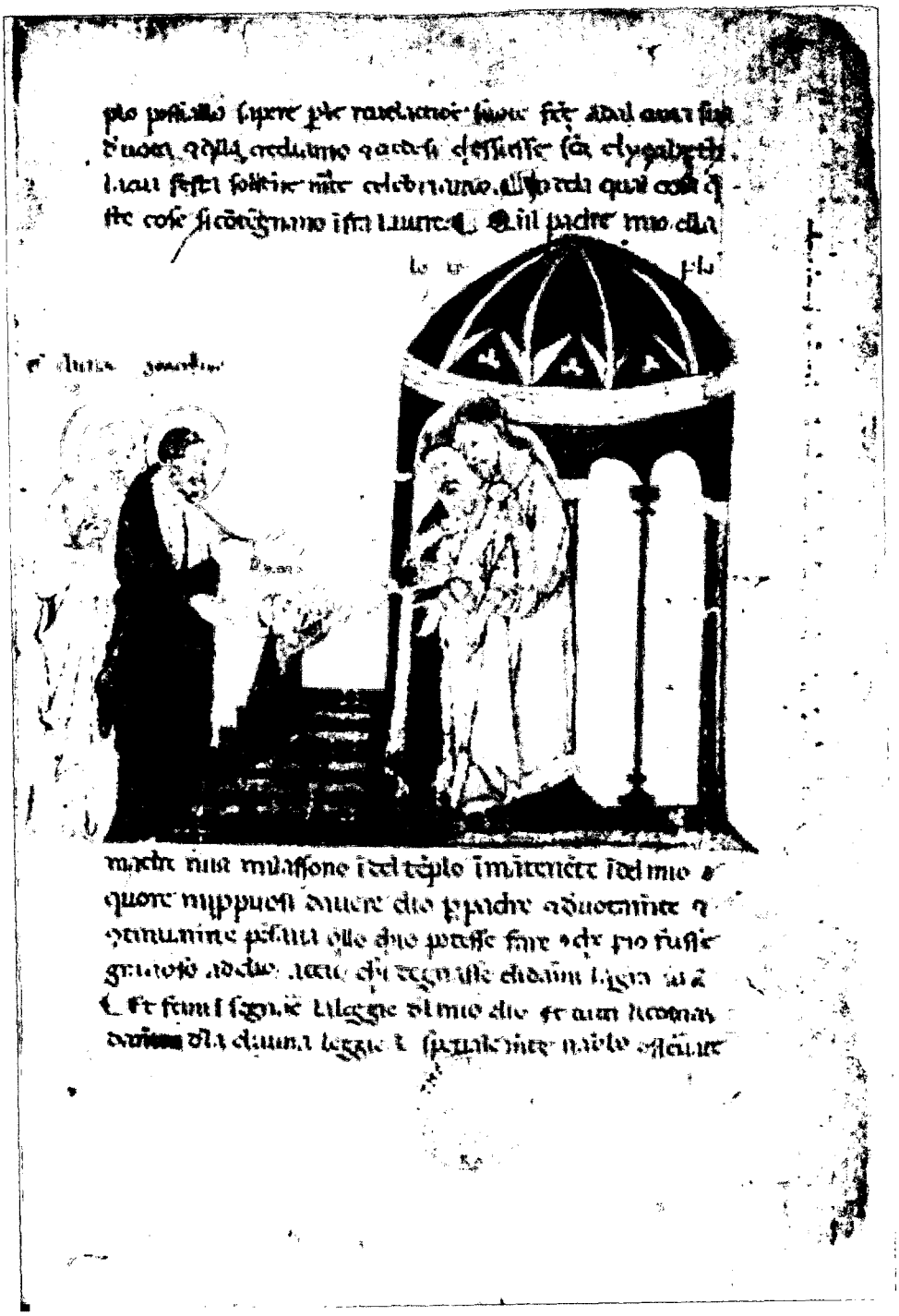


Plate 110. Presentation of the Virgin Mary to the Temple

(Paris, BnF, Ms. ital. 115, f. 6r)

Plate 111. Simone dei Crocefissi, Presentation of the Virgin Mary to the Temple

(Bologna, Pinacoteca Nazionale)

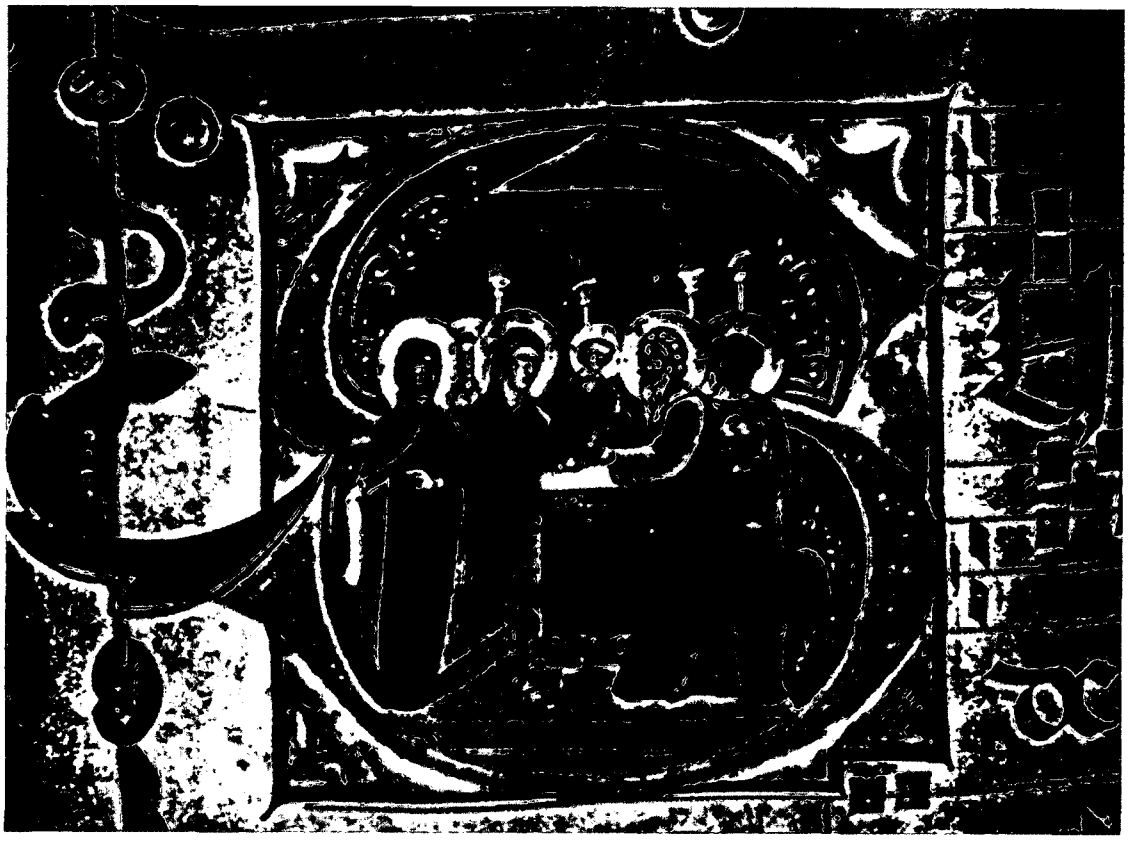


Plate 112. Master of the Paris *Gratian*, Presentation of the Christ Child in the Temple (Bologna, Archivio Arcivescovile, Cor. B, f. 8v)

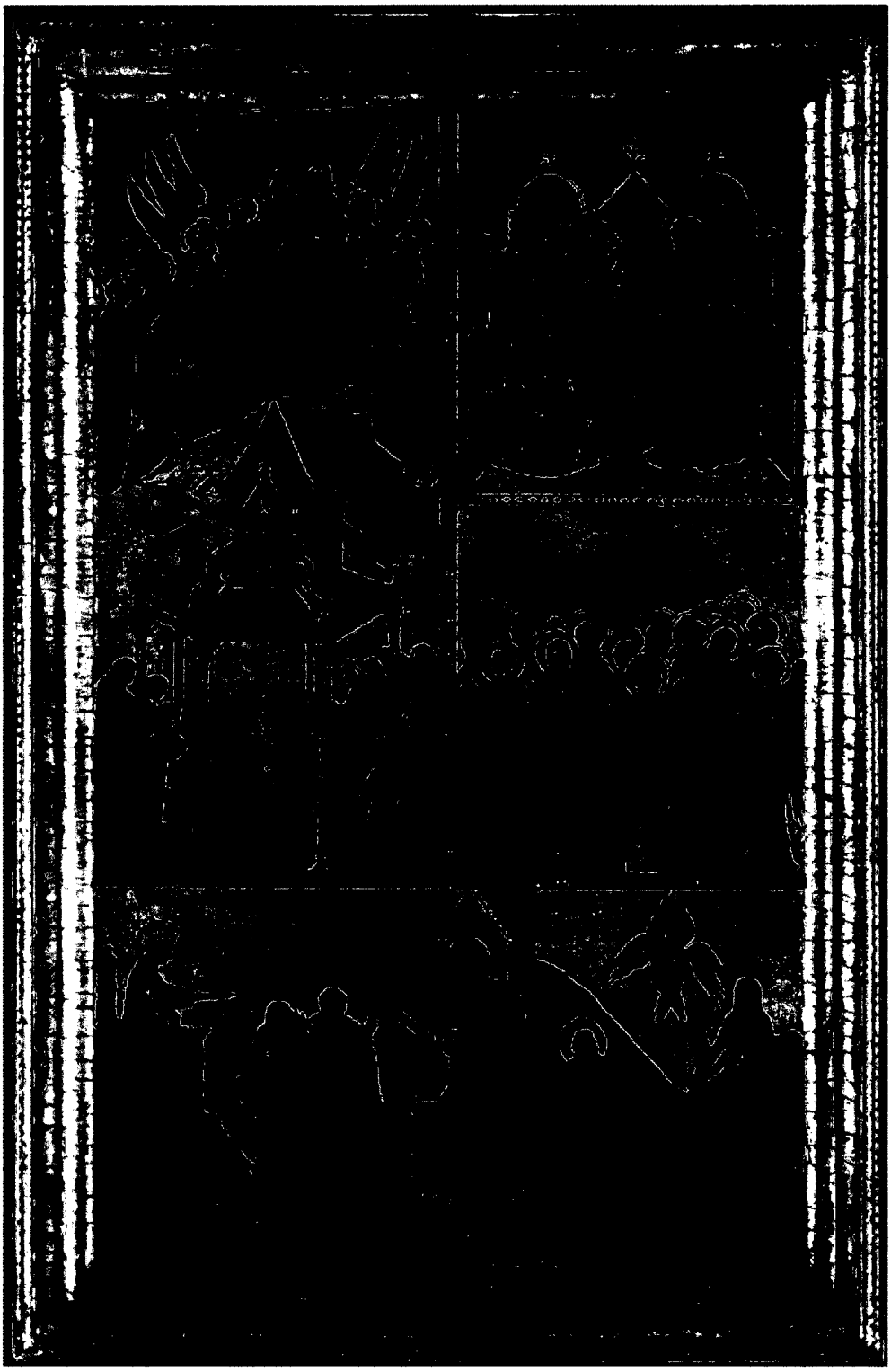


Plate 113. Giovanni da Rimini, upper left quadrant: Death and Assumption of St. John the Evangelist

(formerly at Alnwick Castle, Collection of Duke of Northumberland)

Plate 114. Illustratore, Novice advances to full vows
(Decretum Gratiani manuscript, Causa XX)

(Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. lat. 1366, f. 198r)

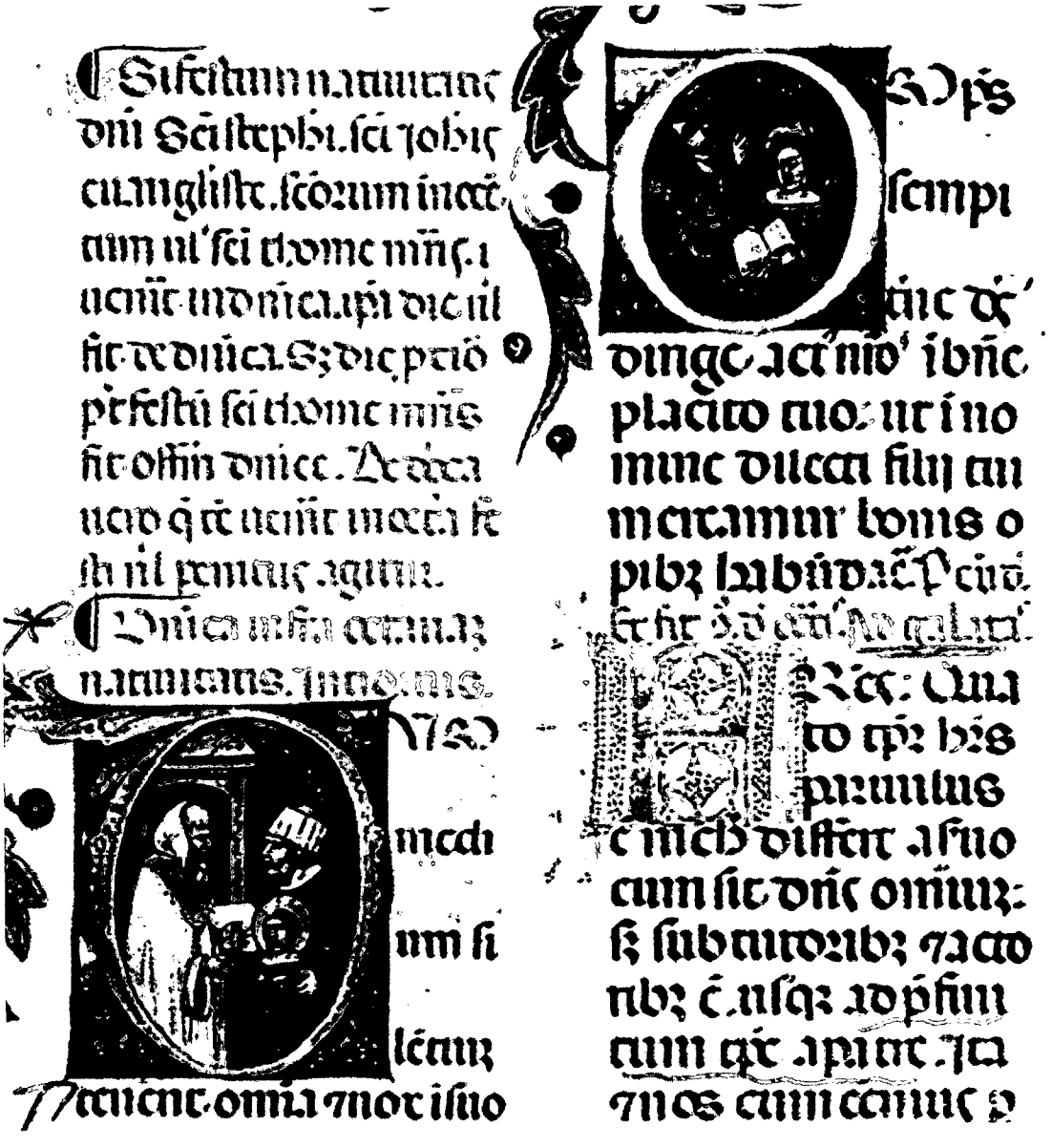


Plate 115. Master of 1346, Joachim presents the Virgin Mary to the Temple (left); Virgin Mary reading (right)
(Missal of Cardinal Bertrand de Deux)

(Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Cod. Cap. 63B, f. 22v)

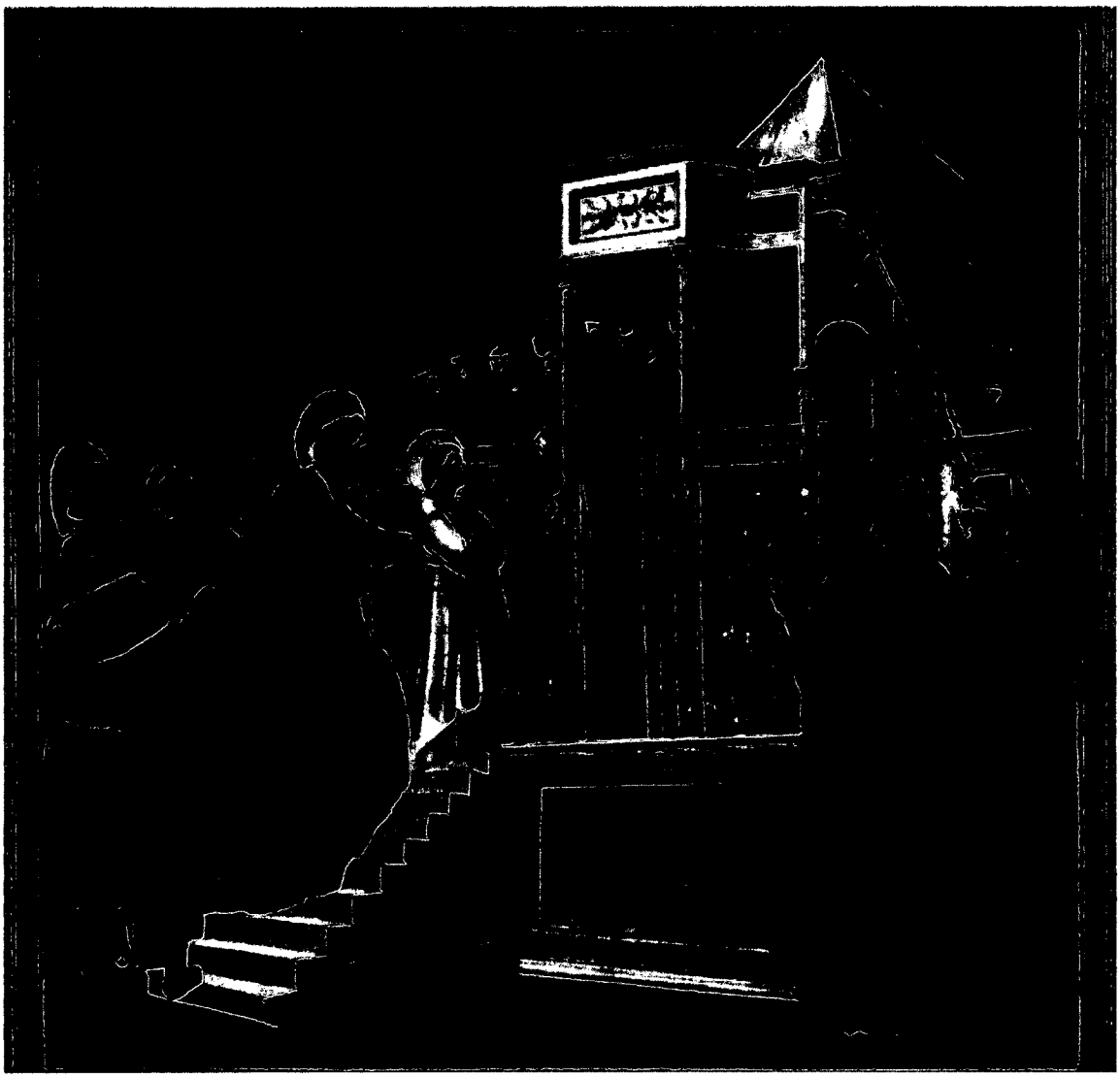


Plate 116. Giotto, Presentation of the Virgin Mary to the Temple

(Padua, Arena Chapel)

Plate 117. Master of the Paris *Gratian*, Annunciation to the Virgin

(Bologna, Archivio Arcivescovile, Cor. B, f. 32r)

Plate 118. Virgin Mary praying in the Temple

(Oxford, Corpus Christi College, Ms. 410, f. 5v)

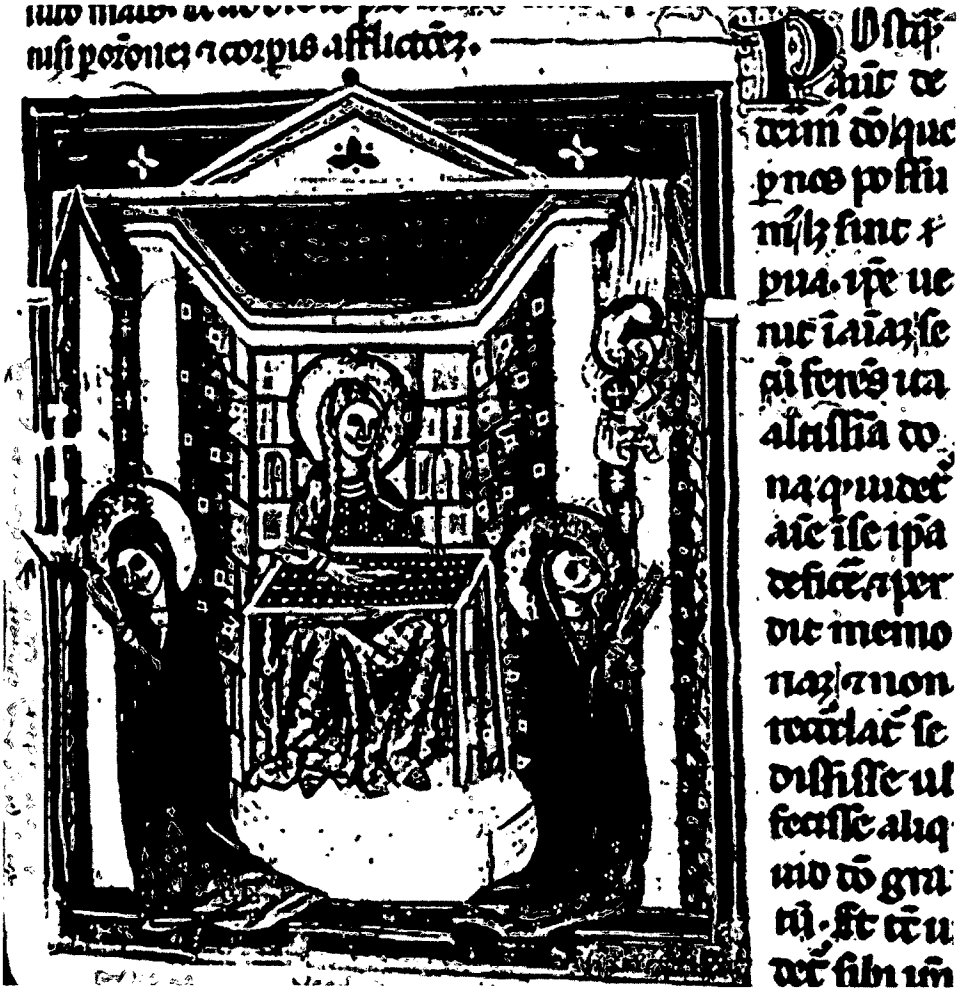


Plate 119. Virgin Mary in the Temple praying, weaving, and receiving food from the angel

(Oxford, Corpus Christi College, Ms. 410, f. 6r)

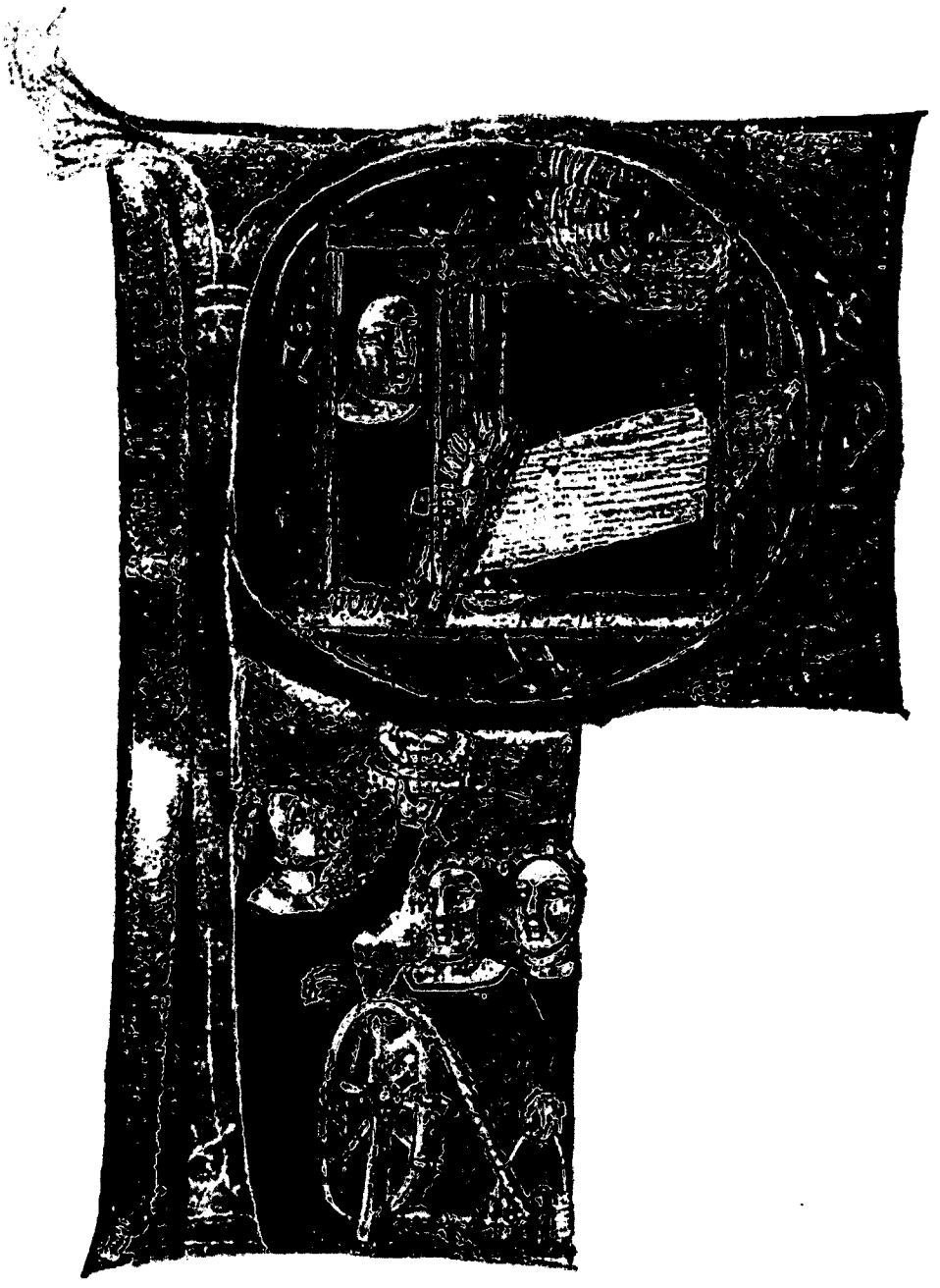


Plate 120. Snite Illuminator, Weaving contest between Arachne and Minerva: Minerva changes Arachne into a spider, Book VI of Ovid's *Metamorphoses*

(Venice, Biblioteca Marciana, Ms. Z. L. 449a)

Plate 121. Andrea Orcagna, Presentation of the Virgin Mary to the Temple, tabernacle relief

(Florence, Orsanmichele)

Plate 122. Virgin Mary reading in the Temple

(Oxford, Bodleian Library, Ms. Canonici 476, f. 12r)

Plate 123. Giotto, Annunciation to Anna

(Padua, Arena Chapel)

Plate 124. Master of Gherarduccio, Prayer of St. Lucy

(Padua, Biblioteca Capitolare, Ms. B 14, f. 207v)

Plate 125. Annunciation

(Paris, BnF, Ms. ital. 115, f. 10r)

Plate 126. Annunciation

(Paris, BnF, Ms. ital. 115, f. 11v)

Plate 127. Annunciation

(Oxford, Corpus Christi College, Ms. 410, f. 7v)

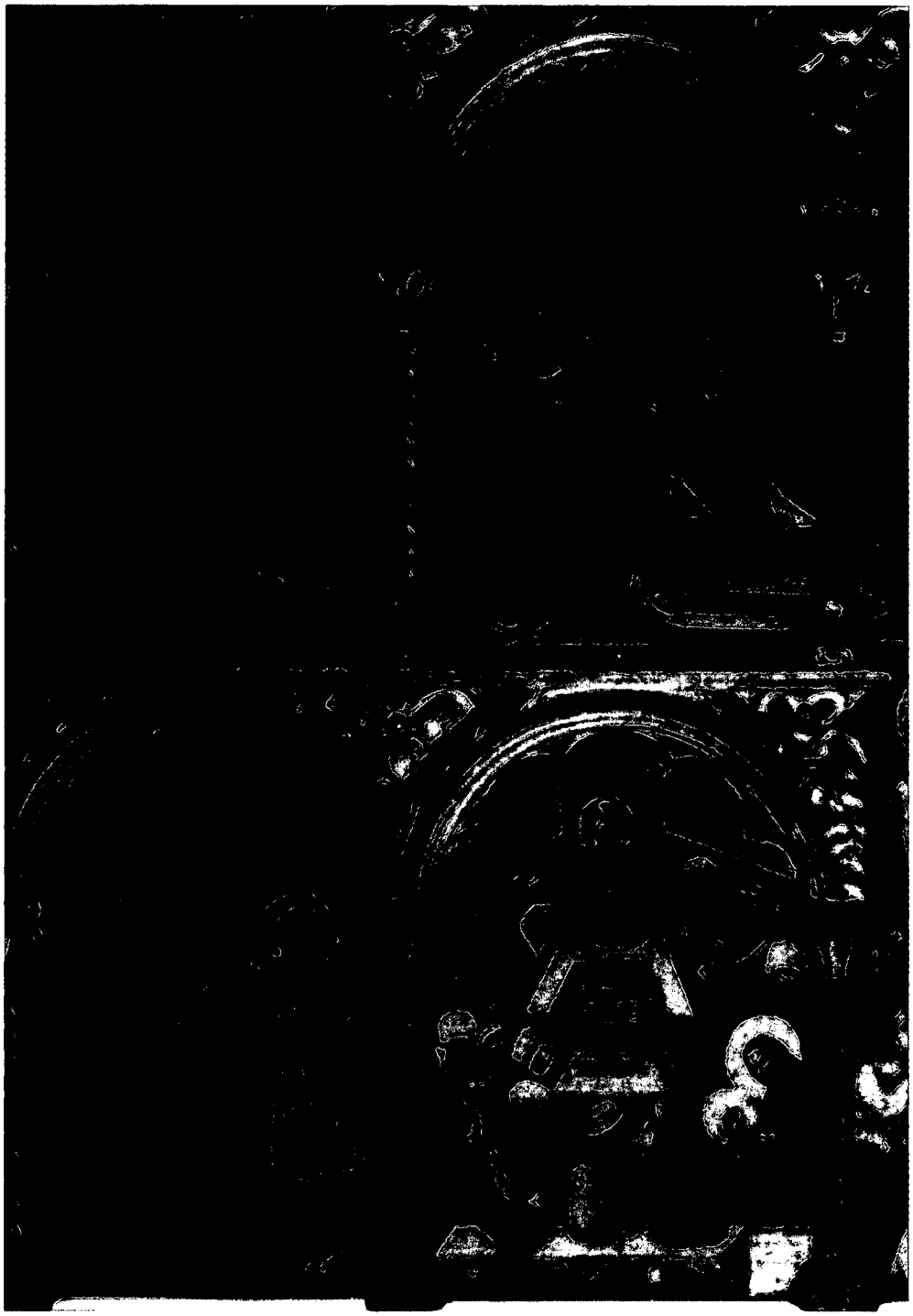


Plate 128. Pseudo-Jacopino, Infancy scenes from the Dormition of the Virgin polyptych: upper right: Annunciation

(Bologna, Pinacoteca Nazionale)

Plate 129. Annunciation

(Venice, Biblioteca Marciana, cod. lat. cl. III, 111 [=2116], f. 142)

Plate 130. Annunciation

(Venice, Biblioteca Marciana, cod. lat. cl. I, 100)

Plate 131. First Master of San Domenico, Annunciation

(Bologna, Museo Civico Medievale, Ms. 524, f. 224)

Plate 132. Nicolò da Bologna, Christ among the Doctors
(Bartolus of Sassoferrato's Lectures on the *Infortiatum*)

(Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. lat. 2598, f. 1r)

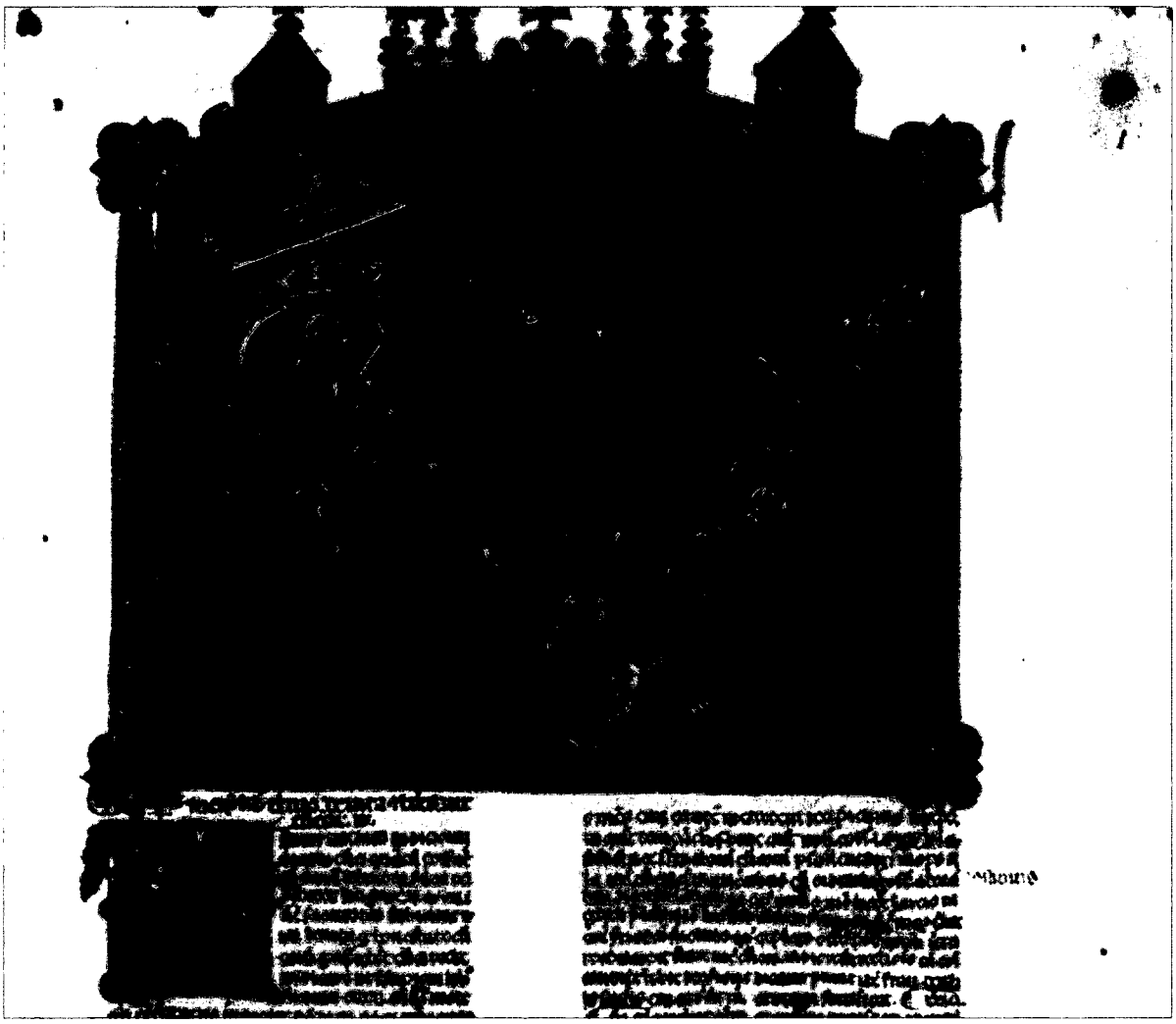


Plate 133. Niccolò da Bologna, Elevation of the Host
(Giovanni d'Andrea's *Novella in Decretales* [commentary
on Gregory IX's Decretals])

(Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. lat. 2534, f. 1r)

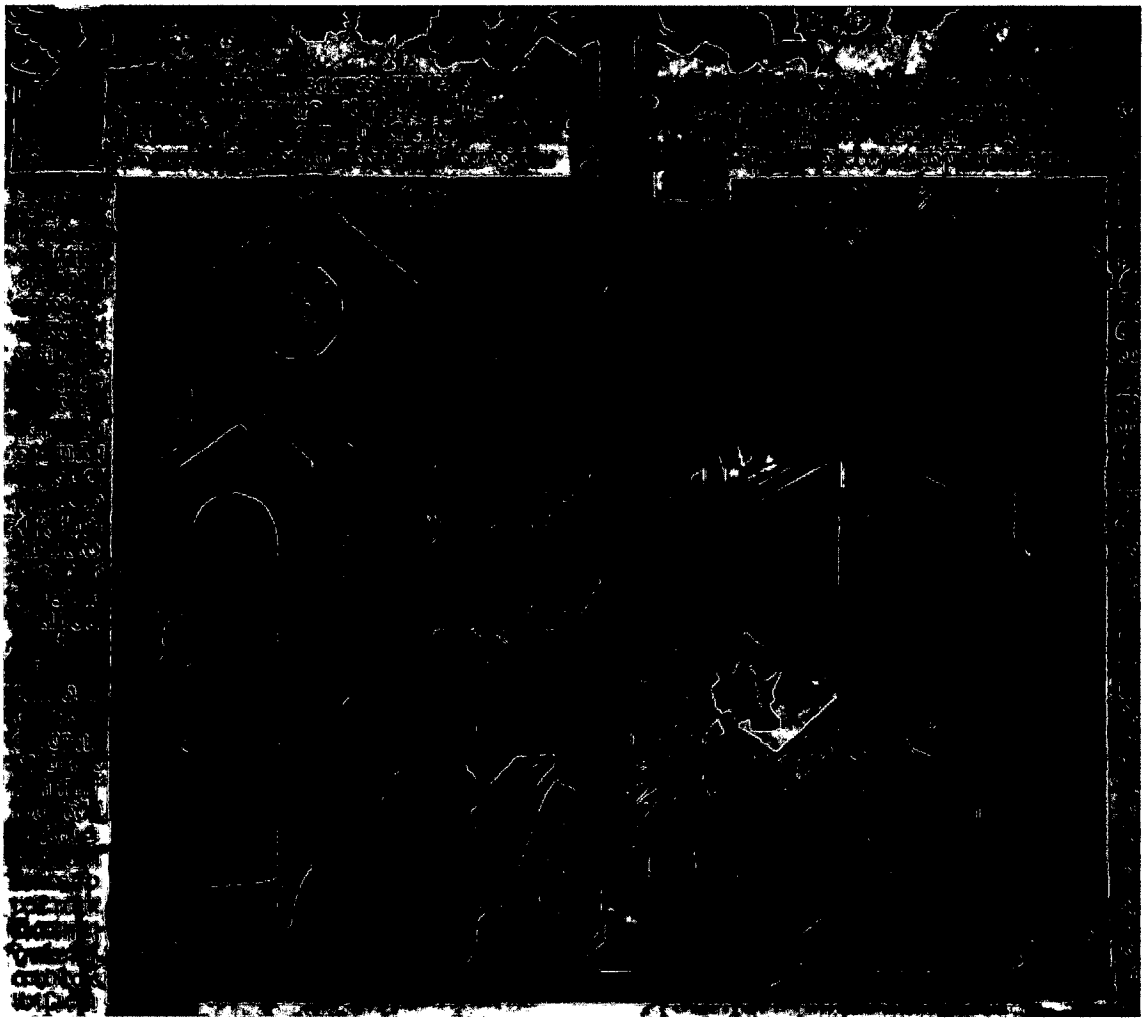


Plate 134. 1328 Master, The Mass
(Gregory IX, *Decretales*)

(New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, M. 716, f. 4)

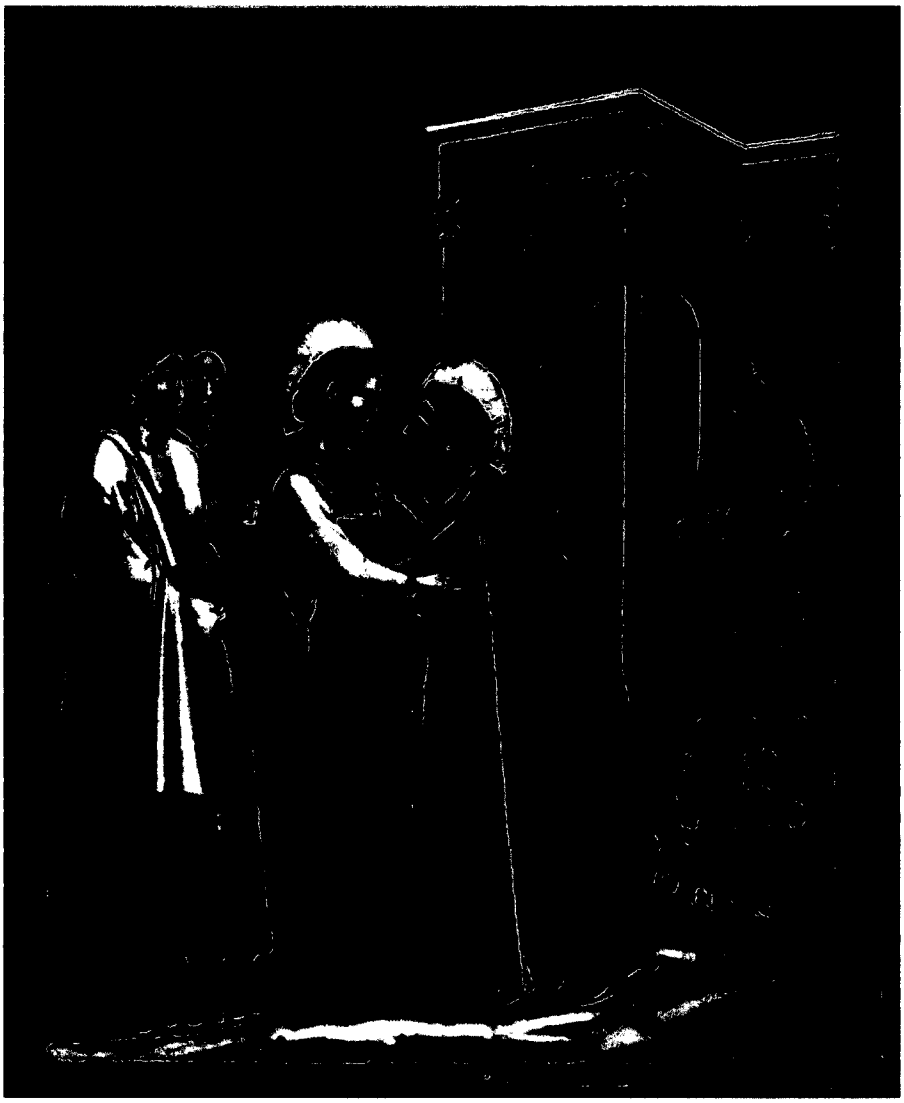


Plate 135. Giotto, Visitation

(Padua, Arena Chapel)

Plate 136. Giotto, Judas takes the Bribe

(Padua, Arena Chapel)

Plate 137. Visitation

(Paris, BnF, Ms. ital. 115, f. 13v)

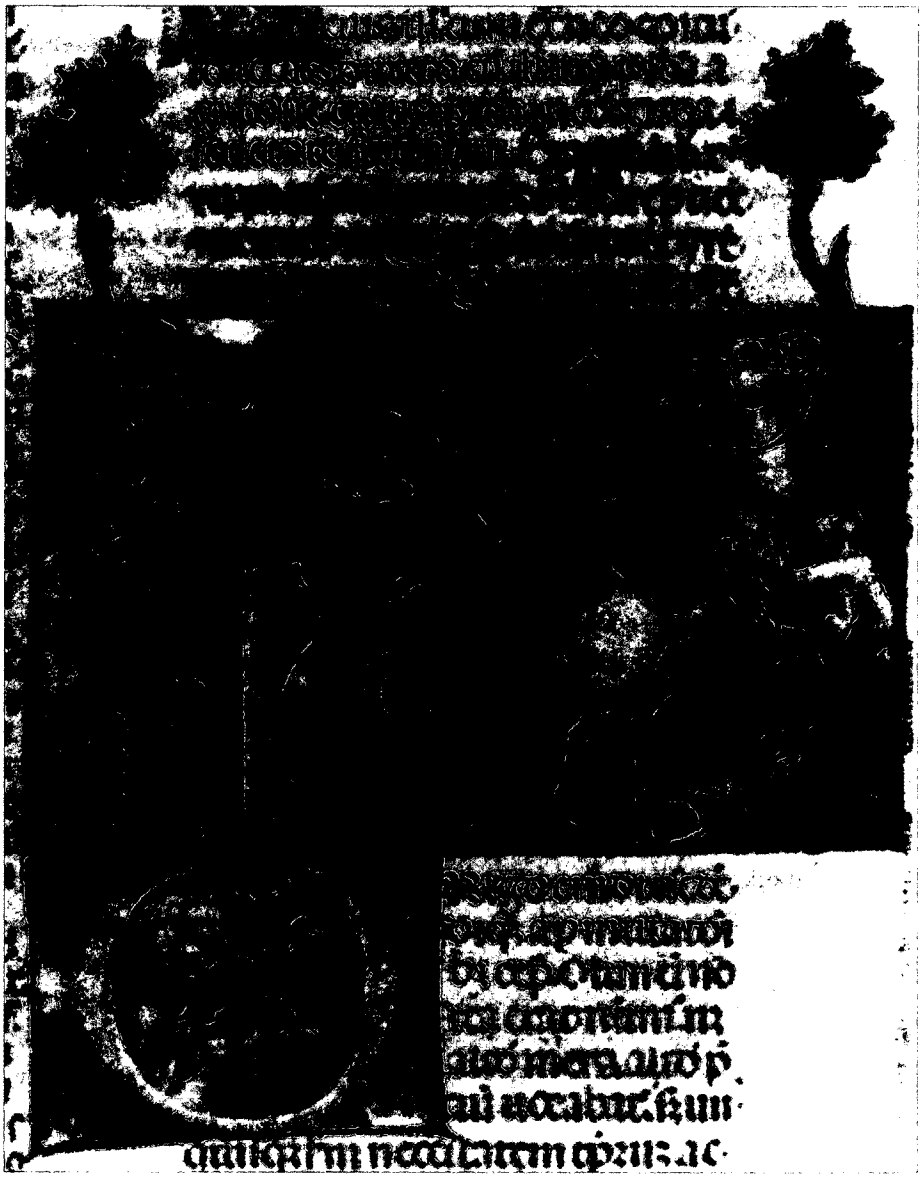


Plate 138. Master of 1346, Landowner and his agent
(manuscript of Justinian's *Digetum vetus*, Bk. 18)

(Paris, BnF, Ms. lat. 14339, f. 251v)

Plate 139. Christ receives Alms

(Paris, BnF, Ms. ital. 115, f. 60v)

Plate 140. Joseph's Doubts (above) and Dream (below)

(Paris, BnF, Ms. ital. 115, f. 16v)

Plate 141. Joseph lauds the Virgin Mary

(Paris, BnF, Ms. ital. 115, f. 17r)

Plate 142. Joseph returns to the Virgin Mary

(Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. gr. 1162, f. 164v)

Plate 143. (left) Joseph departs from the Virgin Mary; (right) Joseph reproaches the Virgin Mary

(Istanbul, The Kariye Djami)

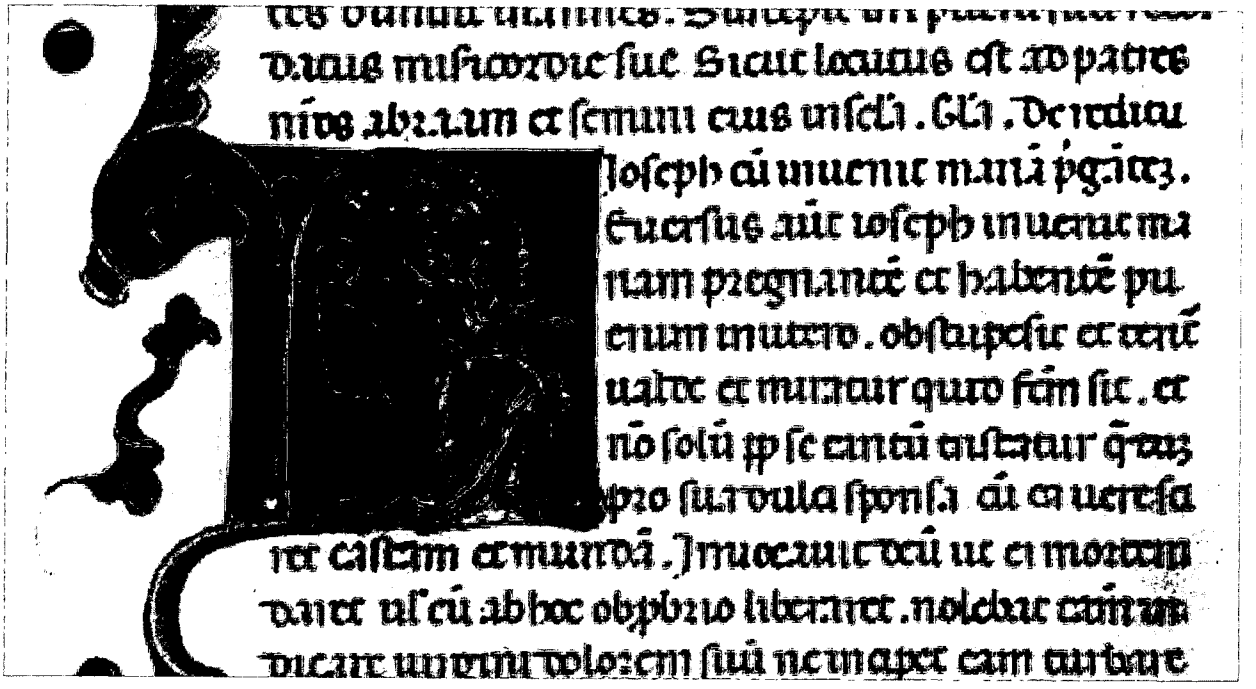


Plate 144. Joseph returns and finds the Virgin Mary pregnant

(Oxford, Bodleian Library, Ms. Canonici 476, f. 25v)

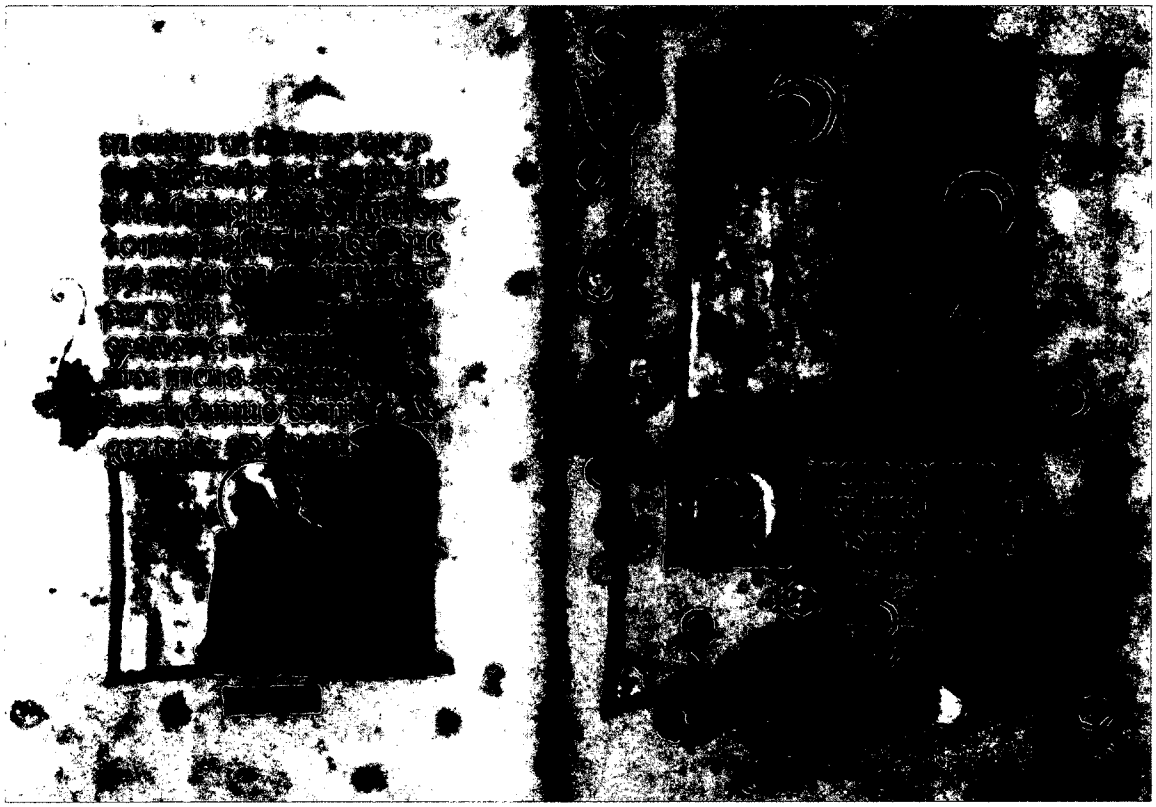


Plate 145. (left) Joseph sleeping; (right) Annunciation
(Francesco da Barberino, 'Officiolum', f. 43v and 44r)

(Private collection)

Plate 146. Joseph and the Virgin Mary

(Bologna, S. Maria dei Servi, Cod. G, f. 119v)

Plate 147. Joseph's Doubts and Dream

(Crete, Kritsa, Panaghia)

Plate 148. (above) The angel tells Joseph of the imminent birth of the Lord as he and Mary go to Bethlehem; (below) Moses being told of the impending descent of manna (Missal of Cardinal Bertrand de Deux)

(Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Cod. Cap. 63B, f. 11v)

Plate 149. Matricola of the Woodworkers' Guild, 1248.

(Bologna, Archivio di Stato, cod. min. 1)

Plate 150. Ugolino d'Illario, The Angel appears to the doubting Joseph

(Orvieto, Duomo)

Plate 151. Joseph's Dream and the Flight into Egypt, *Speculum Humanae Salvationis*

(Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm. 146)

Plate 152. Thomas Aquinas presents his work to the Virgin Mary

(Treviso, San Nicolò)

Plate 153. Giotto, Nativity

(Padua, Arena Chapel)

Plate 154. Pseudo-Jacopino, Nativity panel, Dormition of the Virgin polyptych (Bologna, Pinacoteca Nazionale)

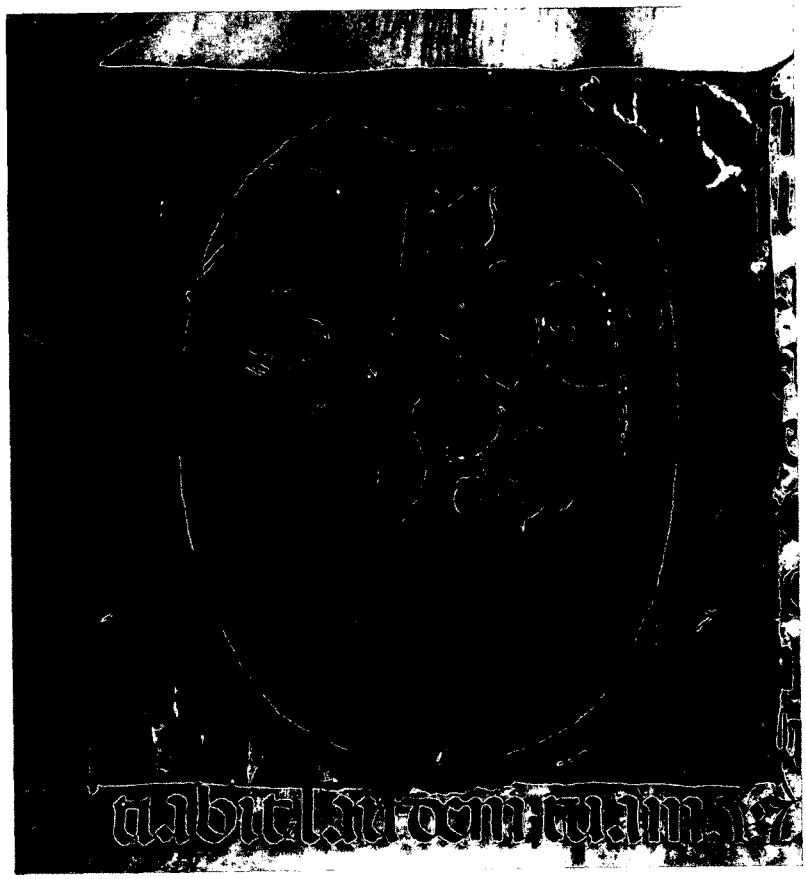


Plate 155. Nicolò da Bologna, Nativity

(Kremsmünster, Benediktiner Stift, Ms. CC Cim. 4, f. 11r)

Plate 156. Nicolò da Bologna, Infancy scenes

(Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm. 10072, f. 170v)

Plate 157. Nicolò da Bologna, Infancy scenes

(Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. lat. 2639, f. 3r)

Plate 158. Simone dei Crocefissi, Nativity

(Florence, Uffizi)

Plate 159. Simone dei Crocefissi, Nativity

(Thyssen-Bornemisza Collection)

Plate 160. Nativity: Virgin Mary reclining

(Paris, BnF, Ms. ital. 115, f. 20r)

Plate 161. Nativity and First Bath

(Washington, DC, National Gallery of Art, B-13.522)

Plate 162. Pietro da Rimini (attr.), First Bath (detail of Nativity lunette fresco)
Cappellone, San Nicola, Tolentino

Plate 163. St. Nicholas stands up in his bath, cutting from Hungarian Legendary (New York, Morgan Library, Ms. 360, f. 24)

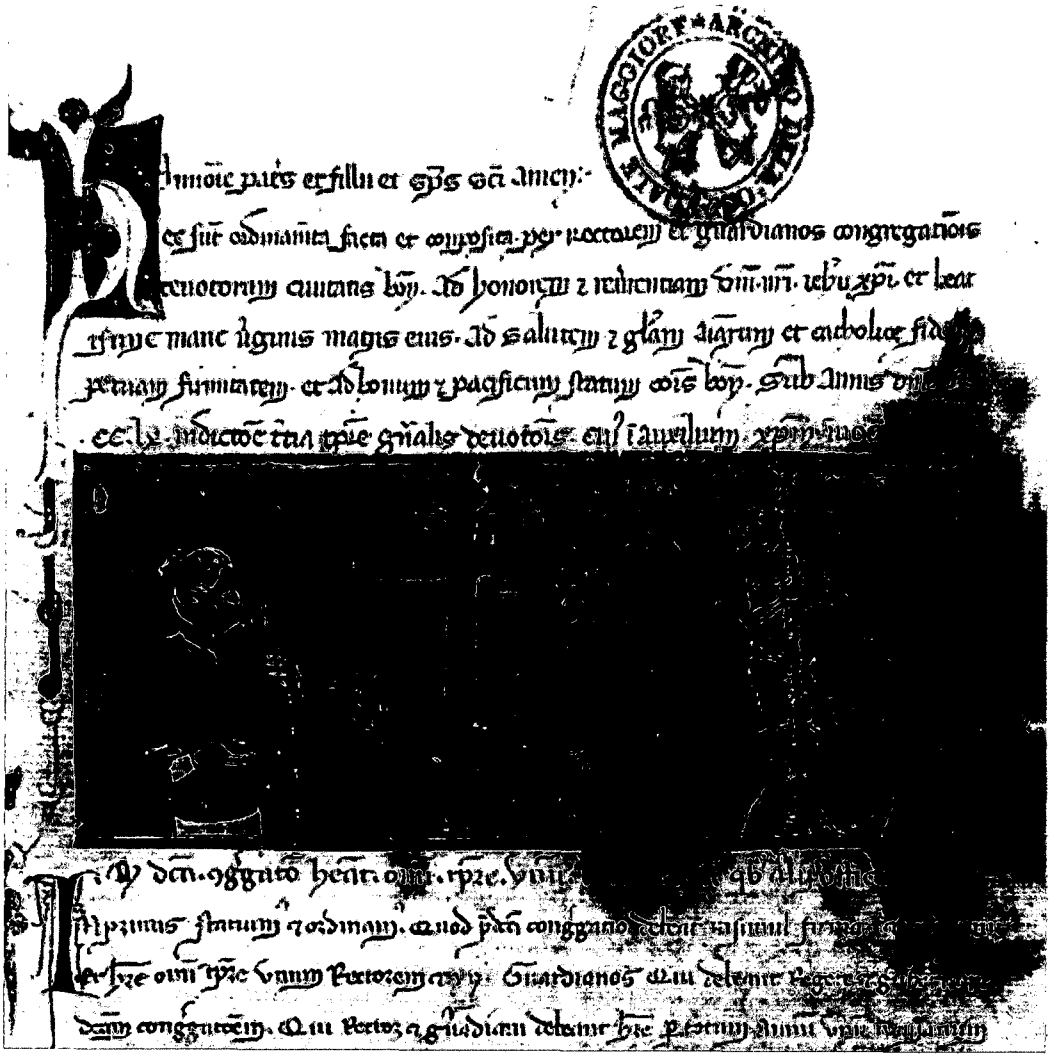


Plate 164. Frontispiece of Statutes of the Confraternity of S. Maria dei Battuti (Bologna, Biblioteca dell'Archiginnasio, Fondo Ospedali I)

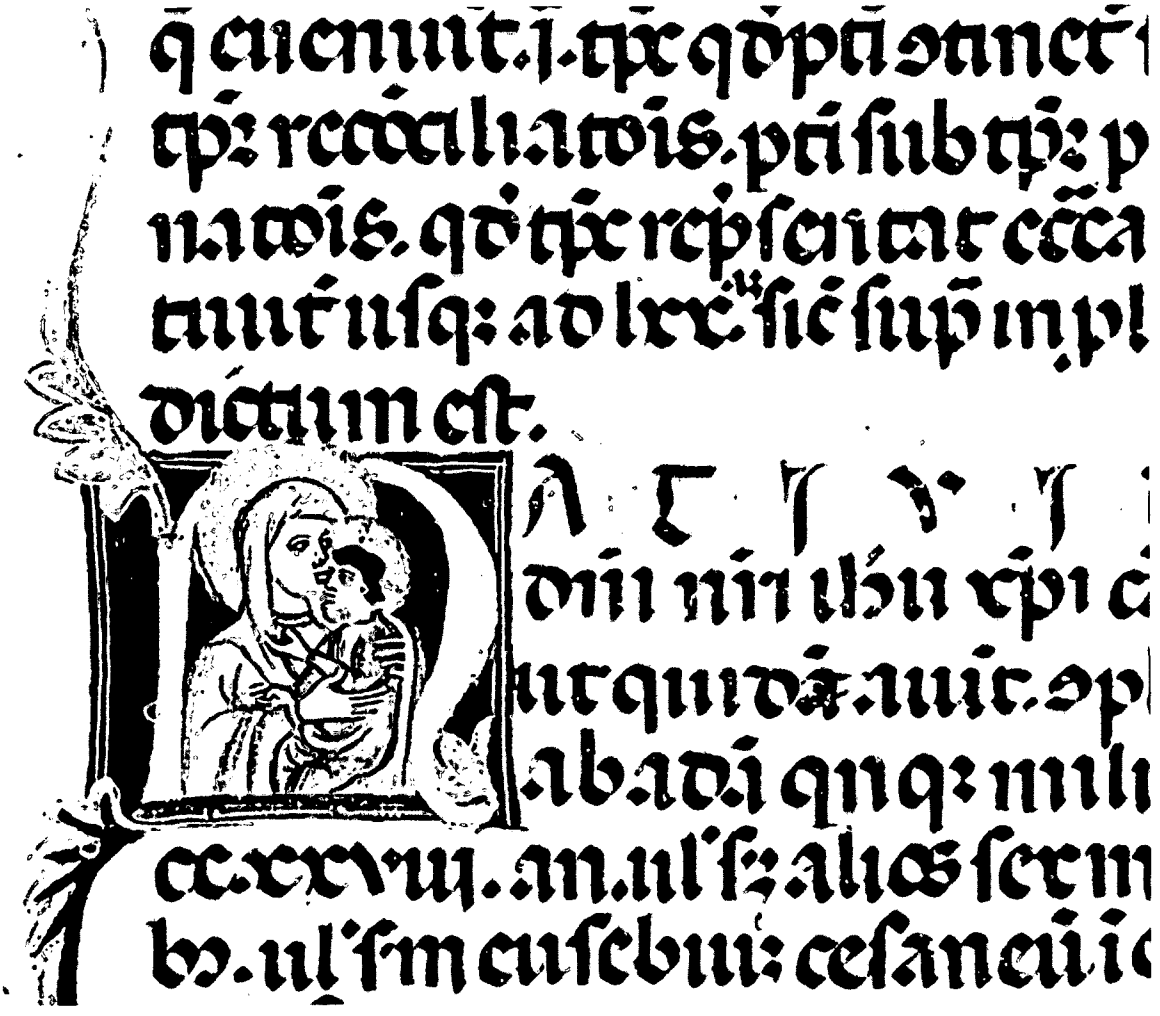


Plate 165. Virgin and Child, historiated initial in *Legenda aurea*
(Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, C 240 inf., f. 20r

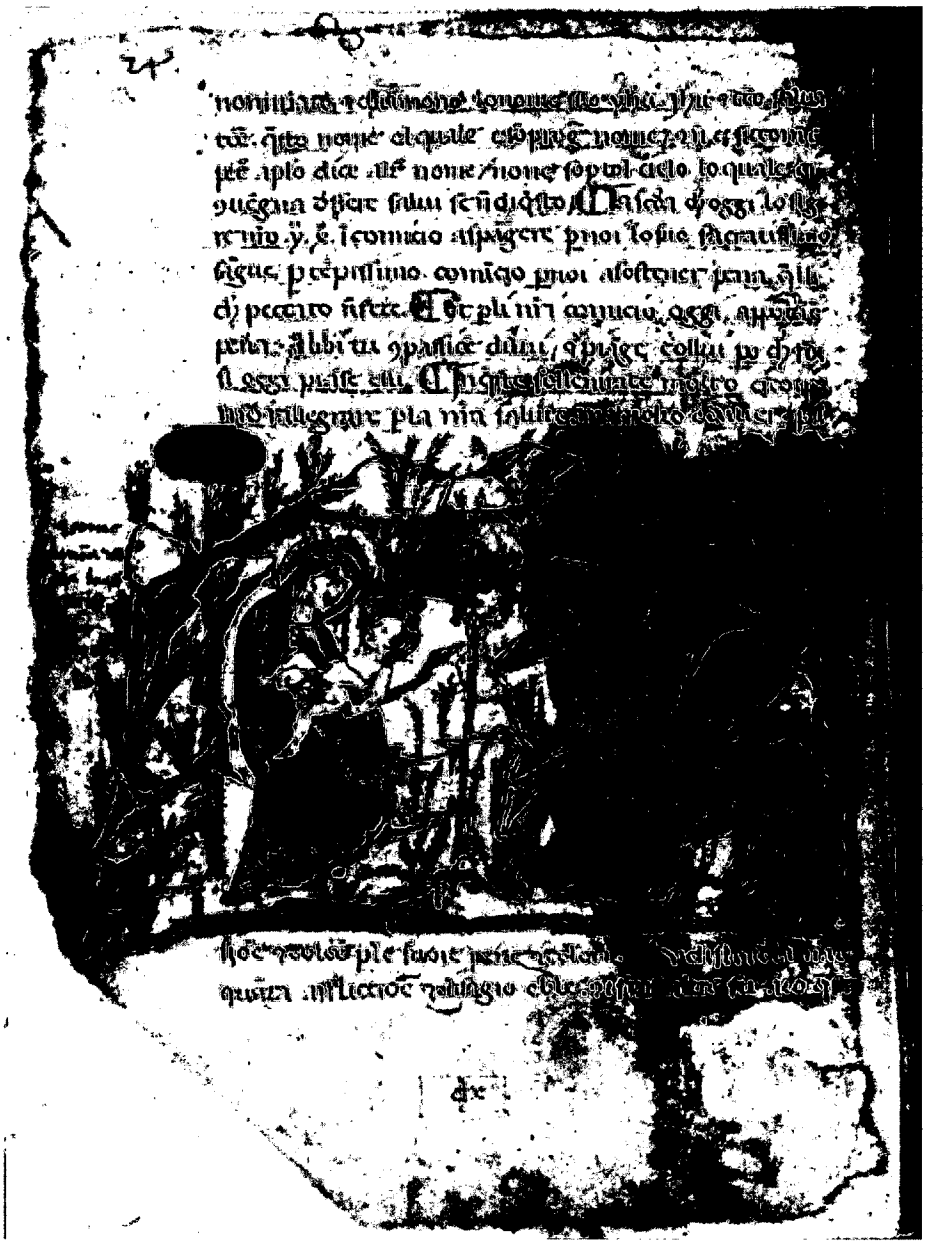


Plate 166. Virgin Mary circumcises Christ

(Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Ms. ital. 115, f. 24v)

Plate 167. Circumcision of Christ, leaf from an antiphonary

(La Spezia, Museo Civico Amedeo Lia, Inv. 560)

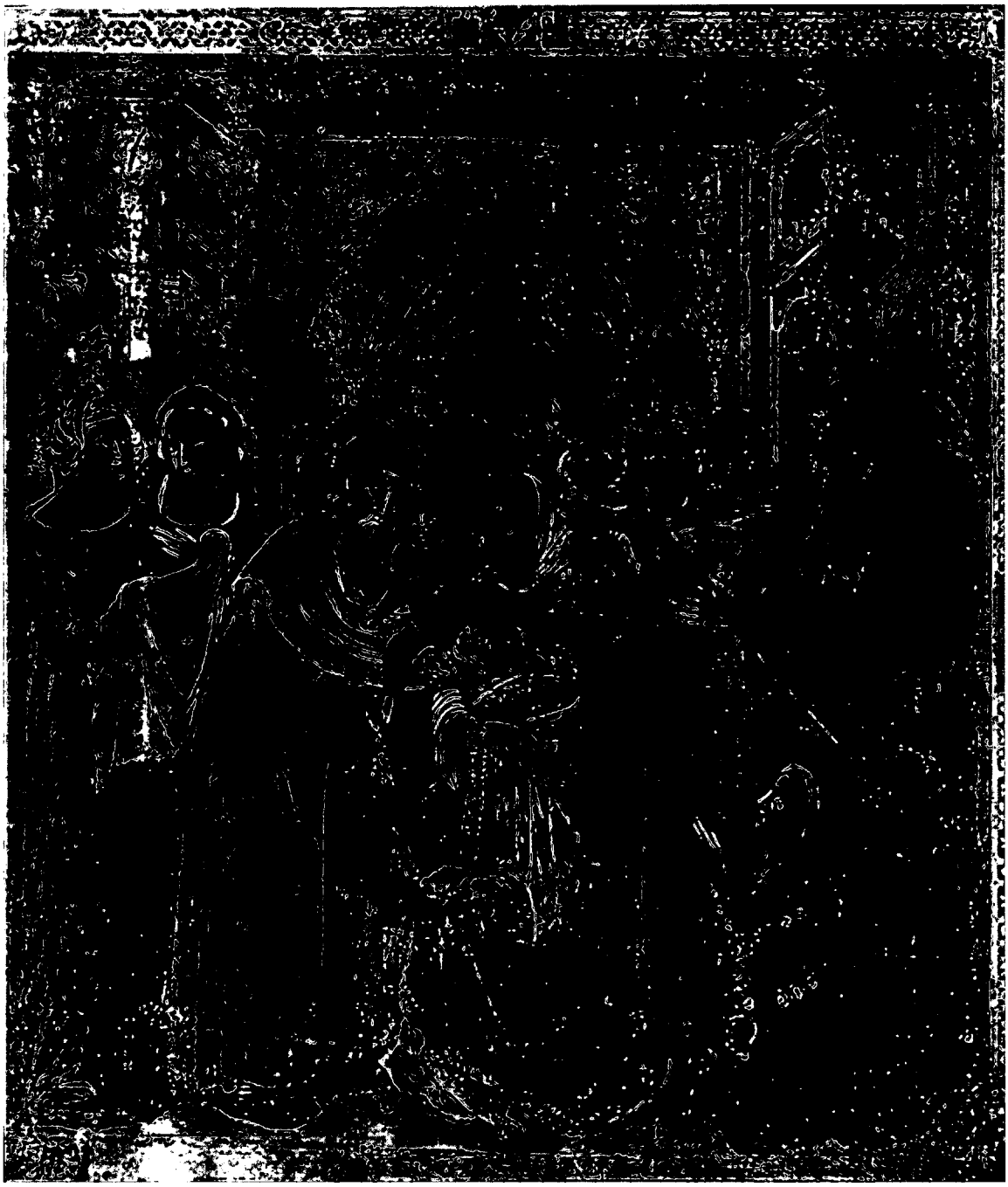


Plate 168. Simone dei Crocefissi and Jacobus, Circumcision of Christ
(detached fresco from S. Maria di Mezzaratta)

(Bologna, Pinacoteca Nazionale)

Plate 169. Master of 1346 (attr.), Baptism (historiated initial in *Decretum Gratiani,* Causa XXX)

(Geneva, Bibliothèque Publique et Universitaire, Ms. lat. 60, f. 260)

Plate 170. Simone dei Crocefissi and Jacobus, Adoration of the Magi
(detached fresco from S. Maria di Mezzaratta)

(Bologna, Pinacoteca Nazionale)

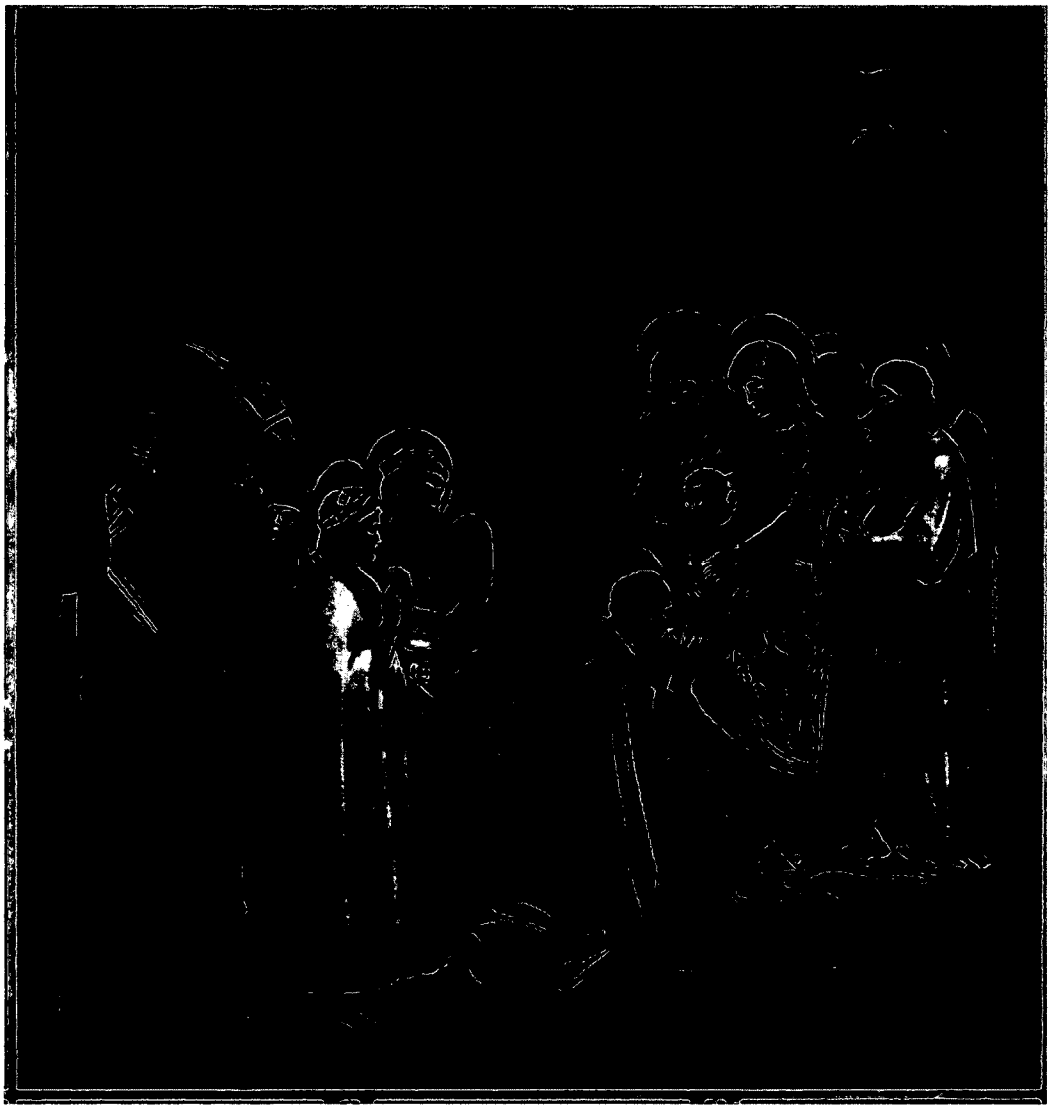


Plate 171. Giotto, Adoration of the Magi

(Padua, Arena Chapel)

Plate 172. Nicolò da Bologna (attr.), Adoration of the Magi
(Modena, Biblioteca Estense, Cod. Lat. 1003, f. 148r)

Plate 173. Adoration of the Magi

(Bologna, Sto. Stefano)

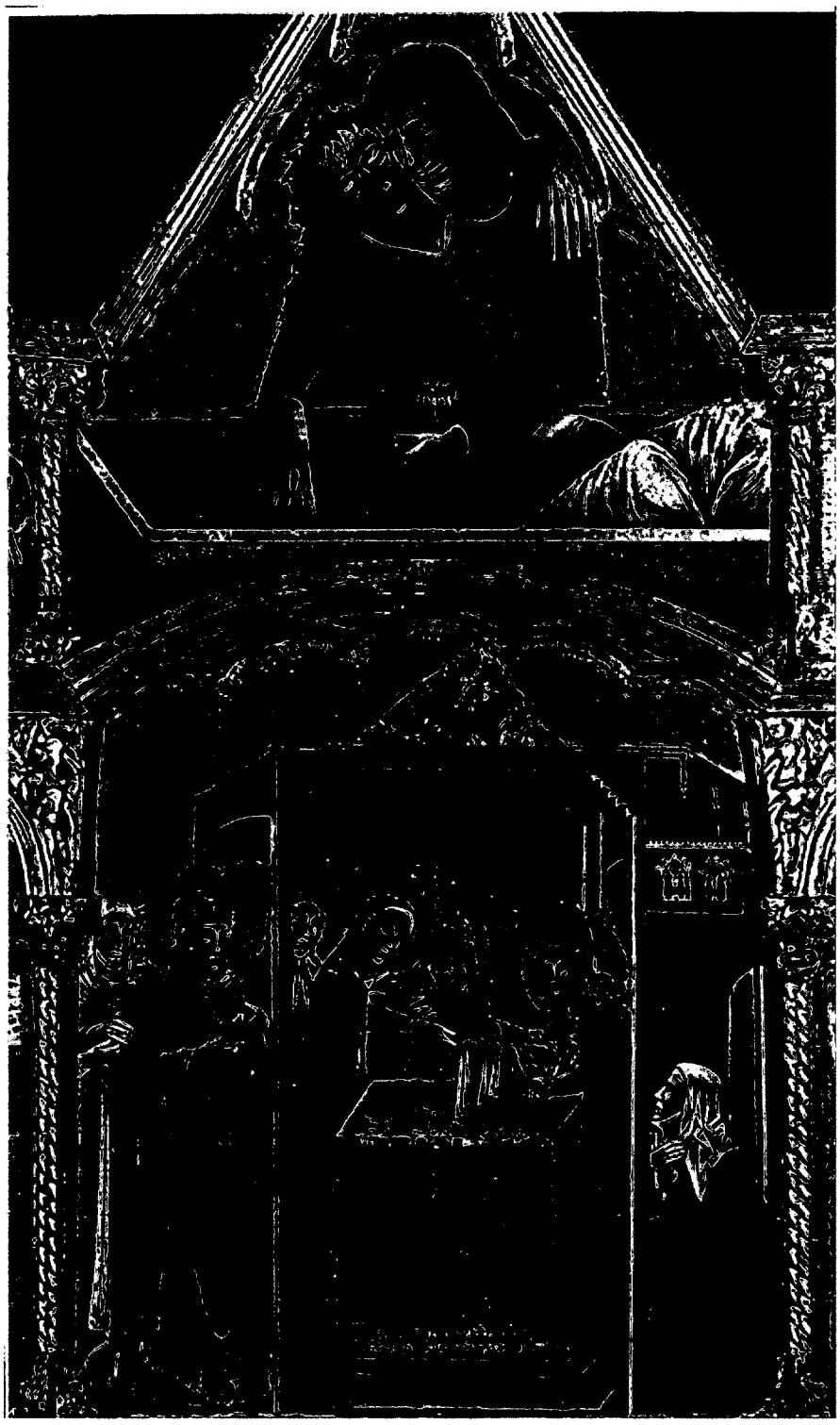


Plate 174. Pseudo-Jacopino, Presentation of Christ in the Temple polyptych (Bologna, Pinacoteca Nazionale)

Plate 175. Christ among the Doctors (*Decretum Gratiani*, Causa II)

(Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Urb. lat. 161, f. 107)

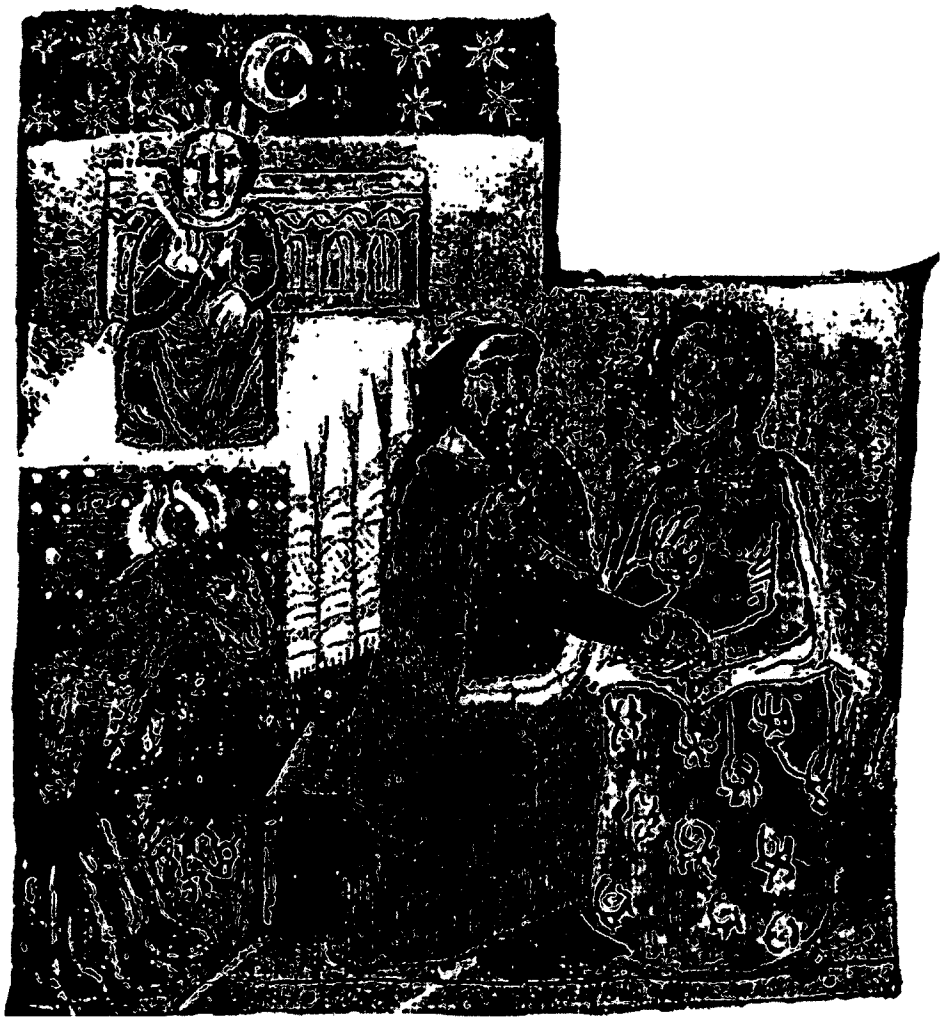


Plate 176. Courtship of Jason and Medea, illumination in Ovid's *Metamorphoses*
(Venice, Biblioteca Marciana, Ms. Z. L. 449a, f. 38v)

Plate 177. Flight into Egypt

(Paris, BnF, Ms. ital. 115, f. 37v)

Plate 178. Flight into Egypt

(Oxford, Bodleian Library, Ms. Canonici 476, f. 34v)

Plate 179. Pietro da Rimini (attr.), Holy Family returns from Jerusalem
(Cappellone, San Nicola, Tolentino)

Plate 180. Holy Family travels to Jerusalem

(Oxford, Bodleian Library, Ms. Canonici 476, f. 52)

Plate 181. Virgin Mary takes Jesus to School

(Oxford, Bodleian Library, Ms. Canonici 476, f. 47v)

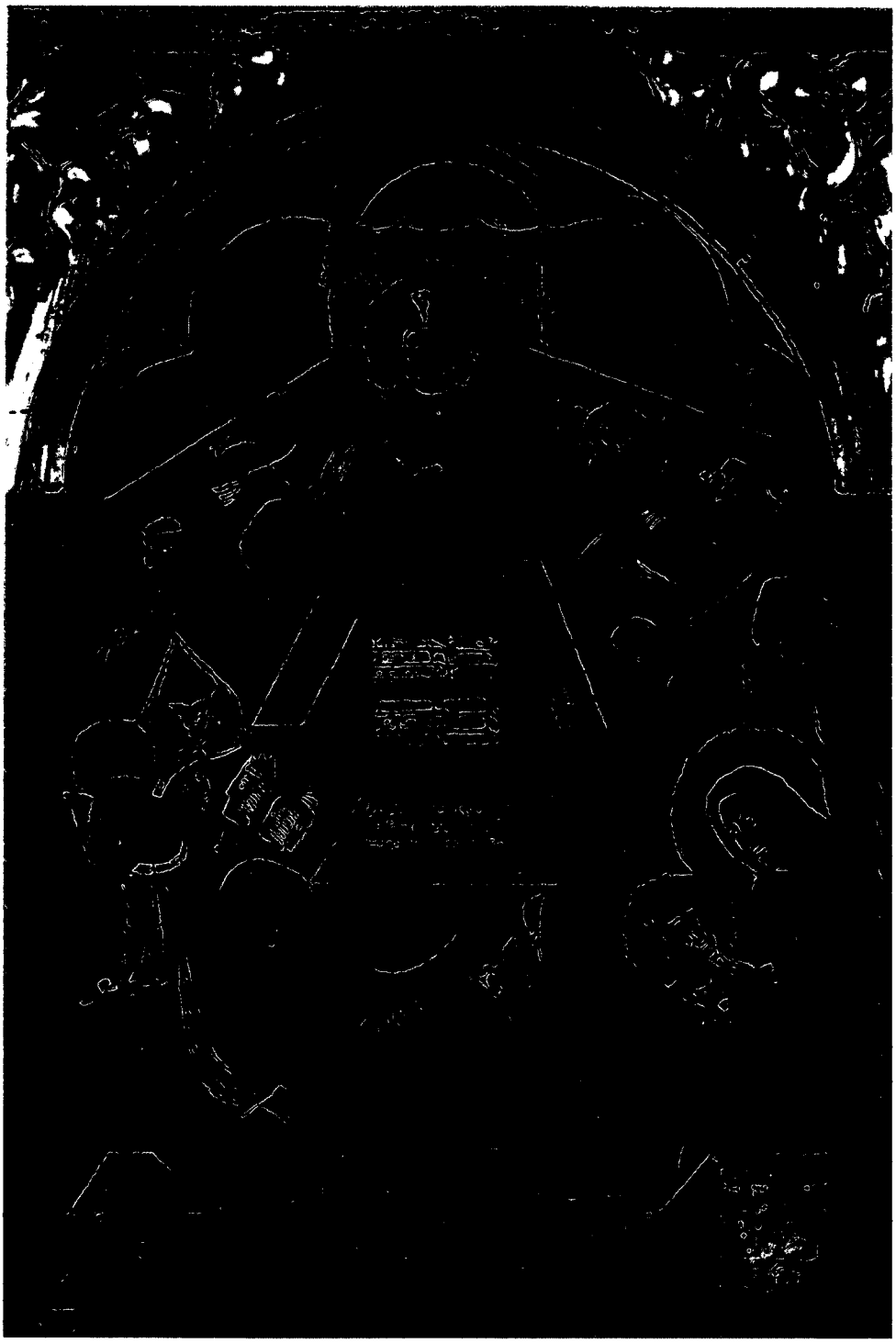


Plate 182. Pseudo-Jacopino, Christ among the Doctors panel,
Dormition of the Virgin polyptych

(Bologna, Pinacoteca Nazionale)

Plate 183. Pseudo-Jacopino (attr.), Baptism of Christ

(Verona, Sant' Anastasia, Cavalli Chapel)

Plate 184. Vitale da Bologna, Baptism of Christ
(detached fresco from S. Maria di Mezzaratta)

Plate 185. Master of the Adulteress, Christ and the Woman taken in Adultery (detached fresco from S. Maria di Mazzaratta)

Plate 186. Temptation of Christ

(Oxford, Bodleian Library, Ms. Canonici 476, f. 63v)

Plate 187. Workshop of Giotto, Monk takes clothes to Mary Magdalen
(Magdalen Chapel, Lower Church, San Francesco, Assisi)

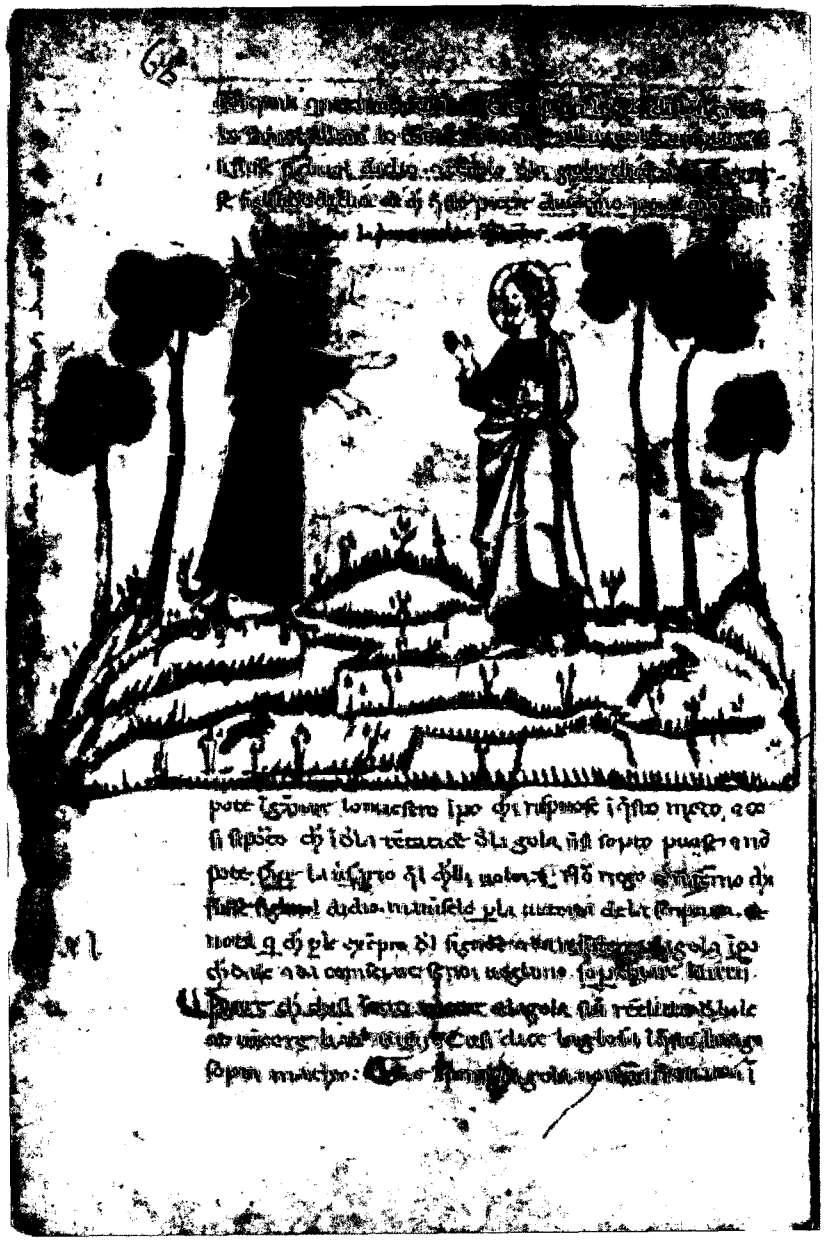


Plate 188. Temptation of Christ (first temptation)

(Paris, BnF, Ms. ital. 115, f. 68v)

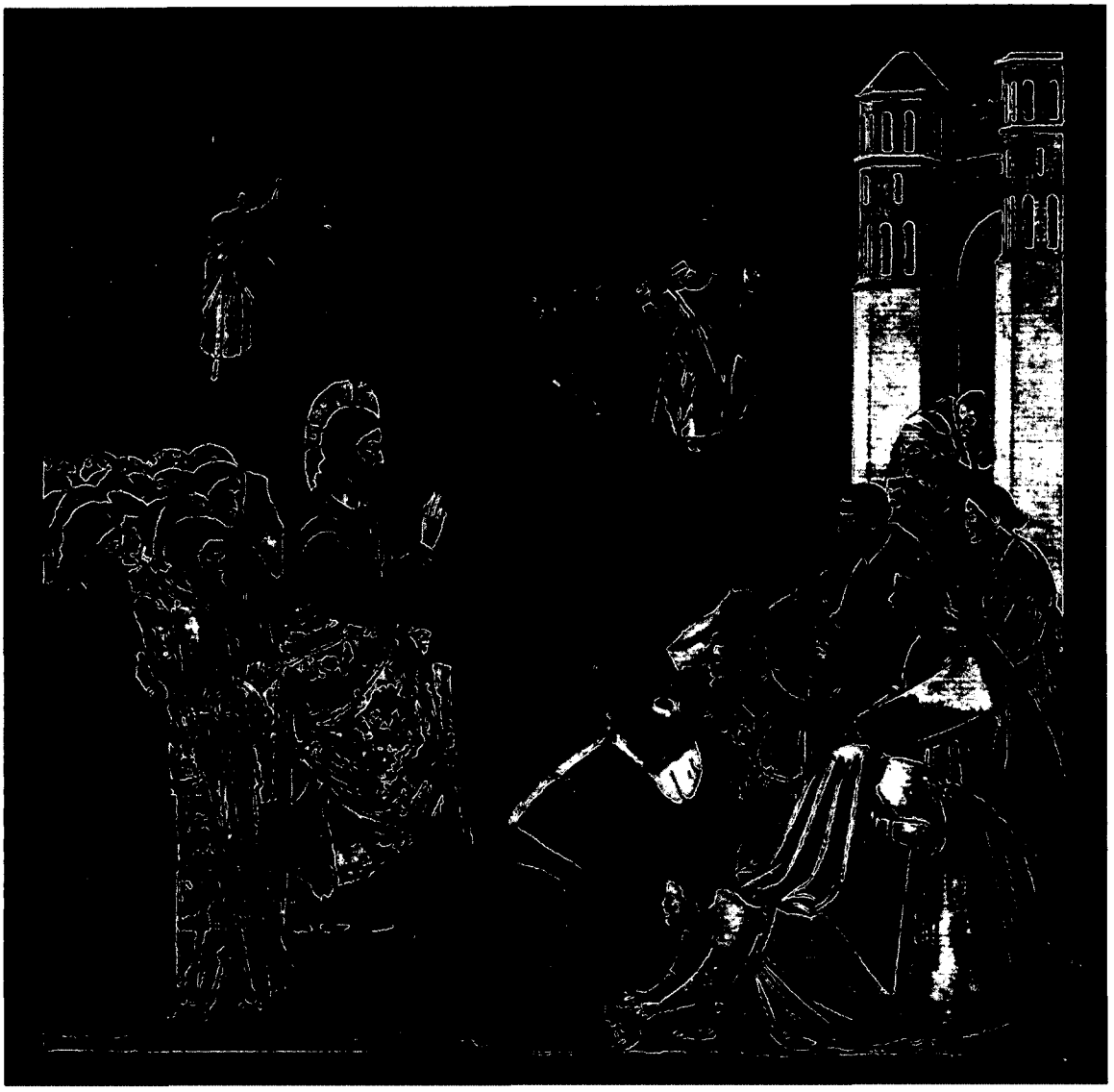


Plate 189. Giotto, Entry into Jerusalem

(Padua, Arena Chapel)

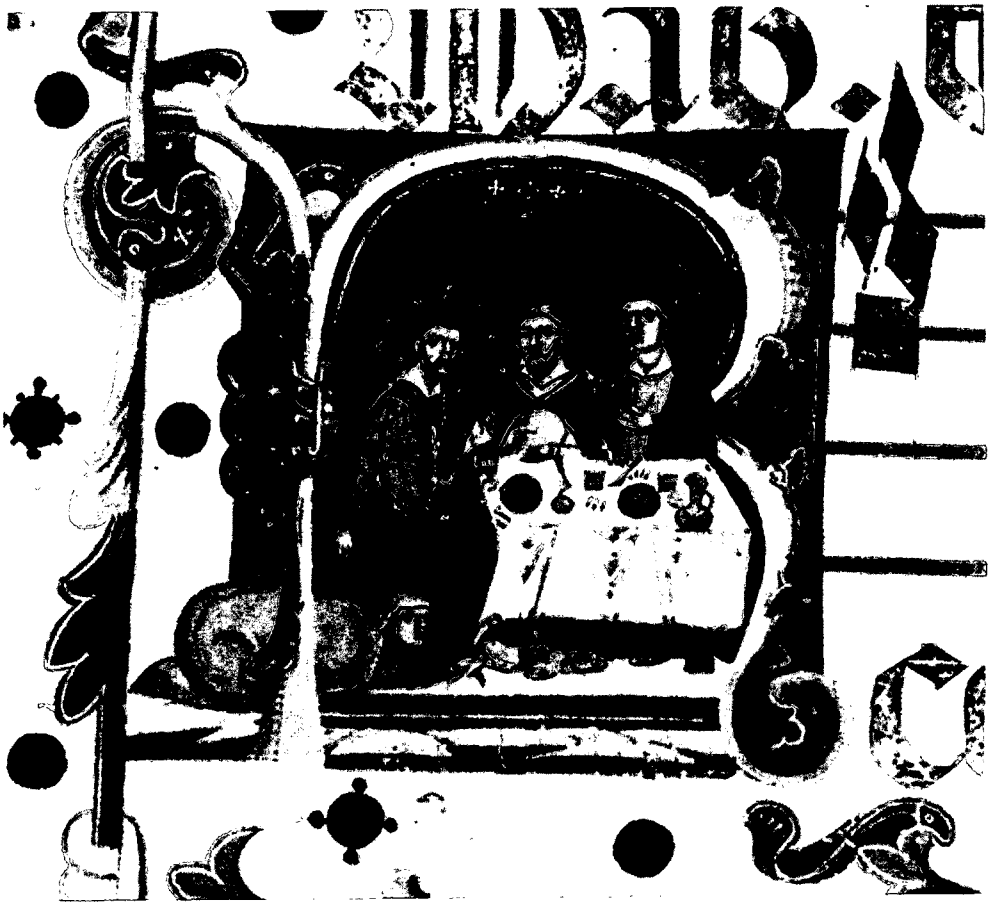


Plate 190. Master of 1328 (attr.), Anointing at Bethany

(Bologna, San Domenico, Corale 11, f. 92)

Plate 191. Pseudo-Jacopino di Francesco (attr.), Anointing at Bethany
(Raleigh, North Carolina Museum of Art)

Plate 192. Nicolò da Bologna, Matricola of the Blacksmith's Guild, 1366: (below) St. Eligius at the Forge

(Rome, Biblioteca del Senato della Repubblica, Statuti mss 26)

Plate 193. Giovanni da Milano, Meal at the House of Simon the Pharisee (Florence, S. Croce, Rinuccini Chapel)

Plate 194. Master of the Choir of S. Agostino (attr.), Footwashing and Last Supper (detail from left wing of diptych in Munich, Alte Pinokothek)

Plate 195. Nicolò da Bologna, Last Supper, Footwashing, Agony in the Garden, 1349
(Kremsmünster, Benediktiner Stift, Ms. CC Cim. 4, f. 129r)

Plate 196. Giuliano da Rimini, Mary Magdalen in Prayer
(detail from an altarpiece in Boston, Isabella Stewart Garner Museum)

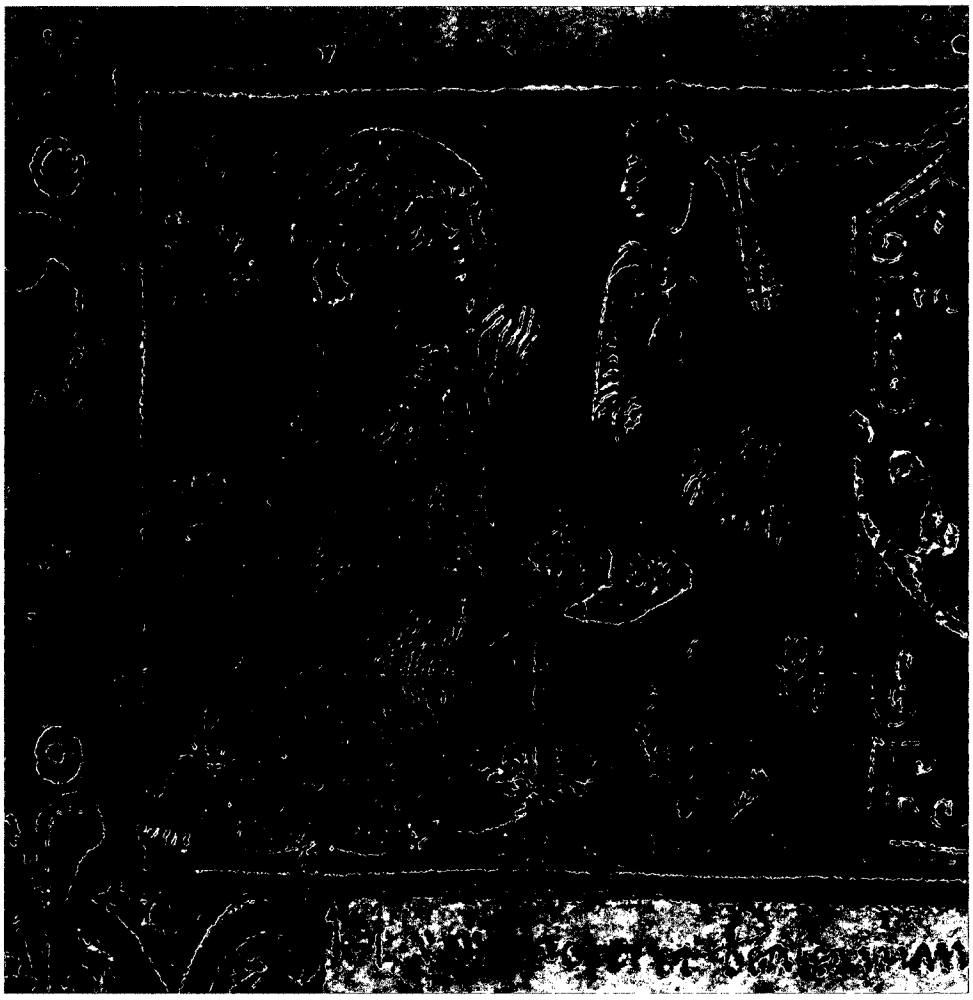


Plate 197. Master of 1346, Mary Magdalen in Prayer

(detail from the 1346 Statutes of the Drapers' Guild,
Bologna, Museo Civico Medievale, Ms. 634)

Plate 198. Christ wipes his face with a towel during the Agony in the Garden

(Oxford, Corpus Christi College Ms. 410, f. 125 v)

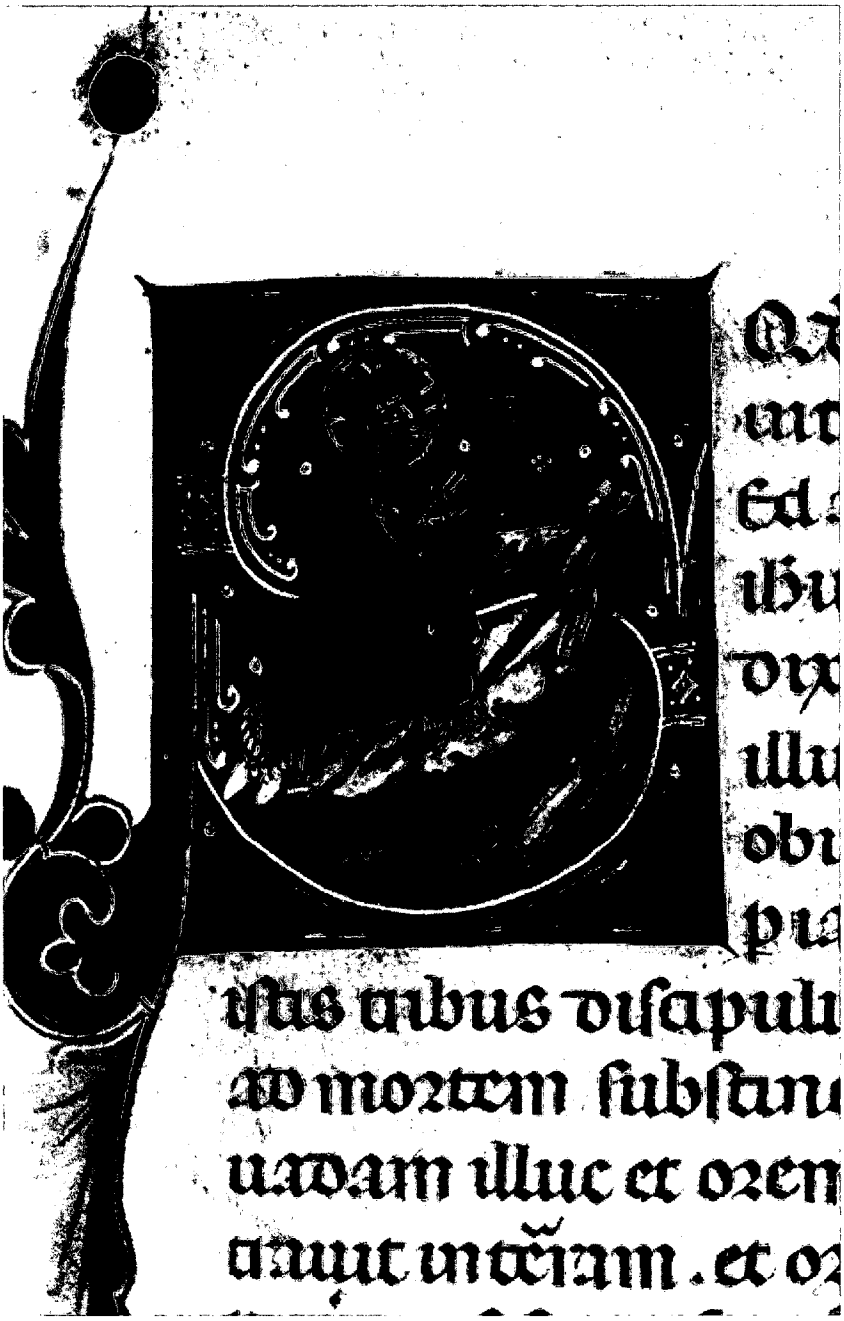


Plate 199. Agony in the Garden

(Oxford, Bodleian Library, Ms. Canonici 476, f. 76r)

Plate 200. Mocking of Christ and Way to Calvary
(detail from panel in Venice, Cini Collection)

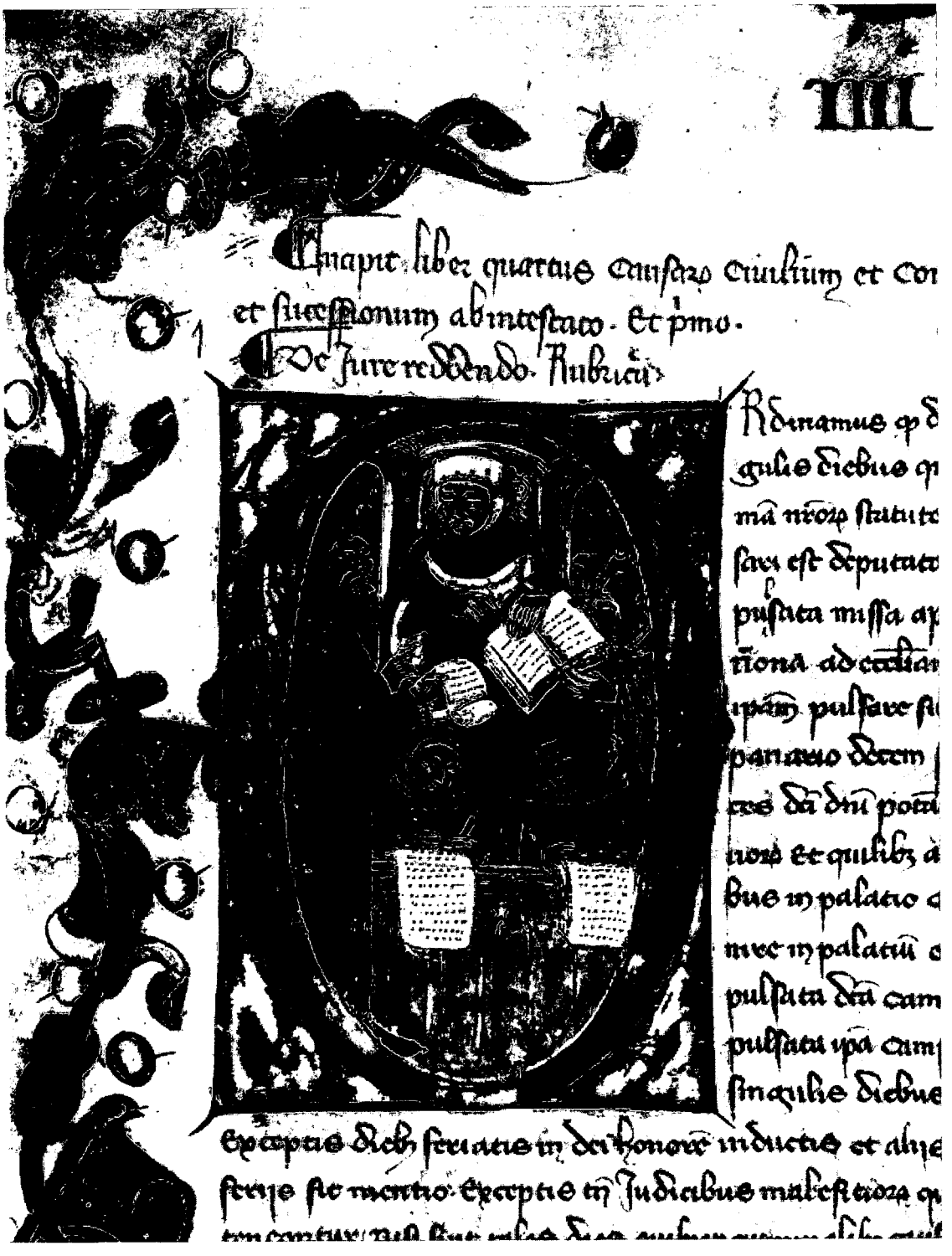


Plate 201. Nicolò da Bologna (attr.), 1376 Statutes of the Comune of Bologna (Bologna, Archivio di Stato, Comune-Governo, Statuti vol. XIII, f. 157r)

Plate 202. Pseudo-Jacopino di Francesco (attr.), Miracle of St. John the Evangelist (Raleigh, North Carolina Museum of Art)

Plate 203. Nicolò da Bologna (attr.), Charity of St. Nicholas

(Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum, Ms. 278a)

Plate 204. Dalmasio, Flagellation of Christ

(Seattle Art Museum)

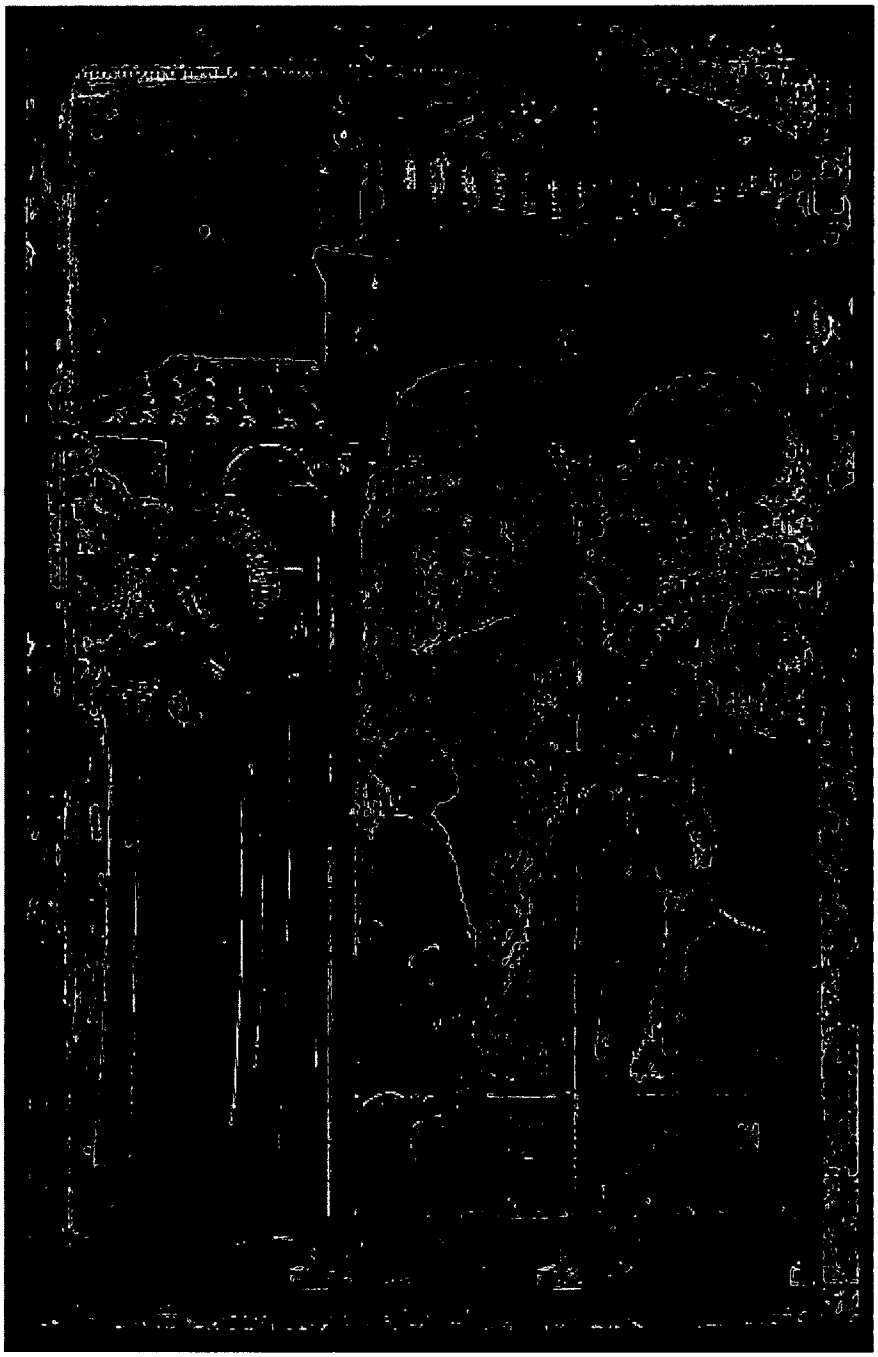


Plate 205. Master of Forlì, Flagellation of Christ
(New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, Robert Lehman Collection)

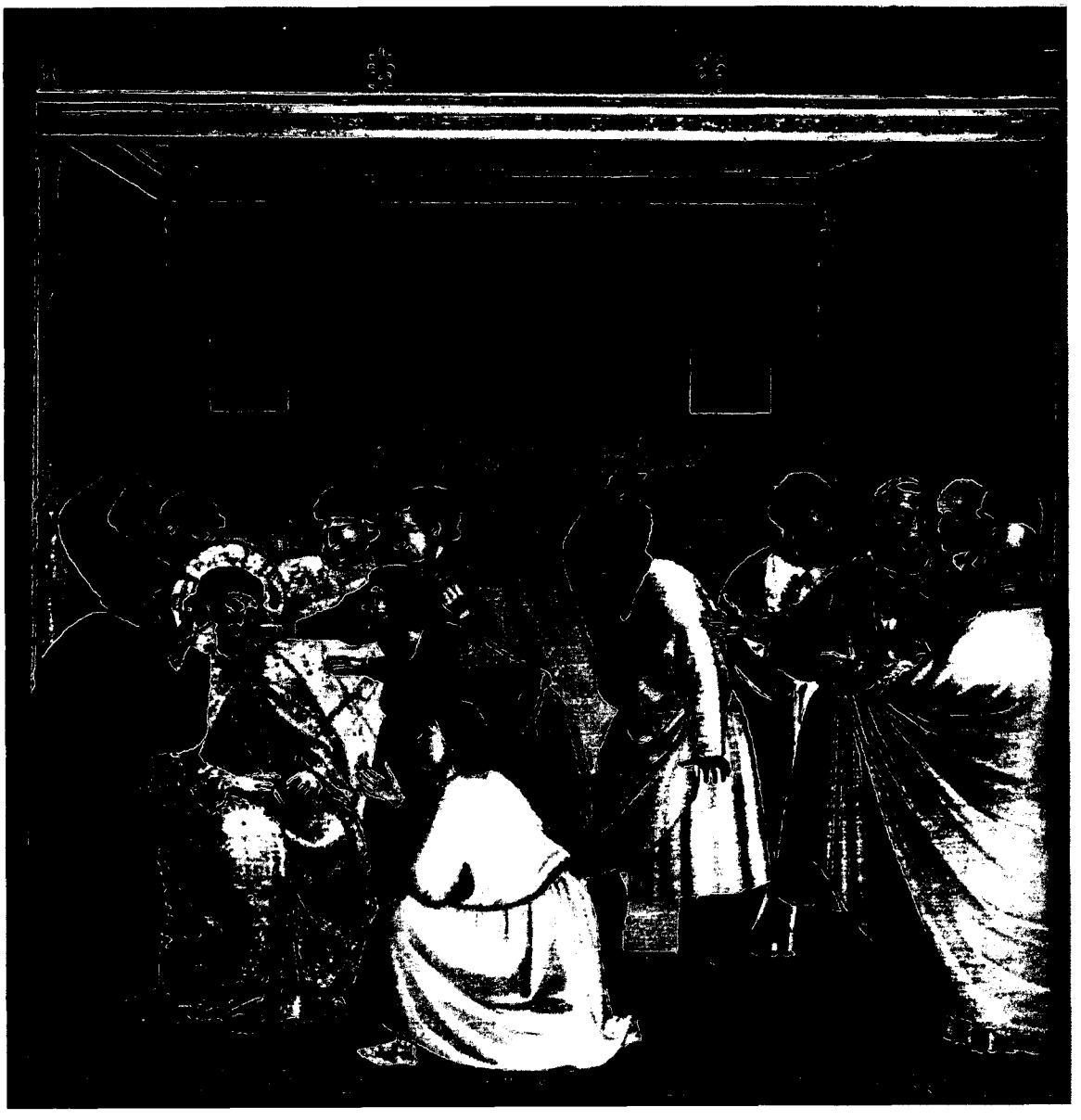


Plate 206. Giotto, Mocking of Christ

(Padua, Arena Chapel)

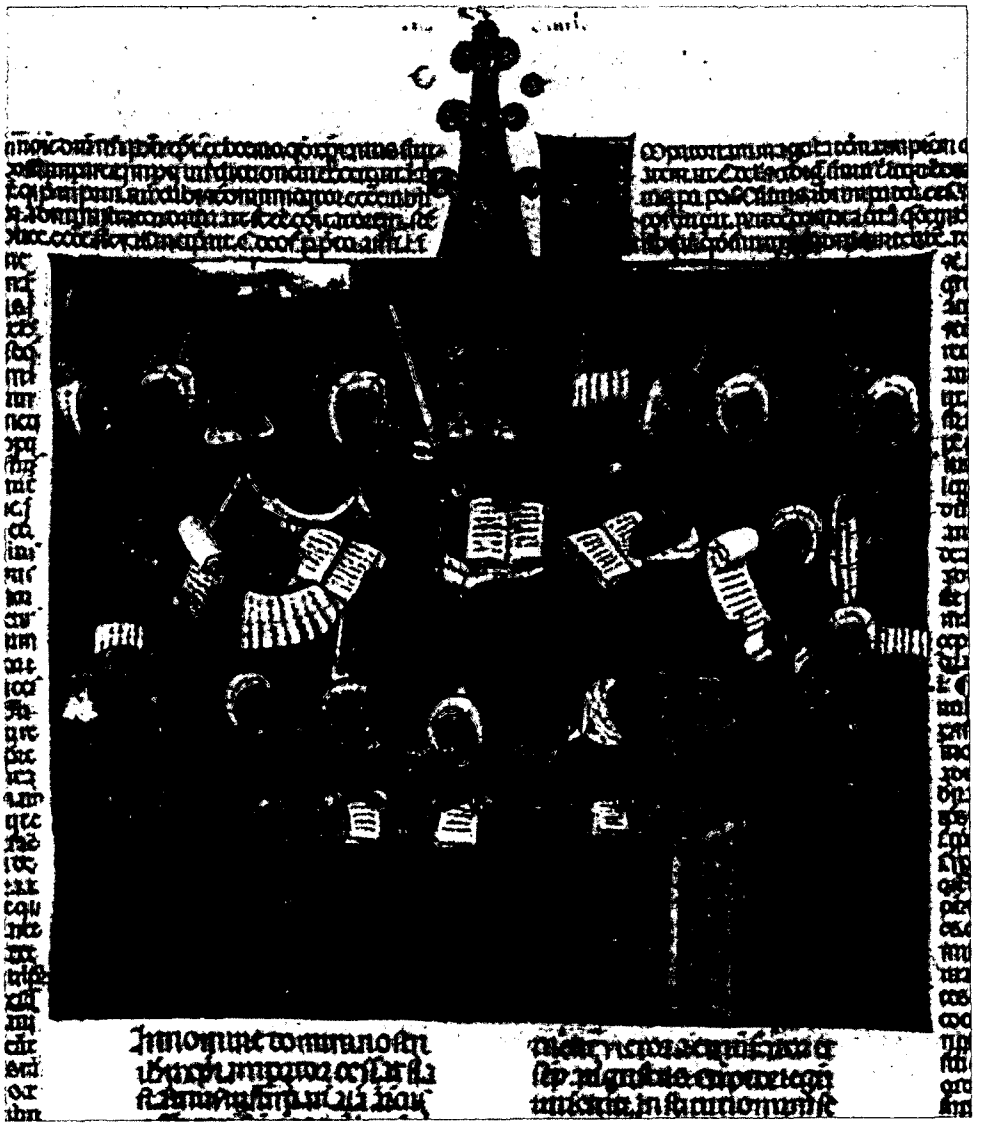


Plate 207. Stefano Azzi (attr.), Justinian enthroned, *Institutiones*
(Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Urb. Lat. 164, f. 1r)

Plate 208. Master of 1346 (attr.), Allegory of Justice

(Vatican City, Biblioteca Aposolica Vaticana, Vat. lat. 1411, f. 3r)

Plate 209. Master of the Choir of S. Agostino (attr.), Flagellation and Way to Calvary (detail from right wing of diptych in Munich, Alte Pinokothek)

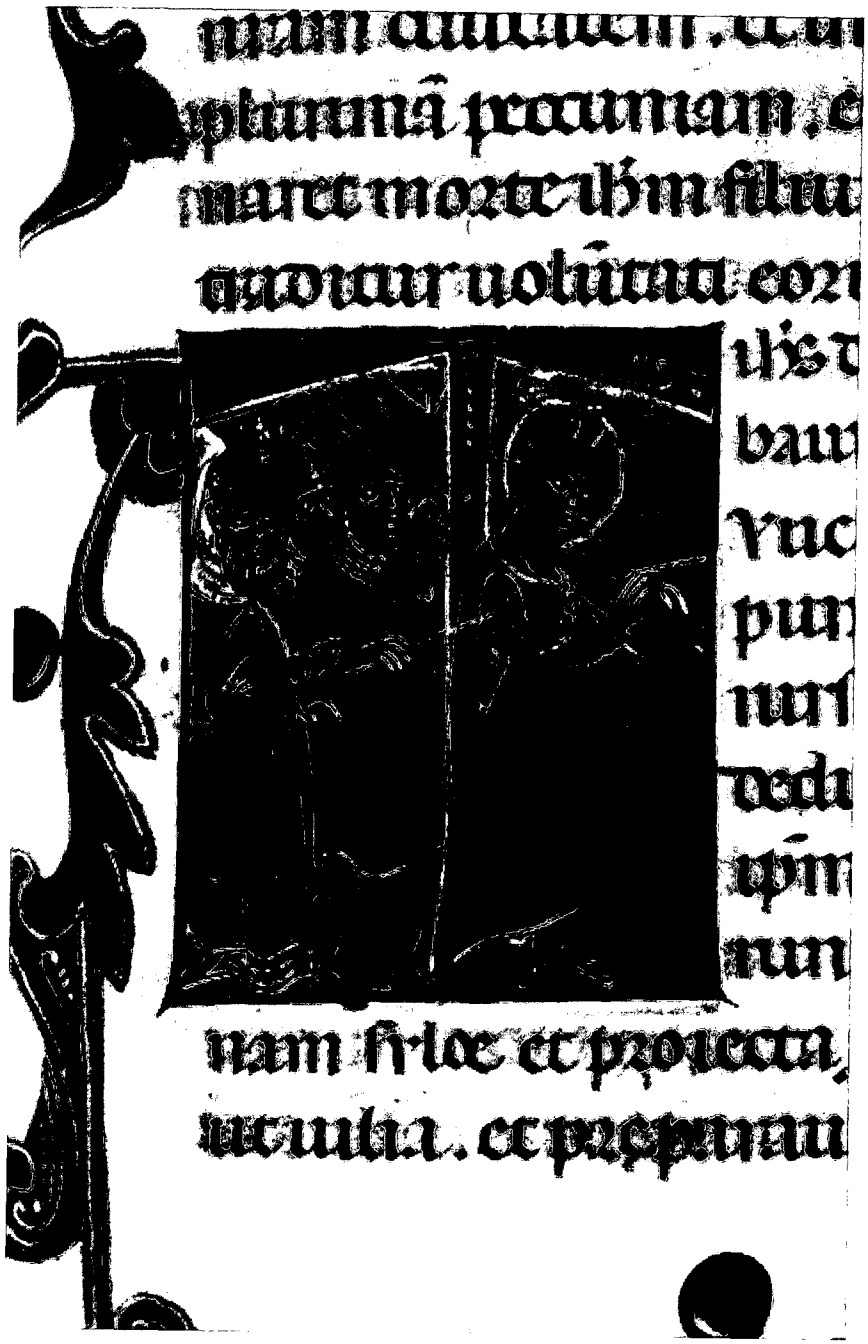


Plate 210. Way to Calvary

(Oxford, Bodleian Library, Ms. Canonici 476, f. 82r)

Plate 211. Pseudo-Dalmasio, Crucifixion

(Bologna, Pinacoteca Nazionale)

Plate 212. Vitale da Bologna, Crucifixion
(Madrid, Thyssen-Bornemisza Collection)

Plate 213. Nailing of Christ to the Cross

(now lost; formerly in Toledo, Archivo y Biblioteca Capitulares, Ms 10.8)

Plate 214. Nailing of Christ to the Cross

(Oxford, Bodleian Library, Ms. Canonici 476, f. 85r and 85v)

Plate 215. Master of 1346, Crucifixion, Missal of Cardinal Bertrand de Deux (Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Cod. Cap. 63B, f. 189r)

Plate 216. Pseudo-Jacopino, Crucifixion

(Avignon, Musée du Petit Palais)

Plate 217. Giotto, Lamentation of Christ

(Padua, Arena Chapel)

Plate 218. Lamentation of Christ

(Bologna, S. Maria dei Servi, corale D, f. 60)

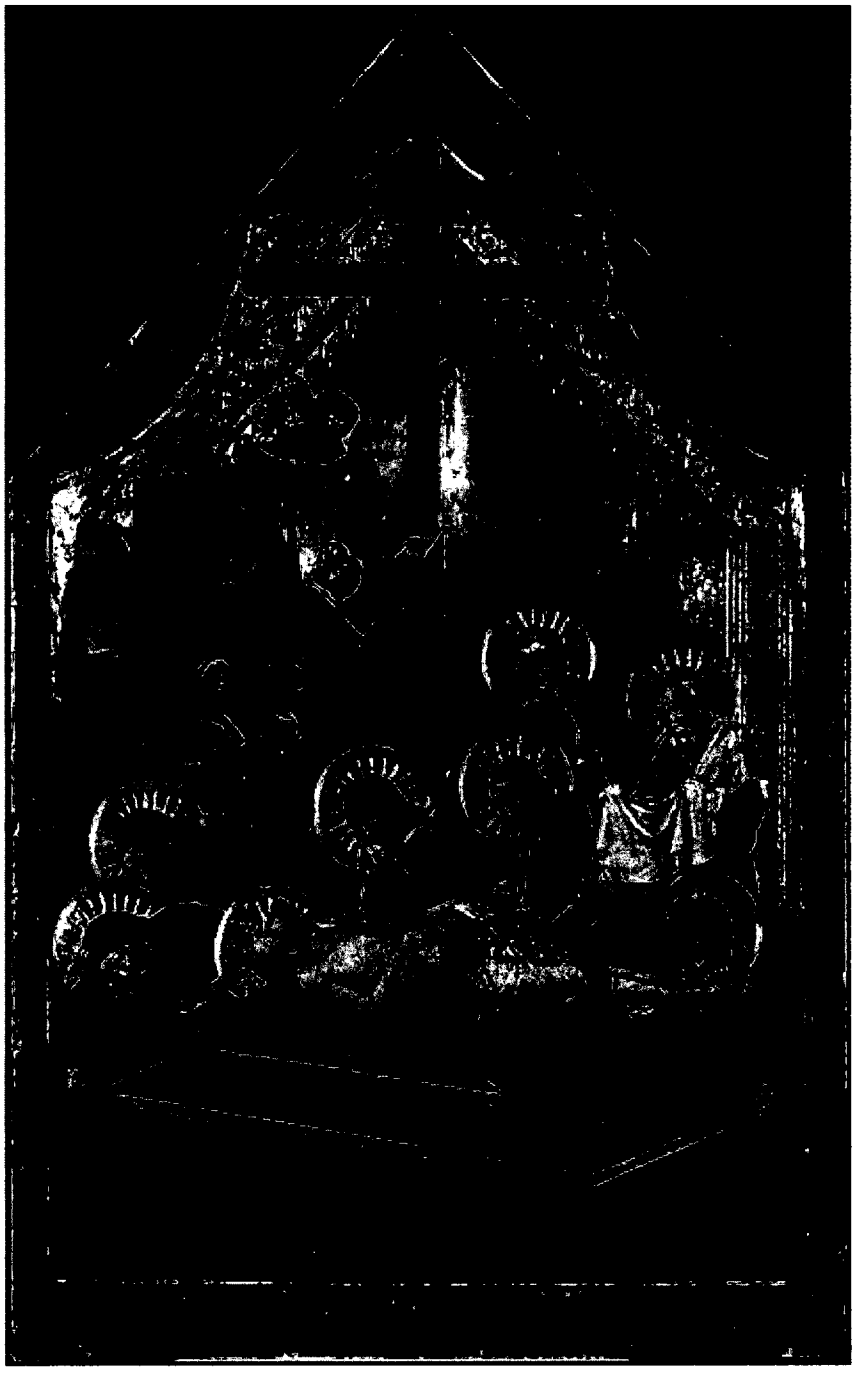


Plate 219. Master of the Codex of St. George, Lamentation and Entombment of Christ (New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, The Cloisters Collection)

Plate 220. Death of Moses, Bassetti Bible

(Trento, Biblioteca Comunale, Ms. 2868, p. 207)

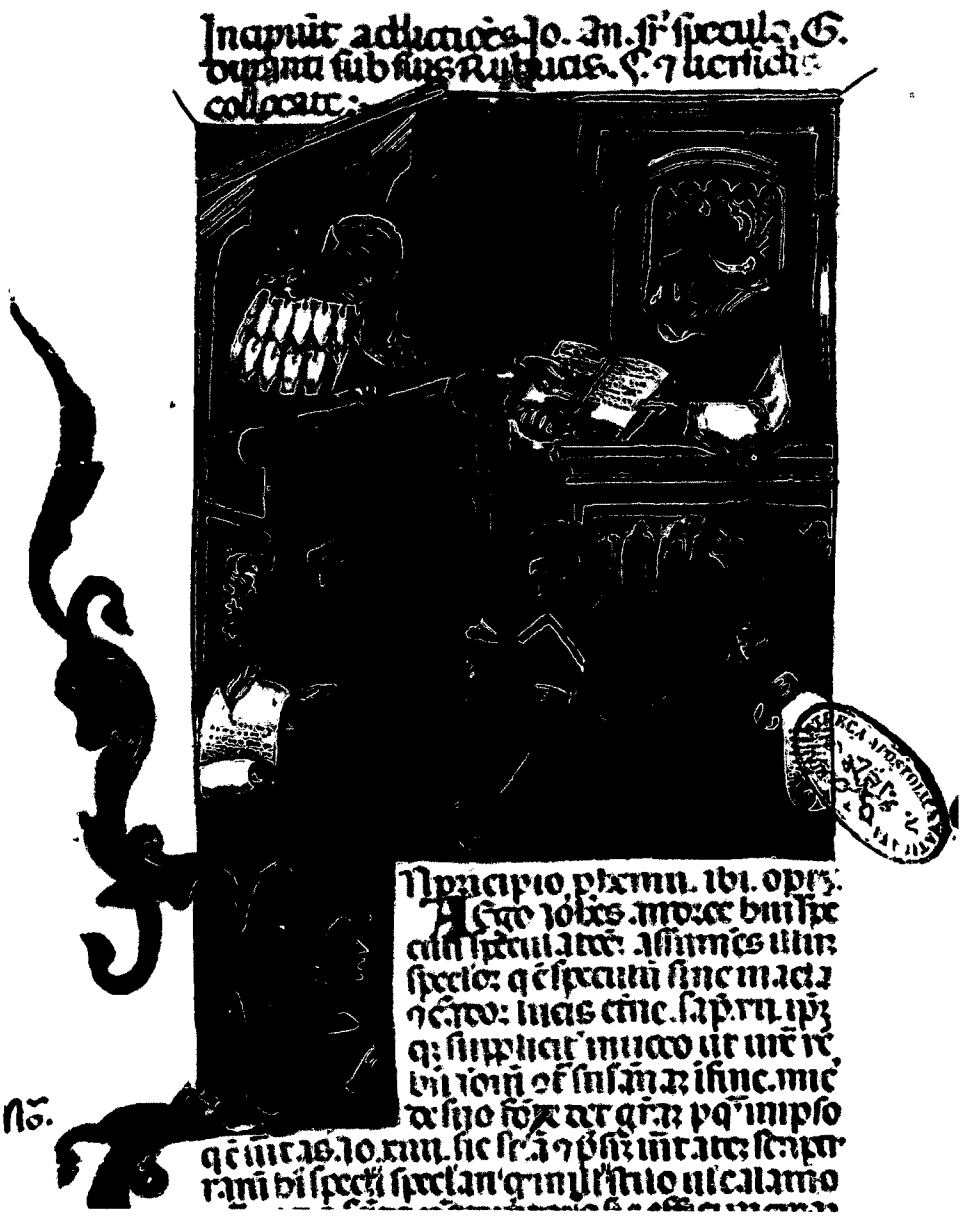


Plate 221. Giovanni d'Andrea and his teaching assistant
(opening of his *Additiones ad Speculum Guillelmi Duranti*)

(Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. lat. 2634, f. 1r)

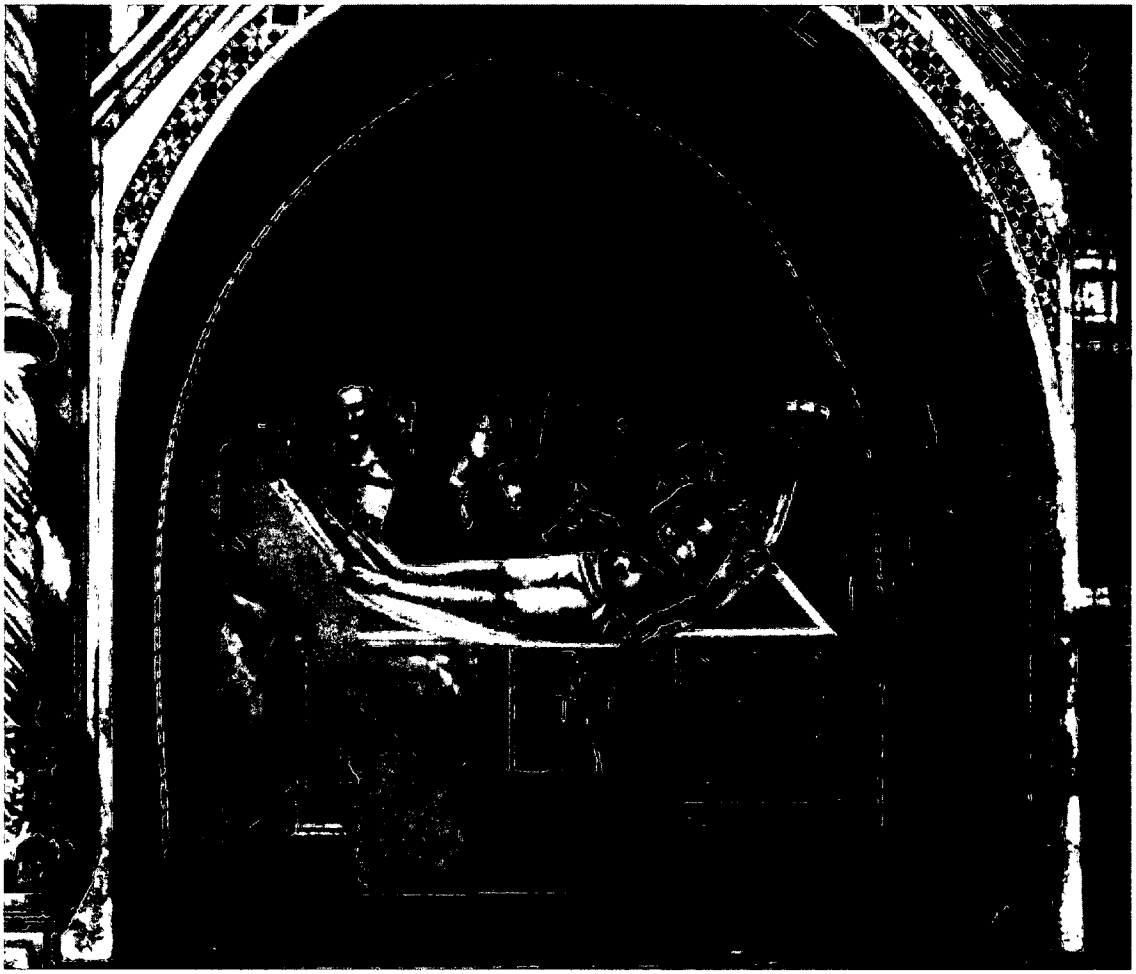


Plate 222. Taddeo Gaddi, Entombment of Christ

Florence, S. Croce, Bardi di Vernio Chapel

Plate 223. Master of Santa Felicità, The Charity of St. Nicholas

(Verona, San Zeno)

Plate 224. Nerio, Initial A with Women at the Tomb (above) and Christ appearing to the Women (below)

(New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, Acc. No. 12.56.1)

Plate 225. Master of the Naples Gratian, Initial R with Noli me tangere (above) and Women at the Tomb (below)

(Bologna, San Domenico, Corale 21, f. 111)

Plate 226. Vitale da Bologna, Noli me tangere

(London, Courtauld Institute Gallery)

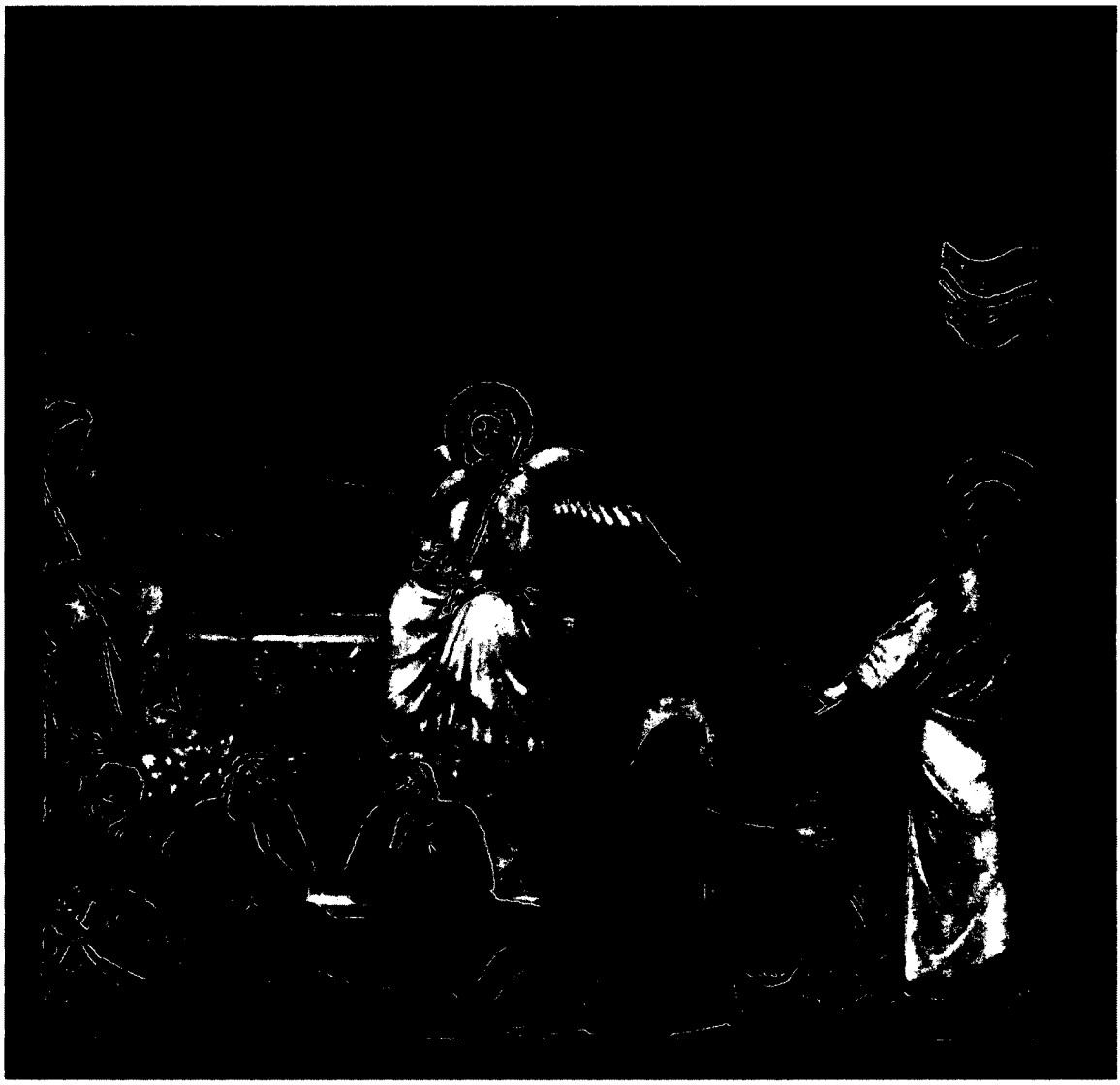


Plate 227. Giotto, Noli me tangere

(Padua, Arena Chapel)

Plate 228. Master of Gherarduccio, Noli me tangere

(Padua, Biblioteca Capitolare, Cod. A16, f. 232)

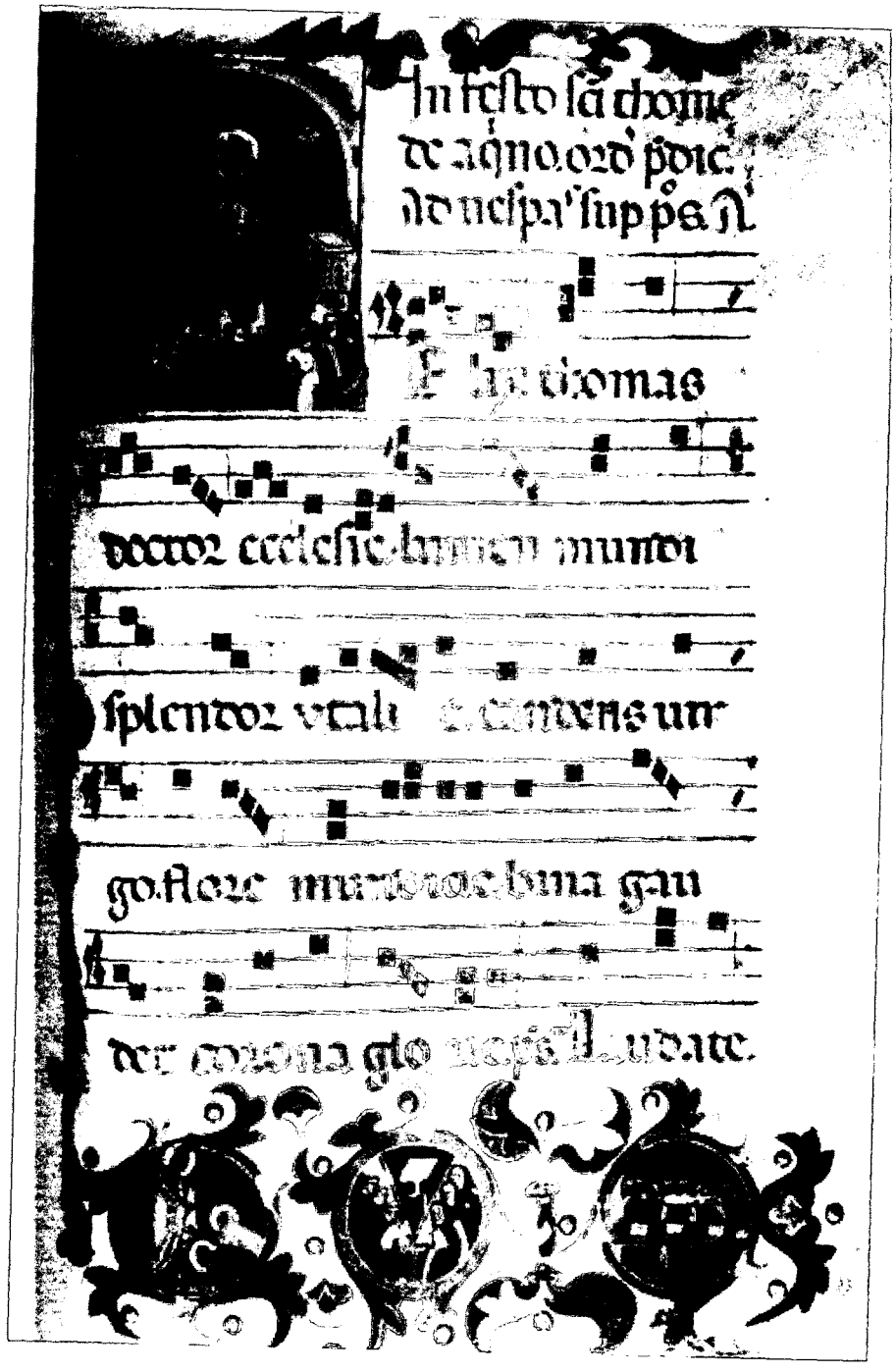


Plate 229. Second Master of San Domenico, Feast of St. Thomas Aquinas
(Roundel at lower left: Christ appears to the Maries)

(Bologna, Museo Civico Medievale, ms. 545, f. 75r)

Plate 230. St Francis frees a Debtor from Prison (detail of a leaf from the Hungarian Legendary)

(New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, Acc. No. 1994.516)

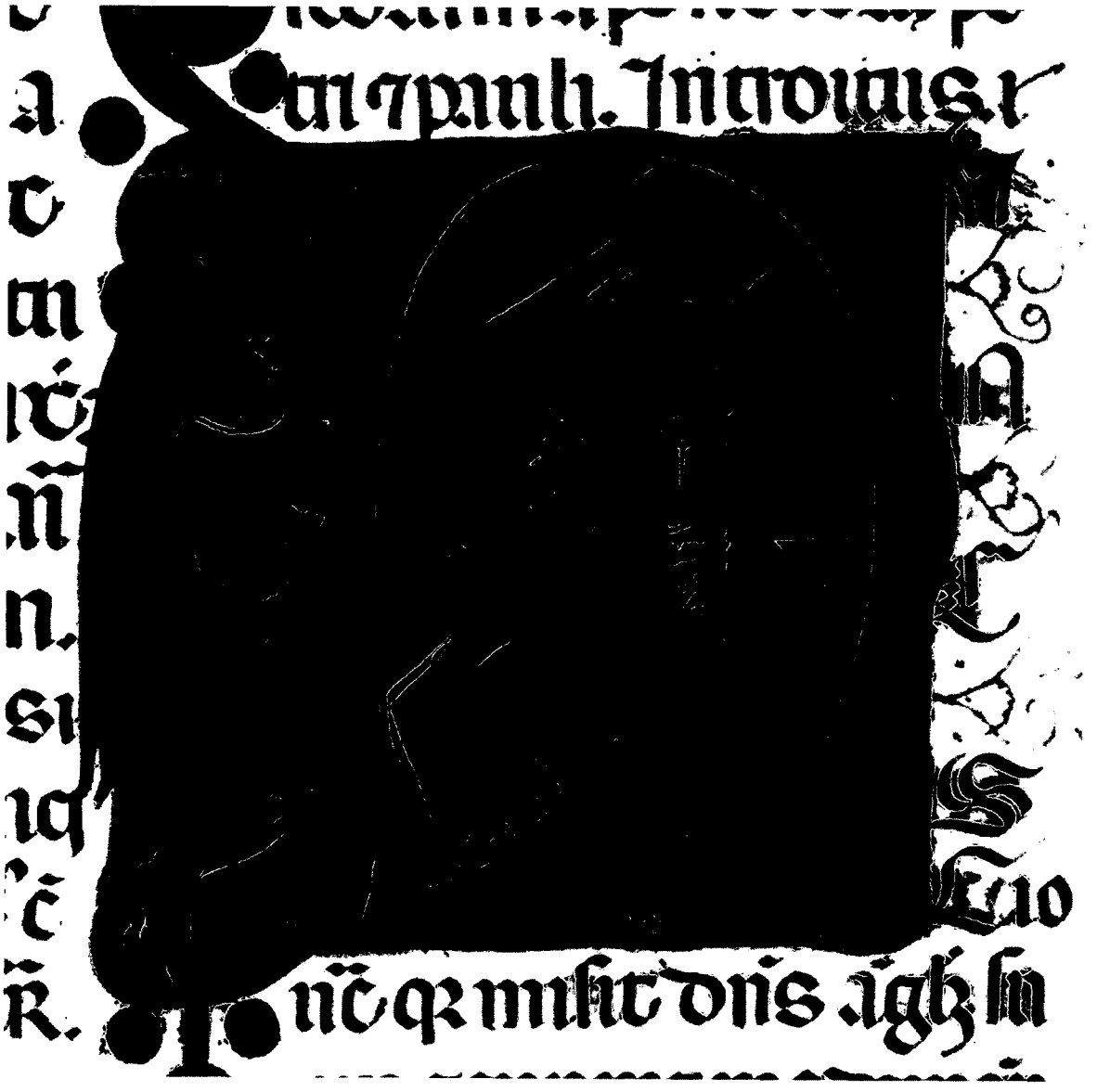


Plate 231. Liberation of St. Peter, Missal of Cardinal Bertrand de Deux
(Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Cod. Cap. 63B, f. 297v)

Plate 232. Nicolò da Bologna, Liberation of St. Peter
(Bologna, Museo Civico Medievale, ms. 4108, f. 56r)

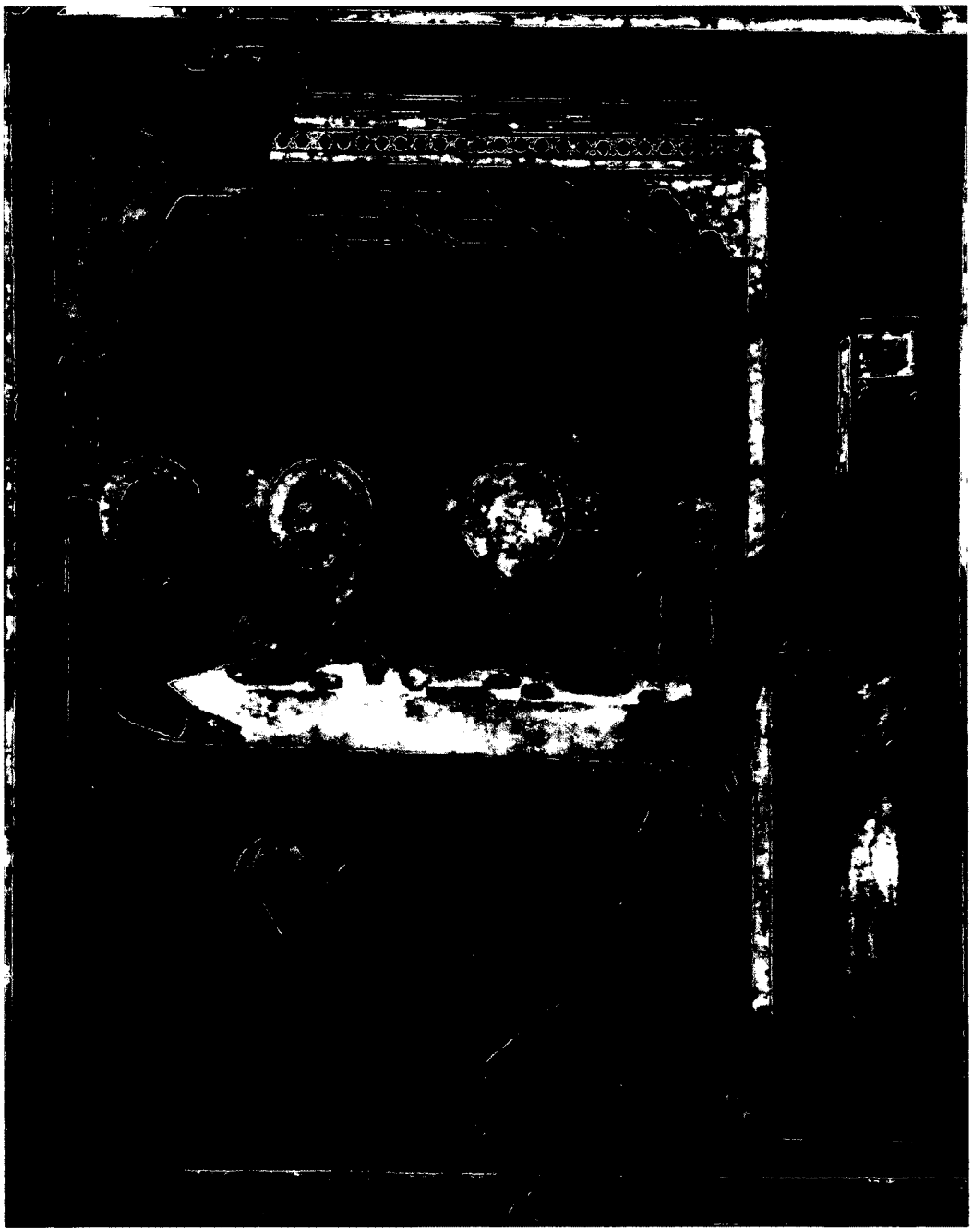


Plate 233. Giottesque Shop, Anointing at Bethany

(Florence, Bargello, Magdalen Chapel [Cappella del Podestà])

Plate 234. Snite Illuminator, (left) Scylla presents her father's hair to Minos; (right) Scylla cuts the hair from her father, Nisus; Book VIII of Ovid's Metamorphoses

(Venice, Biblioteca Marciana, Ms. Z. L. 449a)

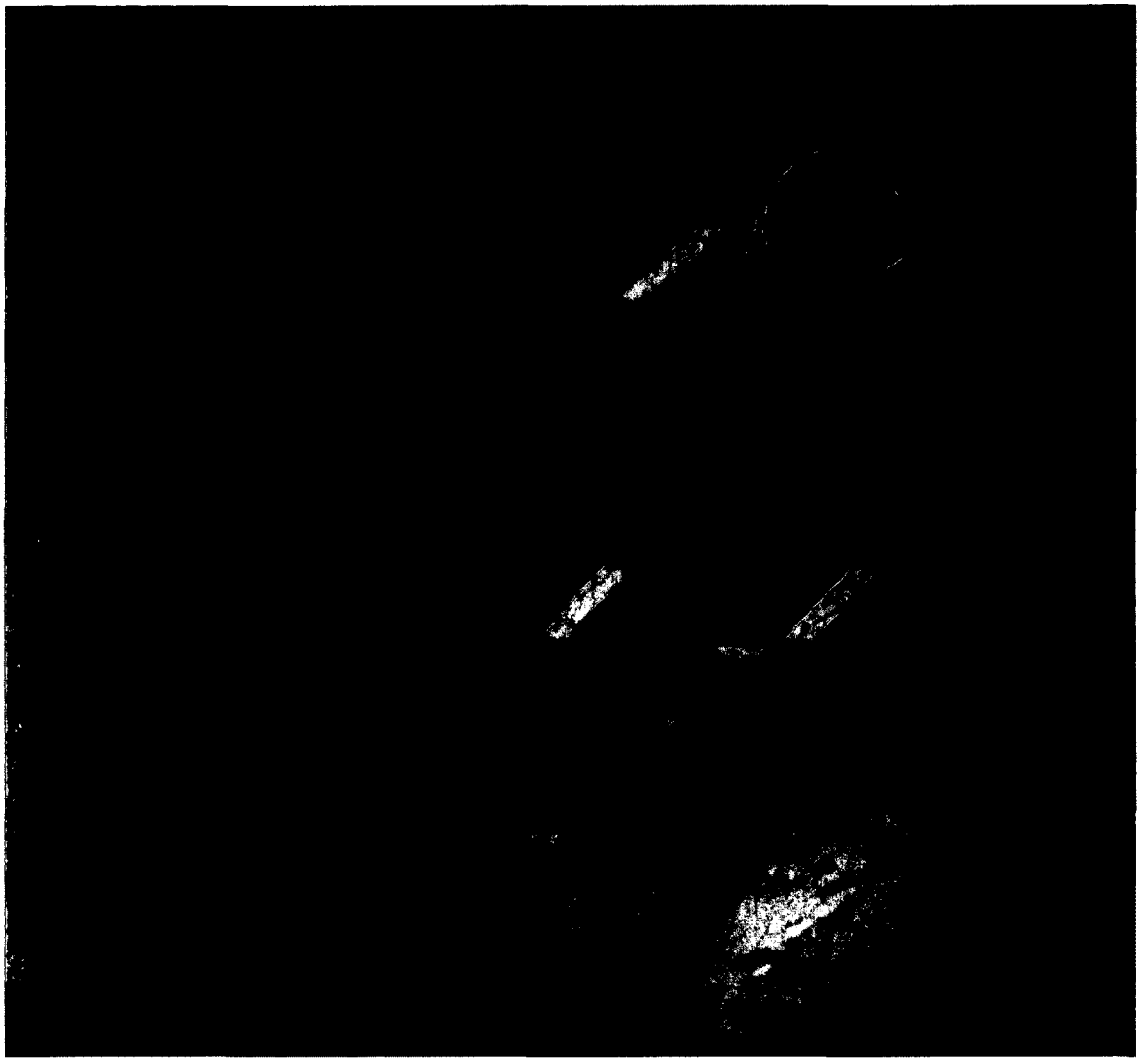


Plate 235. Duccio, Road to Emmaus

(Siena, Museo dell' Opera del Duomo)

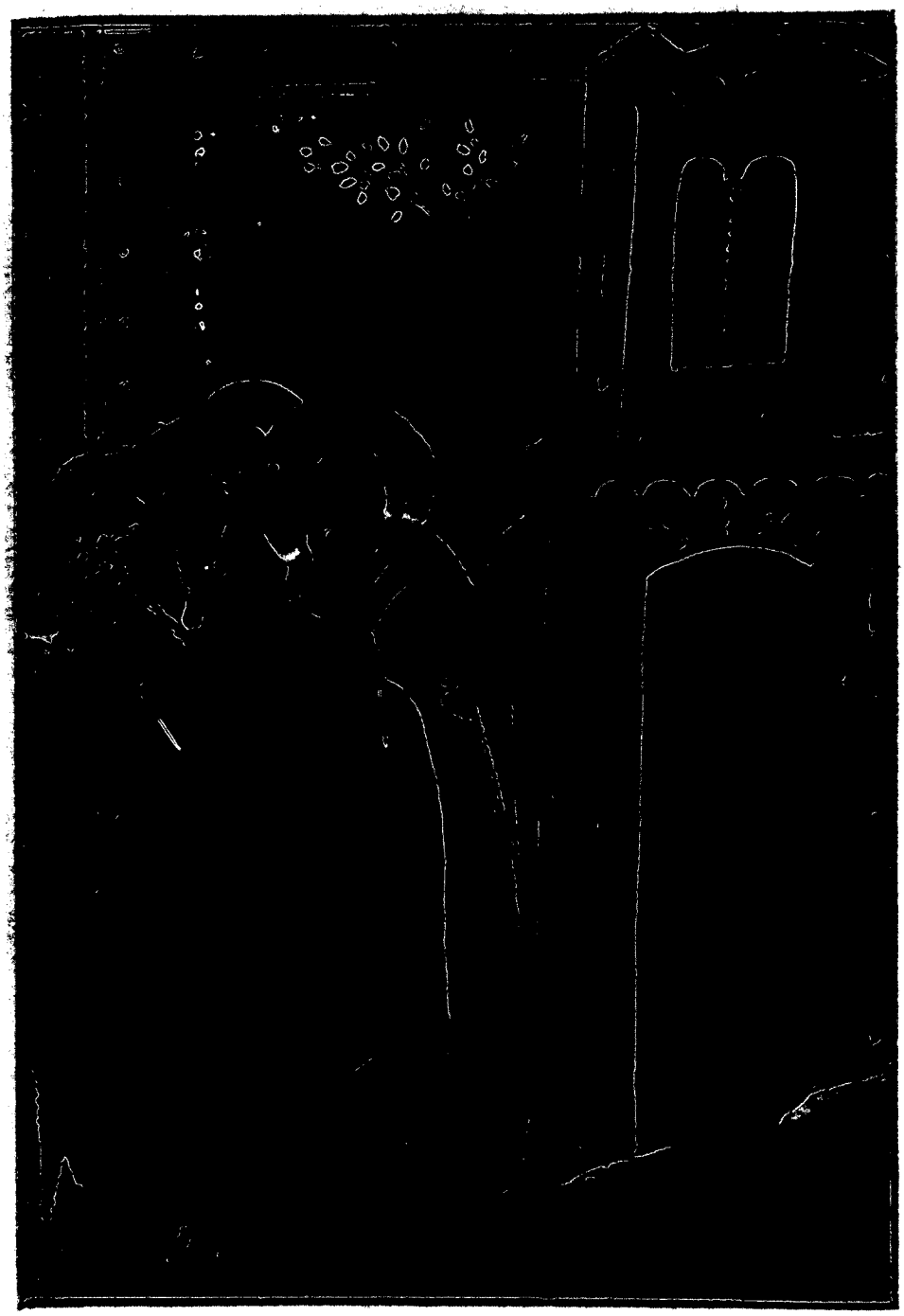


Plate 236. Nerio (?), Christ and the Disciples enter a building (cutting from a choirbook) (London, Victoria and Albert Museum, MS 884)

Plate 237. Nerio (?), Christ preaches to three men (cutting)

(London, British Library, Additional 29902, f. 1b)

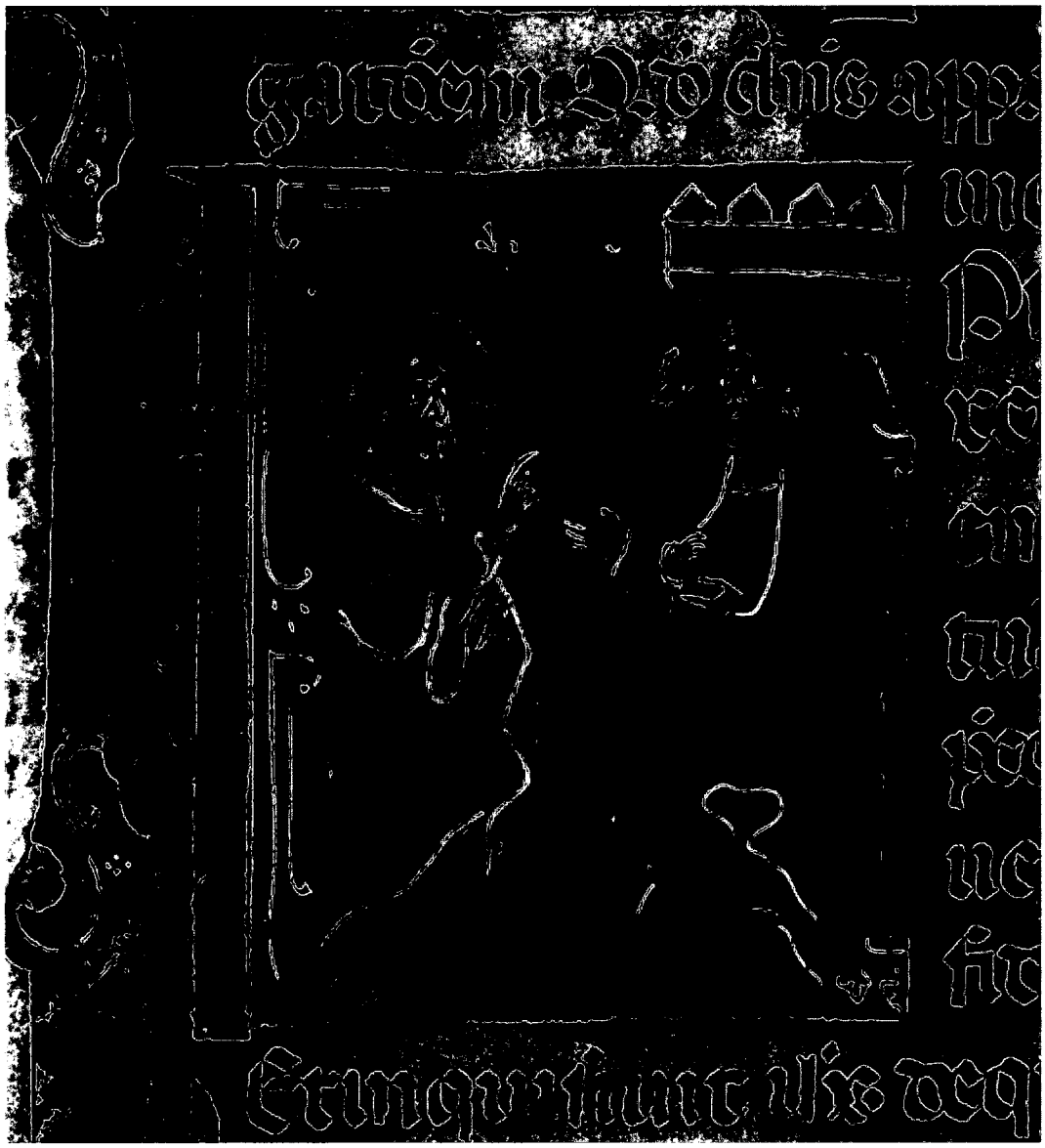


Plate 238. Road to Emmaus

(Oxford, Bodleian Library, Ms. Canonici 476, f. 104v)

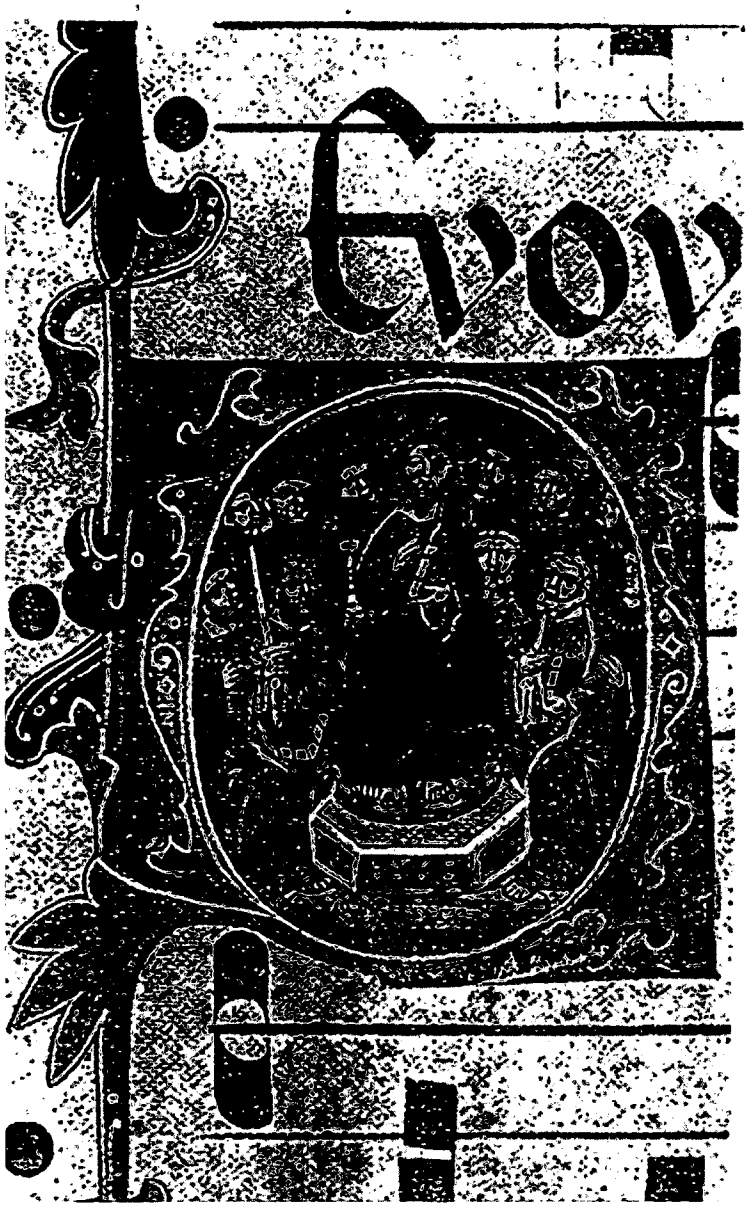


Plate 239. Master of 1328, Christ among the Disciples, flanked by Sts. Paul and Peter (location unknown)

Plate 240. Azzi Workshop, *Digestum vetus,* Bk. 8: of rural and urban servitudes (e.g., the exercise of right-of-way across private property for access to a water)

(Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm. 2503 410, f. 129v)

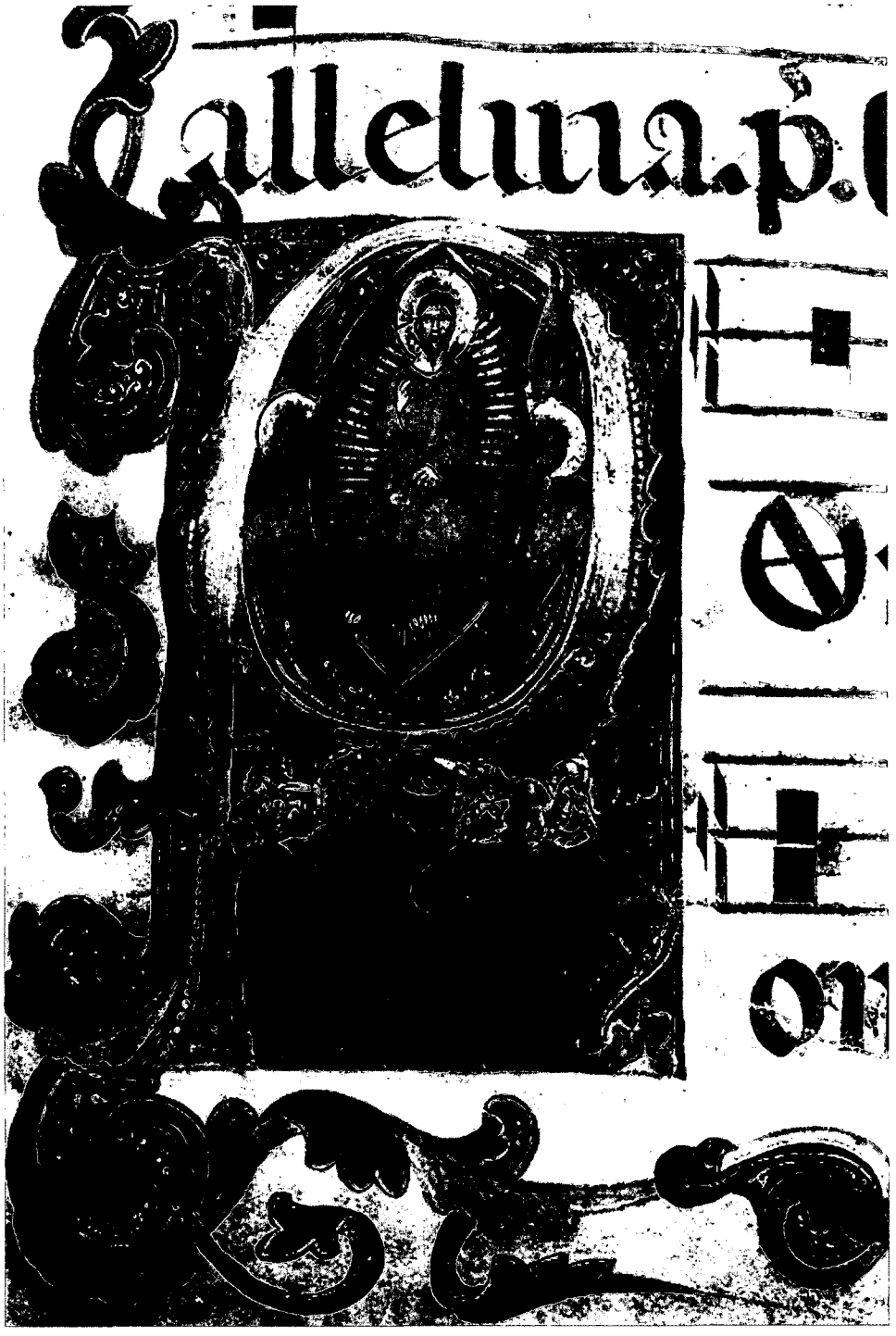


Plate 241. Master of 1328, Ascension, historiated initial from a choirbook (Florence, Ssa. Annunziata, Cod. L, fol. 174v)

Plate 242. Nicolò da Bologna, Virgin Mary as Mediatrix
(Kremsmünster, Benediktiner Stift, Ms. CC Cim. 4, f. 83r)

Plate 243. Illustratore, Adoration of the Holy Trinity, Decretals of Gregory IX (Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. lat. 1389, f. 4r)

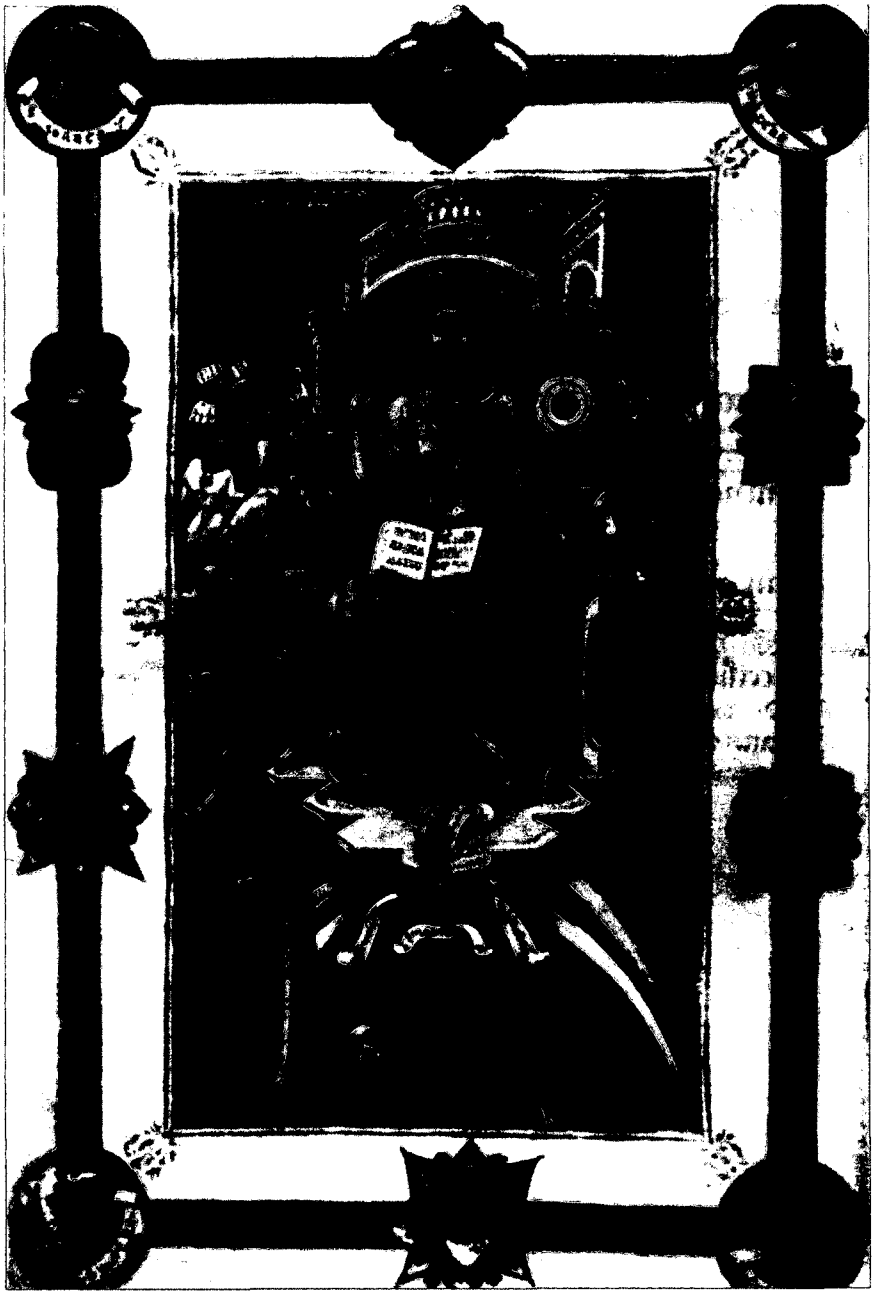


Plate 244. Master of 1346, Christ in Majesty, Missal of Cardinal Bertrand de Deux (Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Cod. Cap. 63B, f. 188v)

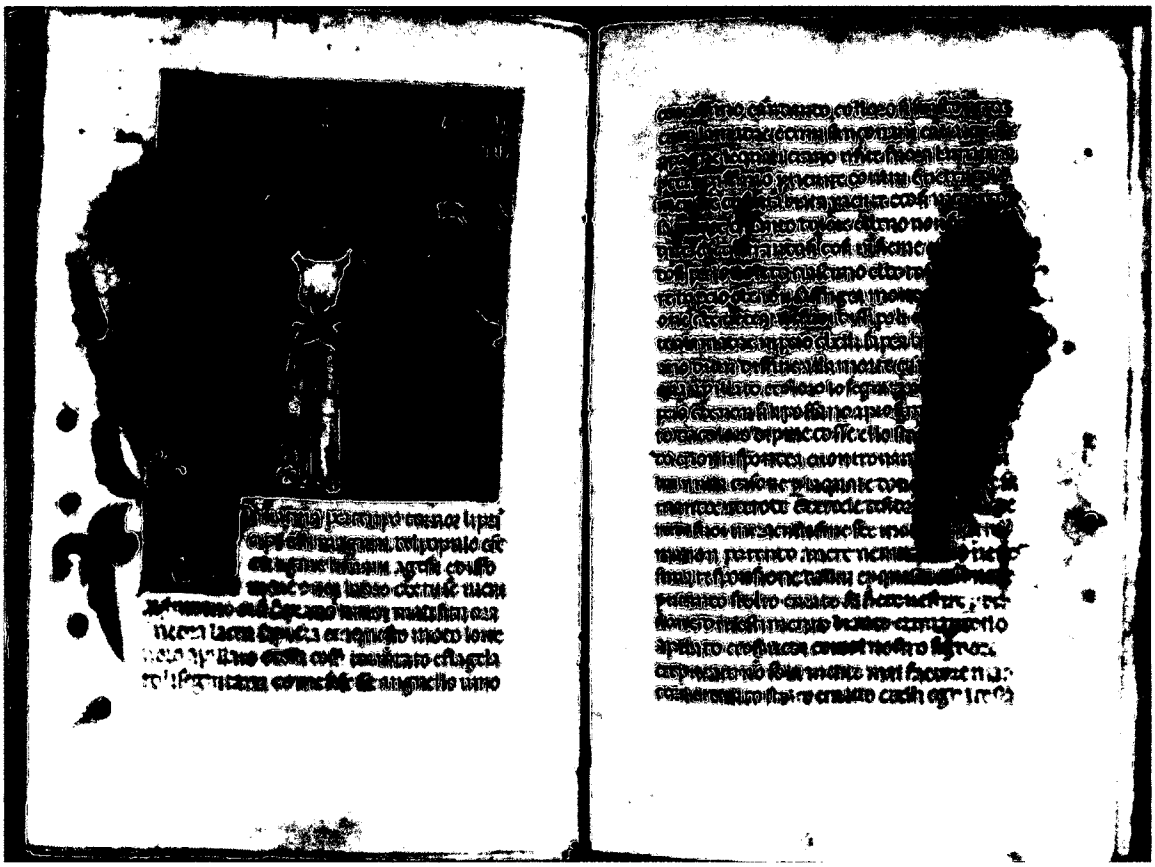


Plate 245. Christ before Pilate

(Notre Dame, Indiana, Snite Museum of Art, University of Notre Dame, 85.25, f. 74v)

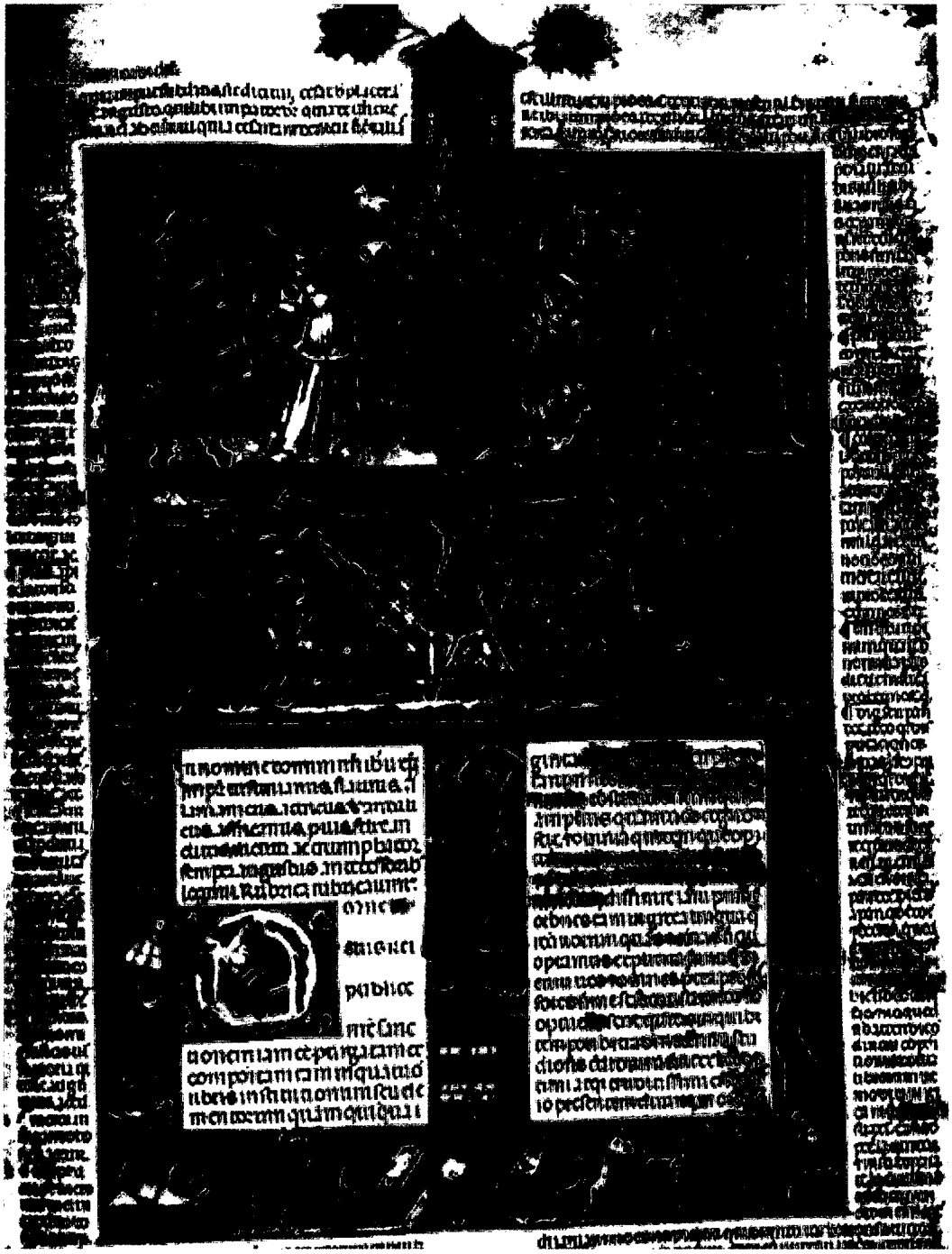


Plate 246. Master of 1328, Allegory of Justice, *Digestum Vetus*

(Turin, Biblioteca Nazionale, Ms. E I. 1, f. 1r)

Plate 247. Stefano Azzi (attr.), Madonna and Child Enthroned,

Durandus's *Speculum iudiciale*

Norfolk, England, Library of Holkham Hall, Ms. 225.3, f. 1r